

## **A Contribution to the comparative history: the Monastery of San Jerónimo de Valparaíso (Cordoba, Spain) in their written report during the old regime**

### **Una contribución a la historia comparada: el Monasterio de San Jerónimo de Valparaíso (Córdoba, España) en su memoria escrita durante el antiguo régimen**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This work is part of my current line of research focused on the study of the Church in modern Spain as a social and power institution and, in particular, on the monastery of San Jerónimo de Córdoba, Valparaíso, where I have started a case study because of the inquiry, redemption and valuation of one of the most outstanding, richest and most significant accumulated documents provided by the Jeromes, Córdoba: the so called "Protocol" or book "Tumbo". The formal analysis and mainly the content of private church documents is the core of this contribution. Its information on assets, novice admittance, real protection, relations with various institutions in the city, charity foundations and creation, expansion and maintenance of the monastery, are definitely necessary to get to know the newly born Valparaíso economically, socially, politically and culturally in the early fourteenth century, maintained until the first confiscation in the nineteenth-century as a genuine example of the Iberian Order to which it belonged.

**KEYWORDS:** Church history. Modern Spain. Regular orders. Jeromes. Heuristics.

#### **RESUMEN**

Este trabajo forma parte de mi actual línea de investigación centrada en el estudio de la Iglesia en la España Moderna como institución social y de poder y, en concreto, del monasterio cordobés de san Jerónimo de Valparaíso, cuyo estudio monográfico he empezado precisamente por la indagación, rescate y puesta en valor de una de las más señeras, ricas y significativas de cuantas huellas documentales acumularon y proporcionaron los jerónimos cordobeses, a saber: Su llamado "Protocolo" o libro "Tumbo". El análisis formal y sobre todo de contenido de esta excelente documentación eclesiástica privada constituye el centro fundamental de esta aportación. Sus informaciones sobre patrimonio, ingresos de novicios, protección real, relaciones con distintas instituciones de la ciudad, fundaciones piadosas y creación, ampliación y sostenimiento del monasterio, son sin duda indispensables para conocer económica, social, política y culturalmente a Valparaíso, nacido, por cierto, muy a principios del Cuatrocientos, mantenido hasta la primera desamortización decimonónica e importante ejemplo de la tan genuina Orden ibérica a que pertenecía.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Historia de la Iglesia. España Moderna. Órdenes regulares. Jerónimos. Heurística.

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It seems beyond doubt that a monastery is more than a simple religious coexistence of people of the same sex under the common umbrella of the same rule. As part of the same Church, it also gathers the four elements that make it also an institution of power, that are: economic bases, significant social foundations, political-administrative organization and functionality.

As part of my own line of research dedicated to the study of ecclesiastical elites in modern Spain as a social group and power institution, and in which I have already begun to bear some fruit, I have since recently been focused on the analysis of the cordovan monastery of san Jerónimo de Valparaíso, still in need of a rigorous and exhaustive investigation, but very powerful, always privileged by Córdoba and the same Crown (GÓMEZ NAVARRO, 2002), and also very favored by many generations, through handouts that helped the creation and maintenance of all the monastic premises. I take the opportunity, with this accredited Forum, to publicize the beginnings of the preliminary study I am doing on one of the most outstanding, richest and most significant accumulated documentation provided by the cordovan Jerónimos: the so-called Protocol or book "*Tumbo*". Now, given the logical restriction of pages for this text, I shall restrict myself to present the multiple and different possibilities that allow this private ecclesiastical documentation - constituted the center of the particular accountancy of the monks - and only in the current file, Provincial History Archive, since the confiscation, which are the ones that I am analyzing in depth in the book, and which are summarized into two parts: formal and content.

As it is presumed, the first analysis focuses on the diplomatic analysis of the "Tumbo" and in the context of other similar monastic products, quite frequent in Consensual and monastic communities because they gathered the essential economy, as I already mentioned.

