

# A POSSIBLE PERIODISATION OF THE TREATIES OF PEACE AND TRUCE BETWEEN AL-ANDALUS AND THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS (NASRID SULTANATE OF GRANADA WITH CASTILE AND ARAGON) 13<sup>TH</sup>-15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

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## ABSTRACT

The truces between the reigns of Grenade and Castile served to balance and weigh the complex relations on the border from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were an effective method to cease hostilities, and varied greatly in length. Eventually they imposed a certain rhythm on the way of life in the frontier, and worked as a common solution to avoid and offset the violence that characterized this area. By studying and analyzing their progression and features, it is possible to establish a brief characterisation and a possible periodisation for these truces over a long period of time. This helps us to understand the complexities that typified the border area<sup>1</sup>.

## KEY WORDS

Kingdom of Grenade, Kingdom of Castile, War, Truces, Border.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Granatae regnum, Castellae regnum, Bellum, Indutiae, Limen.

## 1. Truces: between war and peace

One of the essential aspects of the frontier area is the duality of war and peace displayed there<sup>2</sup>. This complex reality in turn becomes more specific given that, as Juan de Mata Carriazo states, *en la frontera de Granada, la paz y la guerra no eran esas cosas rotundas de siempre y de todas partes, ni la paz era paz, ni la guerra era guerra, en el pleno sentido de cada concepto [...] ni aún las treguas eran tales treguas; todo lo más, un estado de guerra atenuado*<sup>3</sup>. In this sense, the most accurate is to imagine the existence of three states: war, peace and between these, truces. This way, historians who have worked on the frontier of Granada have always debated about two views of this. On one hand, there is the view of frank relations and everyday good understanding, with the marked exception of the specific moments of open warfare and, on the other, those who interpret these relations as forced neighbourliness that sought survival, independently of the means used to achieve this.

It is important to emphasise this ambivalent view of the frontier and especially to detail some considerations about cross-border relations included in an institution as peculiar as the truces as these led to a series of contacts and situations that allow us to extend the systematic analysis of these and to look into the everyday relations that took place in this historical area.

Thus, as sketched out above, life on the frontier in the kingdom of Granada, marked by two well-defined geographic and socio-historical entities, was lived through two openly contradictory times: the time of war and the time of peace. This same frontier ambivalence leads us into a space that has commonly been filled with light and shadow<sup>4</sup>. While the official discourse on the letters of peace

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1. I wish to express my thanks for the methodological help from professors Constanza Rojas and Constanza López. This study is included within the project FONDECYT n. 11130061. Used abbreviations: ACA, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón; AGS, Archivo General de Simancas; AHMJF, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid); AHPJ, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén; AMC, Archivo Municipal de Córdoba; AMJ, Archivo Municipal de Jaén; AMM, Archivo Municipal de Murcia; AMS, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla; BS, British Library; BNE, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

2. Torres, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad en la frontera murciano-granadina*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 9-10.

3. "on the frontier of Granada, peace and war were not these rotund things of always and everywhere, peace was not peace, nor was war, war, in the full sense of each concept [...] nor were the truces even truces; everything else, an attenuated state of war" (Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002: 215-216).

4. Argente, Carmen. "Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 222-223.



and truce seems clear and precise, the information supplied by other documents, like the chapter records of frontier towns<sup>5</sup>, puts us in contact with fluctuating and variable relations that force us to combine the peaceful relations with the bellicose relations and the state of war and insecurity of the frontier lands<sup>6</sup>.

This makes the men that lived on the frontier displayed episodes of violence<sup>7</sup>, but also aspirations for peace that took the form of agreements or pacts of greater or lesser duration, number and frequency<sup>8</sup>. This double dimension led Manuel Rojas to affirm that the relations between the inhabitants on either side of the border could be caused by an attitude of confrontation or, in contrast, be born out of the need to coexist in this shared area<sup>9</sup>. It is no easy task to resolve this dilemma as the life of the people on the frontier cannot be defined from a single angle, as, although it is true that the confrontation emanated from more or less clearly defined ideological postures —*Jihad* in the case of the Muslims and reconquest in the case of the Christians—, it is also true that other economic factors must be added, as we know that the elites of both societies extracted huge profits from the exercise of violence. However, this was not only the case of these elites, but also sectors of the popular estates who made war into a way of earning a living<sup>10</sup>.