In fact, almost all monasteries used to have one or more books of similar characteristics, which are known by the Cartulary, or as book *Tumbo*, "big parchment book, where churches, monasteries, councils and communities had copied to the letter privileges and other writings of belongings" (REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA, 1992, p. 2.038), and designations of this type of books is usually done by nicknames that remember particularities of its external appearance - Books, Calves, Tumbos, White or Red, for the name of its collector, Calf of san Milan-, or by the diplomatic status of their documents - Cartularies, Bularios, Cartularies, etc.- In this book, I opt to use the term Protocol as contained in its introduction, although sometimes I also refer to it as the *Cartulary*. A succinct presentation of the book must indicate that it has a total of 271 numbered pages, the last written page is 262 and up to page 271, pages are numbered

and with a delimited script box although they lack writing. The total number of pages that this presentation has is 92. Paging is correct up to 266 folios, after which the numbered pages go to page 271, and there was no justification in the Protocol for this fault, although I must say that the presumably absent pages were carefully cut out, as shown by the remains left in the area near the binding. The four first pages, the most important of them being the second corresponding to the title page, are not numbered. It is surrounded by a wide frame decorated with intertwined volutes where earthy tones are predominant. In the centre lies an inscription containing the starting date of writing - 1772 - book and the author of the same - Fernando de Cáceres, Trinitarian, prior to San Jerónimo fray Esteban de san Miguel and Pineda-. The following two are completely blank and even lack the script box. The first two pages where writings were found, can be considered as an introduction to the digest version of the book. The first is written from the lower third, which contains a dedicatory inscription which praises the values of the Jeronime order. The others constitute a corpus which lists the different Royal and ecclesiastical privileges which were granted to them over time. At the end of the page, the signatures and headings of the prior father and the scribe appear. Finally, I have created an index because, inexplicably, it does not have one. Definitely, the formal and diplomatic issues are a very important aspect which I deal with in extension and thoroughly in the edition of the paper<sup>2</sup>. The first and most significant feature of the Protocol in this regard is the scarcity of complete documentary transcriptions, therefore raising awareness about the documentary resource preserved in the archive of the monastery in the form of regesta. The number and docket of each of the sections of the book corresponds to the number of in the notebook of the original document, which suggests that the book constituted a sort of index of all documentation that the file possessed. Only the foundation of some memories is completely transcribed. For a better understanding of that, I look at each of its parts according to the number each heading has, by grouping those that are similar. To this purpose, and despite the fact that the *Tumbo* has no index, as I have already said and although I have created one, I bring the original structure that it presents and the number of pages comprising each section: Foundation and properties, ff. 3r-108r.; censuses collected in oil and money, ff. 110R-118r.; Olivares in different payments, ff. 119r-121r.; wills of benefactors, ff. 123r-130r.; redeemed censuses, ff. 131r-136r.; Chaplaincy, ff. 138r-141v.; houses, ff. 143r-151r.; Royal privileges, ff. 152r-159r.; lawsuit rediezmos, f<sup>o</sup> 161r f.; receipts for the monastery, f<sup>o</sup> 162r.; documents and unnecessary scriptures, ff. 163r-166r.; accounts of the official fathers, f<sup>o</sup> 167r.; sold farmhouses, f<sup>o</sup> 168r.; receipts, f<sup>o</sup> 169r.;

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<sup>2</sup> Previous work already also advanced its diplomatic aspects: Muñoz Romera (1999).

writings of several issues, ff. 171r-172r.; memories, ff. 174r-260v.; final accounts, ff. 261v-262r.

It is precisely all these sections that provide the backbone for the second part of this collaboration, or the content of the Protocol of the Cordoba Jerónimos aspects.

Starting with the properties, in the *Tumbo* there are references to two types: some are out of town that are fundamentally agricultural properties formed by farmhouses or olive groves; others, which are located on the grounds of the city and generally correspond to the houses the monastery has, in the different parishes of the city.

**Farmhouses and Olivares:** They form a corpus of 22 documents that I have orderly grouped according to the numbers they have and which refer to the land properties, mainly farmhouses owned by the monastery.

Each section consists of a sort of introduction which contains information about the means by which a piece of land was acquired, which frequently used to be either by purchase or donation, in both cases, showing the names of the seller or the donor of the property. The location of the land, from side to side, as well as the accurate measurement of the property is also specified, usually expressed in *ubadas* and *aranzadas*, indicating the number of bushels which corresponds to each *ubada*, though sometimes only indicates the measure in bushels. This information is extremely interesting from the economic and geographical point of view because when referring to the lands devoted to crops, the sowing system used in each of them can be explained.

Documentation corresponding to document number 1 contains two different pieces of information. The first relates to the arrival of Vasco de Sousa and the foundation of the monastery; the second, quite extensive, certainly compiles the properties comprised by it. The following testimonies of this same corpus are broken down as below:

Number 2: Farmhouse de Encinarejo - 24 *ubadas* and 15 *aranzadas* and *media*. According to the Protocol, its campus housed five houses which were located separately; the main intended to retirement and possessed an oratorio with two altars and a Bell Tower, while others served as a shelter and bedroom to operators in the farmhouse<sup>3</sup>.

Number 3: Farmhouse de Rubio - 10 *ubadas* and 27 *aranzadas*-.

Number 4: Farmhouse of the Carneriles and Guadarromán; It was attached to the Hacienda of Encinarejo.

Number 5: Farmhouse de Rojas - 26 *ubadas*-. It was one of the biggest and best and, for this reason, the "Pearl" of the cordoban Jerónimos; it comprised mountains, streams and troughs of the Guadalquivir River with the river and the hunting fishing rack

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<sup>3</sup> *Protocol*, fº 10r.

and steering wheel. The importance of its location prompted to be closed to preserve the hunting and the fishing. In it monks raised mules and used to have their ordinary farms <sup>4</sup>.

Number 6: Farmhouse of the Alamo - 10 ubadas and 34 aranzadas-.

Number 7: Farmhouse of the Temple - 12 ubadas.

Number 8: Farmhouse of the Bullfinch - 17 ubadas and 18 aranzadas -.

Number 9: Algallarín meadow - 44 ubadas-. Like Rojas, it was one of the privileged agricultural areas, composed by oak forests and water shelves, currents and Villa. (38) rich hunting and fishing.

Number 10: Farmhouse Torre Fusteros - 720 bushels.

Number 11: Farmhouse de Encineños - 864 bushels.

Number 12: Farmhouse of Fontalva del Pilar - 431 bushels. 416 planted by thirds, because the remaining were streams and roads.

Number 13: Farmhouse de Arroyo Fontalva - 648 bushels.

Number 14: Farmhouse of wind - 216 bushels.

Number 15: Water Mill and Fernando Alonso Batanes.

Number 16: Estate or Farmhouse Guadamelenas.

Number 17: Lagarofl Hornillo.

Number 18: Milv and orchard in Trassierra.

Number 19: Inheritance of Catalan and Huerta Nevalo.

Number 20: Customs orchard and Olive groves of Torre Bermeja. The garden had a main house with his oratory and a source with its pylon.

Number 23: Olivares in different payments. Among the possessions of the monastery had some olive trees that were scattered in these terms: Pregonero Fall, El Marrubial, Arrizafa and Arroyo del Moro, don Marcos Huerta, Toconar, path Golosa Arroyo Pedroche, Torreblanca, Palm Creek area, and in Écija.

Number 33: Sold farmhouses. Collects the selling price, the date, and the name of the buyer.

Needless to say that this information is precious and indispensable to raise the floor of the rustic buildings of the cordovan Jerónimos, for contributing with information on extensions, qualities, boundaries, the vicissitudes of the property, modes of management and income, among other relevant elements.