In this sense, in the places further from the frontier, the truces meant economic relief, a return to a certain “normality” of life, that brought with it a resumption of trade, the negotiation and freeing of captives and the possibility of economic activity free from the risk of being surprised by the enemy<sup>11</sup>. Those who did these activities carried *cartas de seguro*<sup>12</sup>

5. González, Manuel; García, Manuel. *Actas Capitulares de Morón de la Frontera (1402-1426)*. Seville: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992; Garrido, Juan Carlos. “Relaciones fronterizas con el Reino de Granada en las Capitulares del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén”, *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada...: 161-172*; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. “Los moros en las Actas del concejo de Jaén de 1479”. *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 4 (1995): 81-125.

6. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*. Alcalá la Real: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 99.

7. García, Manuel. *La Campiña Sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV)*. *Estudios Sobre Poblaciones de la Banda Morisca*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005: 99.

8. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...: 103*.

9. Rojas, Manuel. *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481): un ensayo sobre la violencia y sus manifestaciones*. Cadiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995: 227.

10. Porras, Pedro. “El derecho de Frontera durante la Baja Edad Media. La regulación de las relaciones transfronterizas en tiempo de treguas y guerras”. *Estudios dedicados a la memoria del Prof. L. M. Díez de Salazar* (1992): I, 261-287.

11. Porras, Pedro. “El derecho de Frontera...”: 261-287.

12. Here is one of these as an example: *Muy honrrado, esforçado, Fidalgo e presçiado, virtuoso e noble caballero el alcayde Abulcaçin Venegas, alguasil mayor del Señor Rey de Granada e del su Consejo: el conçejo etc. Nos vos encomendamos con voluntad muy presta de facer las cosas que ordenáres e mandares: Lorenço de Sella, genoués, morador de esta çibdad, va con nuestro seguro a esa çibdad del Reyno de Granada negociar e librar çiertas cosas de sus mercaderías. Por ende, mucho...vos pedimos, asy porquel va con nuestro seguro como por nuestra contemplación, sea bien tratado e honrrado en esa çibdad e Reyno, en todas las cosas que ouiere menester, e no le sea fecho enojo ni daño alguno. E en esto, allende de... nuestro rruego nos rremanecerremos en obligación para en las cosas que mandáredes las facer como propias vuestras. Nuestro Señor conserve vuestra virtuosa persona como... deseáis. De Jahén, XXXVI de nouiembre de LXXXIX años, Viernes 26-XI-1479* (“Very honourable, brave nobleman and esteemed, virtuous and noble knight, the warden Abulcaçin Venegas, high constable of His Highness the King of Granada and of his Council: the council etc. We commend you very willingly to do the things that you order and



from the border council. In these, they promised formally to comply with, and enforce, the truce<sup>13</sup>.

Most of the truce agreements that have reached us are from the Castilian chancellery, unlike what happened with those from Granada. The typology was varied, but the peace treaties always originated from an initiative by kings and affected all the territory. Together with this, we find documents that correspond to partial treaties that affected some sectors of the frontier and that were managed by frontier nobles<sup>14</sup>.

Regarding their contents, Manuel García Fernández states that, *la tregua fue desde siempre una institución fronteriza tremendamente monótona, que repitió desde el siglo XIII idénticas cláusulas, todas derivadas del modelo que se establece a partir del vasallaje granadino del Pacto de Jaén de 1246, protocolos y obligaciones genéricas, a nivel siempre de estado o reino; que, sin embargo, presentó importantes cláusulas particulares, específicas de cada momento histórico que no sólo las diferencian sino que las explican*<sup>15</sup>. In general, each truce had its own specific conditioning factors that depended on the historical circumstances. That is why the aspirations were not identical for those from Seville, Cordoba and Jaén, but rather that each of these understood “their peace”, “their truce”, in their own way<sup>16</sup>.