**Houses:** They correspond to document number 27 and appear grouped together in a total of four numbered files.

According to the *Protocol*, the majority of those was for donation, being later many of them sold or exchanged for land. However, the information given is interesting

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<sup>4</sup> *Protocol*, fº 17r.

because each note details the location of each of these houses, by specifying the parishes and the name of the street in which it was situated, as well as the type of house and the benefits and the lease provided to the monastery by each one of them. I endorse this showing the list of the collations and parishes in which Cordoban Jerónimos had these urban properties: houses in Córdoba City: san Bartolomé Collation, the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, san Lorenzo, san Pedro, Santa Marina, san Miguel, Santiago, la Magdalena, and Omnium Sanctorum; and houses outside Córdoba City: three populations cordovan - Castro del Río, Palma del Río and Torremilano-, and in Segovia.

All of them also allow to reconstruct the of Jerome urban real estate capital, wich is very similar to the information povided by the rustic heritage.

**Census:** The *Protocol* is also a total of three paragraphs devoted to censuses, each of which appears listed with its corresponding number.

Number 21 is aimed at those who are charged on oil; censuses appear in chronological order and on the side the respective number of arrobas each. Number 22 grouped perpetual censuses which were collected in money, beginning from 1409 and contained censuses collected until 1708. Number 25, lastly, contains all the documents relating to redeemed censuses comprising a set of 6 files. Each file consists of a list ordered by chronological order until 1754, with the redeemed censuses which were taxes on goods and income related to the monastery.

As it can easily be assumed, this is a very interesting section because all the scriptures appear as being collected, and contain both the date and the notary before whom they were granted, which undoubtedly helps the knowledge of the heritage of capital, also indispensable in the monasteries, as we know from many other good works, has systematized Martínez Ruiz and his group in his aforementioned work.

**Wills:** We can consider it as one of the most profitable sections of the *Cartulary* for the varied information provided. It is noteworthy that the monastery enjoyed great prestige and popularity in all social sectors of the cordoban population, which motivated many to donate part of their assets when drafting their last wishes. For this reason many were the benefactors of St. Jerome, among whom there are representatives of all social classes: ecclesiastical dignities, novices and monks of the monastery, pious women, but above all, the nobility, who, in some cases, named the monastery as their sole heir asking in return that its inhabitants would pray for their souls.

As we know, the documentation compiled in this section is of great interest for several reasons: economically, because we can also understand the properties and the money that entered the monastery through grants a or any other way ; religiously or mentally, because it offers a view of the spirituality of the time and the concept that people

had about death. But it is particularly relevant from an artistic point of view, because many were the Cordobans who spent part of their donations on the building and decoration of the monastery, specifying the amount of money intended for these purposes, with which I can start completing the knowledge we have about the factory of the monastery and, where appropriate, its maintenance and enhancement.

This way and only for the significant examples, we know that Alfón López Cejudo in his will in Córdoba on August 27, 1459 before Juan Gonzalez and Gonzalo Gonzalez, granted the Royal Monastery half of all wood of Cypress that had in his house so as to make chairs for the choir; that Beatriz Álvarez in her will of 19 January 1468 to Cordoban scribes Diego González and Fernán González, "claimed to be buried in this Royal Monastery, to whom she granted the greatest altarpiece she had in her house"<sup>5</sup>. That fray Antón, novice and son of Lucía Rodríguez, according to his last will, granted the usufruct of their property to his mother and after her death, the monastery came to benefit from it, as it is mentioned: "the obligation, conditions and payments of the importance of the painting and an altarpiece of the chancel of this Royal Monastery gold to attended by Lord Alcaide de los Donceles as patron of the chancel whose obligation was made in Córdoba April 19, 1509"<sup>6</sup>; that don Luis of Moriana by the Testament granted the monastery 7 July 1488 authorized by parents FRA Ambrosio de Córdoba and fray Nicolás de Córdoba, ordered to be buried in the monastery and would send the sixth part of some houses in the parish of san Miguel to the works on the alparpiece, and also would establish as his sole heir the monastery so his products would be applied to the work of the altarpiece<sup>7</sup>. That Juana Pacheco, who had been the wife of Don Diego Fernández de Córdoba, issued in Lucena on 11 April 1497 before Diego Ruiz and Diego of Alcantara, a testament and memorial requested to be buried in the same grave where her husband was in the monastery, and "granted to the sacristy and ornament garnished with brocade and that their property purchased inheritances"<sup>8</sup>. That Fray Pedro de Santa Maria by the Testament issued on 10 August 1508 to John Trujillo Rodríguez, "ordered that two wineries in the Sierra of Córdoba, which sold out in 74,000 maravedies to a censer, naveta and silver spoon weighing seven marcos"<sup>9</sup>. That Fray Alonso de Santiago decided in his testament issued on January 6, 1527 to Bartolomé Ruiz to leave to the monastery 10,000 maravedís so that the Holy Supper would be painted in the refectory, and became a pulpit to read<sup>10</sup>. Or that the known Cordoba FRA Ambrosio de Morales, finally, in his will

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<sup>5</sup> Protocol, f. 124r.

<sup>6</sup> Protocol, f. 125r-v.

<sup>7</sup> Protocol, f.º 128v.

<sup>8</sup> Protocol, f.º 128v.

<sup>9</sup> Protocol, f.º 128v.

<sup>10</sup> Protocol, f.º 129r.

granted on June 6, 1533 to Juan Rodríguez Trujillo, sent to the monastery the third part of the inheritance of his uncle, Fernán Pérez of Oliba, so that " his product would be really spent on tiles to cover the railings of the sobreclaustros as it had been agreed with the father Prior Father so it would also help with the railings that had to be done in the roof"<sup>11</sup>.

Finally, and just like that in other paragraphs, also in wills, the date in which they are granted and the name of the corresponding notary are shown, which allows to refer directly to the original document, if desired or required.

**Chaplaincy:** Number 26 of the *Protocol* contains all the documentation concerning the different foundations of chaplaincies and other scriptures, which is named after patron to the father at the time of the Foundation addressed by the Office of prior of the monastery. The churches that are served are mentioned on the side of the page along with and the name of the founder and the scribe of each chaplaincy and the date of erection. It also clarifies the altar of the Church that is served, the dowry of their maintenance and the Office of masses or liturgical services, specifying the number of those for weeks, months or years, as well as the type of mass for each festivity. To better illustrate what it, below is a list of chaplaincies and their correspondent founders:

Chaplaincy founded by María de Sotomayor on the altar of St Bartholomew in the parish of la Magdalena.

Chaplaincy founded by Martín Ximenez de la Huerta in the hospital of San Pedro of Bujalance.

Chaplaincy founded by Martín Ruiz in the parish of Santiago in Montilla.

Chaplaincy founded by Elvira de Angulo in the Church of the Carmelite convent of Santa Ana of Córdoba.

Chaplaincy founded by Juana de Angulo in the altar of Our Lady of the parish church of Santo Domingo de Silos.

Chaplaincy founded by Mr. Álvaro Alfonso of Astorga in the altar of san Miguel of the Cathedral of Córdoba.

Chaplaincy founded by Martín García de Cuenca in the parish church of San Lorenzo that he would serve as the Hospital of Our Lady of Villaviciosa.

Chaplaincy founded by fray Andrés de Orellana in the parish of St. Andrew.

Chaplaincy founded by Marina Towers in the Royal Monastery of Lupiana.

Chaplaincy founded by fray Diego of St. Joseph, prior of this in one thousand seven hundred four in the Royal Monastery of san Jerónimo de Valparaíso.

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<sup>11</sup> Protocol, fº 129r.



Chaplaincy in the monastery of the Cistercians of Córdoba founded by Juan de Figueroa y Alfaro.