Despite the efforts envisaged by the truces, there was always a “tone of life” that was manifested in a certain uncertainty, because the danger and threat were constant, given that it was extremely difficult to impede the incursions of all kinds of adventurers, as the depopulation and lay of the land made it easy for them to penetrate the area<sup>17</sup>.

command: Lorenzo de Sella, Genoese, inhabitant of this city, go with your guarantee to that city of the Kingdom of Granada to negotiate and give some items among its merchandises. Therefore, we demand to you many things, because he goes according our safety and your contemplation, in order to be well treated and honoured in that city and Kingdom, in the different things he could need, and that he does not receive any damage and prejudice. And in this, beyond our demand, we will serve all your orders such as it are ours. May Our Lord conserve your virtuous person as... you wish. In Jaén, XXXVI of November of the year LXXXIX), in: AMJ, Actas Municipales de Jaén. Libro de Actas Capitulares, doc. n. 171; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada...*: 303.

13. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada...*: 303.

14. Argente, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia a través de los tratados de paz”, *III Estudios de Frontera, Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, coords. Jaen: Diputación de Jaén, 2002: 84.

15. “the truce was always a tremendously monotonous frontier institution, in which identical clauses were repeated from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, all derived from the model that was established from the vassalage of Granada under the Treaty of Jaén in 1246, generic protocols and obligations, always at the level of the state or kingdom; that, nevertheless, had important particular provisions, specific to each historical moment that not only differentiated them but also explained them” (García, Manuel. “Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI, 1312-1350”. *Ifigea: Revista de la Sección de Geografía e Historia*, 5-6 (1988-1989): 135); see also: García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera de Granada (siglos XIII al XV)”. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 6 (2005): 213-235; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2006: 89.

16. García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera...”; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada...*: 136.

17. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza: Guerra y paz”, *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (S. XIII-XVI): Lorca-Vera, 22 a 24 de noviembre de 1994*, Pedro Segura, dir. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997: 70.



Considering the above, it is possible to state that despite the complex frontier dynamic, the truces permitted the establishment of certain channels of coexistence between Christians and Muslims apart from possible isolated local aggressions. In this sense, they “rationalised” the life on the frontier<sup>18</sup>, making it, if you wish, “more humane” and less exposed to ideological confrontation, as shown by some of the lesser aspects of everyday neighbourliness<sup>19</sup>, like trade, grazing, exchange of garments, etc.

## 2. A proposal for periodization

An important amount of news and texts about truces have survived to our times. In some cases, we know about these from indirect references, either in chronicles or an announcement or notification. However, a considerable number of whole texts have also survived. In contrast, we could state that, although this is not a full list, it does at least include a large enough number to enable us to carry out a relatively exhaustive analysis of their contents. In this sense, any attempt to systemise the information they contain will require work to gather together and collate these contents.

From this perspective, we cannot ignore the unparalleled publications by Juan de Mata Carriazo<sup>20</sup> y Arroquia or Juan Torres Fontes<sup>21</sup>, various of whose works present an important analysis of this subject. However, most notably, they open up a broad path on the study of the frontier relations, with joint or individual works that have enriched this field. In this sense, José Rodríguez Molina has made an interesting effort of synthesis, grouping the information according to the kingdom it corresponds to, collecting a great deal of news about the truces<sup>22</sup>.

To be able to envisage the importance of this institution, it is necessary to draw up a table that combines the principal aspects dealt with in the documents (treaties or charters) that deal with these questions. Given the above, we decided to collect and review the existing materials that allow us to group and sort the information in a documentary corpus combining all the treaties, peaces and truces between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon from the epoch studied, namely the Nasrid period (1232-1492).

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18. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza...”: 72.

19. García, Manuel. “La alteridad en la frontera...”; García, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada...*: 230.

20. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. “La últimas treguas con Granada”. *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 3 (1953): 11-43; Carriazo, Juan de Mata. “Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478”. *Al-Andalus*, 2 (1954): 19, 317-364.