After what is known in this regard, there is no doubt that the in-depth study of these folios is indispensable to get to know about the spiritualization of property that represents this type of gestures and its definition (GÓMEZ NAVARRO, 2003), as well as its possible economic and social nature in policies of family and economic strategies (PRO RUIZ, 1989; SORIA TABLE, 2002).

**Royal privileges:** Number 28 section describes all Royal privileges granted in various times and circumstances to Valparaíso, and that contributed to the prestige and well-being of the cordovan Jeronime community, as I myself have already advanced.

This section consists of chronological list of privileges that go from the first that was granted by John II in 1436 that three men of the community were exempt from going to war, to those awarded by Charles III in 1765, date found in this section, being one of the most important privileges that mentioned the grant by Henry IV in 1467 by which it was allowed to Jerónimos to inherit property estates as well as buy, sell, change, or dispose of these properties. From all the Kings mentioned, it can be said that the ones who mostly granted favors to the Monastery were the Catholic Monarchs, who also became their great protectors.

**Receipts and Scripture:** A heterogeneous party made up of 6 documents which correspond to different types of documents, receipts and Scriptures is grouped in this section. The respective documents to numbers 30, 32 and 34 form a *corpus* in which different existing receipts in the monastery, were inventoried both corresponding to the accounts given by the official, as some old receipts that were loose and were inventoried.

Numbers 31, 33 and 35 are a number of relative references to documents and several scriptures in which, without any order, a rather mixed data relating to several centuries ranging from 1329 to 1769 is listed. The *Tumbo* catalogued them as useless, while receipts include some whose information may be especially interesting from the artistic point of view. Therefore, a scripture issued on 24 November 1723 in Cordoba before the Francisco Vizcaíno Scrivener, "it is forced upon Jorge Mexia as principal and Andrés Aguilar as guarantor to make the retablo of the altar in wood from Segura [...] price of twenty-two thousand real which had to be given on various occasions"<sup>12</sup>.

**Varia:** Constitutes the broadest and most diverse of all the *cartulary* parts covering from folio 174 up to 260, and although it is not an ordered group, can be categorized into two distinct sectors: the first, which ranges from number 36 with their corresponding files number 42, and is dedicated exclusively to the foundation of

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<sup>12</sup> *Protocol*, f<sup>o</sup> 164r.

memories, some of which appear completely transcribed, including the will of the founder. They are as follows: Teresa's memory of Córdoba y Hoces; Antonia de la Alegría; Francisca Luxan; Francisco Fernández del Águila; of the Licensced Luis Carro Luis Carro; fray Antonio de la Cruz; and memoirs of the friars Manuel de san Buenaventura and Mota, san Clemente Francisco Lucas Melgarejo and Pedro de Ocarol y Negrete. To the knowledge of religiosity and its motivations, these records are undoubtedly indispensable.

And a second part, more heterogeneous, consisting of documents concerning wills, lawsuits, Memories Foundations - the last appearing in the *Tumbo* dates from 1779 and was instituted by don Juan de Dios Aguayo Manrique and Calvo, Lord of the Galapagares and Villaverde<sup>13</sup>-, and licenses for burial in the monastery, also important from the point of view of the religious mentality and especially artistic, offering detailed information on the chapels and altars that the Church owned and the monk's cloisters, and where the nobles had their burials.

Therefore, don Diego Fernández, doña Inés Martínez and Juana Pacheco bequeathed to this monastery generous alms and rich ornaments, and "painted the altarpiece gold, differently of what was there before, a high altar that was cost two hundred forty thousand maravedies, what was done in the year one thousand five hundred three" [...]; in gratitude, on November 25, 1502, it was awarded to the family the Major Chapel in trust and a license to be buried in it. Also, on 23 October 1518 Fernando Ruiz de Aguayo gave his testament to Alonso Fernández that was sent to be buried in the grave he had in the second chapel located on the left as you enter through the main door, which had been ordered. The priest Juan Sánchez de Torreblanca obtained license of the prior of the monastery of san Bartolomé of Lupiana to be buried in the Church of Valparaíso, in the chapel where lies the altar of the crucifix. In 1502 Martín Alonso de Córdoba won also the prior of Lupiana license to be buried in the chapel of the columns in the main cloister of the monastery from Córdoba. Or don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba y Solier as grandson of Diego Fernandez, the family being the great benefactor of Valparaíso, was buried in the Major Chapel, granting to the monastery a number of goods that paid for the covering of the Church, and which made the first canvas in the cloister and gave a rich chalice and other many jewels<sup>14</sup>.

In short, and would be the conclusion of this contribution, the importance of the *Tumbo* of san Jerónimo de Valparaíso reveals itself as paleographic and diplomatic.

At first, while in principle it may seem to lack interest, the thorough study of its writings reveals interesting deductions. The careful trace of each one of their letters,

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<sup>13</sup> *Protocol*, fº 260v.

<sup>14</sup> *Protocol*, fº 250r.

linked to the total absence of notes and corrections, denotes that the book was developed without any haste and what perhaps also means that the scribe was probably limited to copy another book. After analyzing the *Tumbo*, referring to a previous protocol - "according to former Protocol in one thousand six hundred and seventy", it says-, therefore that was currently kept safe in the Provincial historical archive of Cordoba as we know, was a copy of the conducted in that year, which was added to the information gathered subsequently to that date.

As I explained at the beginning, it was common that each monastery had several Cartularies that recorded the evolution of each of their properties in a file. We have references to other belonging to Valparaíso *protocols*, because the cordoban chronicler Ramírez de Arellano picks up a story according to which fray Luis de Córdoba, prior of that at the beginning of the 17th, "composed the file of the Scriptures and arranged for that Bernaldo de Mámol to make the Protocol and was written in a great book" (RAMIREZ DE ARELLANO; DÍAZ DE MORALES, 1901, p. 81). That there must other books of *protocols*, is obvious; however, of all those who were drafted in Valparaíso, the latter which was written and the only one that has survived in Cordoba is this present one. The purpose is to serve researchers, providing access to a book, *per se*, quite unmanageable.

With regards to the diplomatic aspects of the *Tumbo*, and especially its content, as I have gone through and hopefully demonstrated, it is undeniable that it is important for the large quantity and quality of their documentation, that allows to study the cordovan cenobite economically, socially, religiously and artistically.

Indeed, the richness, variety and diversity of information enable the timely and accurate monitoring of a very large and qualified part of the ecclesiastic establishment of the Cordoban Old Regime as it is the case before us, properties of the cordovan Jerónimo Monastery, rustic, urban, capital, and vicissitudes, toponymy, lawsuits...; in short, economic, social and cultural life of a typically renter institution like the ecclesiastical institution, although perhaps not so much any more, as it is revealed in the ongoing investigations and as Martínez Ruiz has also begun. But without them it is impossible to write the History the Cordovan Church, ultimately Spanish, of the Modern Age. Systematic, thorough and critical analysis of all the information briefly presented here, and their corresponding indexes – onomastic, topographic, thematic-, already can form an idea of the service that the monograph I prepare will pay to the end. No doubt its contents contribute to the knowledge of the economic, social and religious of the Cordoba of san Jerónimo de Valparaíso monastery foundations, at the same time, agent and reflection of a long, dense, complex and intractable interests carried out by the contacts and the time, works and days, ground and sky, as I have written on some occasion, fruitful

and unique instrument and source of relationship between body and soul, matter and spirit, exploitation and socio-experiential-religious unit. Founded in the early 15th century - 1408 specifically - Valparaíso, in fact, was always that obliged, dear and fixed reference of life and the collective conscience of the people from Córdoba, in the Church of Córdoba, and I hope that very soon, this research will be the first in Spain for years.

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