21. Torres, Juan. “Dualidad Fronteriza...”: 63-78; Torres, Juan. “Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478”. *Hispania*, 86 (1962): 186-229; Torres, Juan. “Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1416 a 1432. Las treguas de 1417 a 1426”. *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 6-7 (1978-1979): 297-311; Torres, Juan. “Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463”. *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 163-199; Torres, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad...*; Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010; Torres, Juan. *La frontera Murciano-Granadina*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004.

22. Especially in: Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 347- 416.



This material, as mentioned, was scattered around a range archives, sources and bibliography<sup>23</sup>. Once localised, we developed a tool to extract all the data and the main

23. Menéndez, Ramón. *Primera Crónica General de España*. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: chapter 1070; Argote, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía que dedicó al Rey Don Felipe II*. Jaen: Est. Tip. de D. Francisco López Vizcaíno, 1866: 269, 320, 366-367, 374, 392 and 527; Alarcón, Maximiliano; García de Linares, Ramón. *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*. Madrid: Imprenta de Estanislao Maestre, 1940: 2-3, 5-6, 10-11, 34-36, 54-55, 69-70 and 150-154; *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: LXVI (chapter LVIII), 46-47; *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: LXVI (chapter LIX), 47; Ibn Abi Zar<sup>c</sup>. *Rawd al-qirtas*, trans. and notes Ambrosio Huici. Valencia: Anubar, 1964: 614-618; Torres, Juan. *Instituciones...*: 251; Giménez, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada, historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos*. Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1908: 37-40, 71-72, 77-80, 80-81, 90-91, 167-169, 212-214, 229-232, 306-311, 312-313, 314-320, 322 and 325-333; Estal, Juan del. *El reino de Murcia bajo Aragón (1296-1305)*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1999: 50-53, 76-79 and 96-98; Tuñón, Manuel. *Textos y documentos de Historia Antigua, Media y Moderna hasta el Siglo XVII*. Barcelona: Labor, 1984: 458-460; Gaspar, Mariano. "El negocio de Ceuta entre Jaime II de Aragón y Aburrebia Solaimán, sultán de Fez (1309)". *Revista del Centro de Estudios históricos de Granada y su reino*, 12-3/4 (1923): 169-170; Cerdá, Francisco. *Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I*. Madrid: imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1787: 167-168, 250-252 and 618-623; Bofarull, Próspero. *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*. Barcelona: José Eusebio Montfort, 1851: VII, 176-179; Gaspar, Mariano. *Correspondencia diplomática entre Granada y Fez (siglo XIV) Extractos de la "Raihana alcuttab"*. Granada: Imprenta del Defensor, 1916: 230-231; *El perfume de la Amistad. Correspondencia árabe en archivos españoles (siglos XIII-XVII)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2010; Torres, Juan. *La frontera...*: 97, 110-111, 112, 134-135 and 138-139; Veas, Francisco. *Documentos del Siglo XIV. Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: XII, 13-14 and 163-164; Vilaplana, María Victoria. *Documentos sobre la minoría de Juan II. La regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993: 94, 150, 186-187, 438 and 466-467; Toral, Enrique. "Dos cartas al rey Mahomad V de Granada". *Boletín del Instituto Estudios Giennenses*, 140 (1989): 58; García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982: 231-232, 267-269 and 402-407; Torres, Juan. "La regencia de don Fernando de Antequera". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 14-15 (1965-1966): 145; Arribas, Mariano. *Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón*. Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 35-36, 37-39, 41-46, 47-56, 67-68, 65-66, 69-70, 75-84, 85-94 and 95-102; Alijo, Francisco. "Mercedes y privilegios a una plaza fronteriza del siglo XV: Antequera", *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*. Córdoba: 1978: 409; Salicrú, Roser. *Documents per a la historia de Granada del Regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 21-22, 51, 57-58, 199-208, 261-262 and 421-422; Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 381 and 388; Torres, Juan. "Las relaciones...": 90 and 98; Suarez, Luis. *Juan II y la frontera de Granada*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954: 38-42; García, José Antonio. "Las treguas con Granada de 1439". *Qurtuba: Estudios andalusíes*, 3 (1998): 39-45; García, José Antonio. *Treguas, guerra y capitulaciones de Granada*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 82-85, 85-86, 87-91, 92-97 and 97-105; Benavides, Antonio. *Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: VIII, 41-45; Ríos, José Amador de los. *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre las treguas celebradas en 1439 entre los reyes de Castilla y de Granada leída en varias sesiones de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1879: 128-132 and 133-137; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez, las treguas de 1450 y la guerra civil granadina", *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, José Enrique López de Coca, ed. Malaga: Diputación provincial de Málaga, 1987: 16; López de Coca, José Enrique. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 24-30; Juan, Carmen. *Colección diplomática medieval del Alcalá la Real*, ed. Francisco Toro. Jaen: Imprenta Esclavitud del Señor de la Humildad y María Santísima de los Dolores, 1988: 61; Molina, María del Carmen. *Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Murcia XVIII, Documentos de Enrique IV*. Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1988: 158-159, 160, 289-291, 434-435, 448-



information and news of the truces. To this end, we prepared a table on a spreadsheet to bring together all the information extracted from the corpus of documents.

This was how we focussed on gathering the texts and news about truces ranging from 1246 (Treaty of Jaén) until the truce of 1486, the last before the definitive capitulation of 1491. The treaties between Ibn al Ahmar and Ibn Hud are not included as these were between two Andalusian lords and as recognition by the Nasrids of Ibn Hud's authority. Thus, our register begins with the first great pact that is documented between Nasrid al-Andalus and Castile, that was of vital importance for the development of relations between the two worlds. It is also important to indicate that our list ends with the truce of 1486. The reason for this is that the pacts and treaties with Boabdil from around 1491 are not precisely a pact of truce, but rather a treaty of surrender that established capitulations with their conditions and that resulted in the handing over of Nasrid Granada and the end of al-Andalus.

### 3. Criteria for setting the information. Towards an analytical tool

To draw up a table that enables the spread of the truces over the centuries to be analysed, we eliminated all minor references (notifications, announcements, letters of credentials, etc.), those that do not supply relevant data about their contents. However, in some cases, despite the text not being available, some truces for which the chronicles contain extensive references are included.

On the other hand, only relations between states have been considered, in other words, between Granada-Castile and Granada-Aragon. Thus, we omitted all truces between private individuals. Also, these are few in number and, although they sometimes have a certain circumstantial importance, they are not relevant for the overall perspective<sup>24</sup>. This in no way implies that they were not important, but these

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449 and 509-510; Torres, Juan. *Estudio sobre la Crónica de Enrique IV*. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946: 473-474; Torres, Juan. *Estudio sobre la Crónica de Enrique IV del Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946: 355, 373-375, 375-377, 377-379 and 379-380; García, María del Mar. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xerciese. El tratado de paz de 1460". *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 11-12 (2010): 108-110; Torres, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada...": 194-195, 196, 197-198 and 198-199; Cascales, Francisco. *Discursos Históricas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Murcia y su reino*. Murcia: Francisco Benedito, 1775: 432; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez y Granada en la tregua de 1467...": 15-16; Fernández, Fernando. "Historia y descripción de la antigüedad y descendencia de la casa de Córdoba". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes*, 78 (1958): 268-271; Carandé, Ramón; Mata, Juan de. *El Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos de la Catedral de Sevilla*. Seville: Editorial Católica Española, 1968: I, 11-13 and 122-123; Rodríguez, José, dir. *Colección Diplomática del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén, siglos XIV y XV*. Jaen: Ayuntamiento de Jaén, 1985: 60-62; Bonilla, José Antonio; Toral, Enrique. *El tratado de paz de 1481 entre Castilla y Granada*. Jaen: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1982: 29-32; Porras, Pedro. "Documentos cristianos sobre mudéjares de Andalucía en los siglos XV y XVI". *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1992): 227; Garrido, Miguel. *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1992: 168-169.

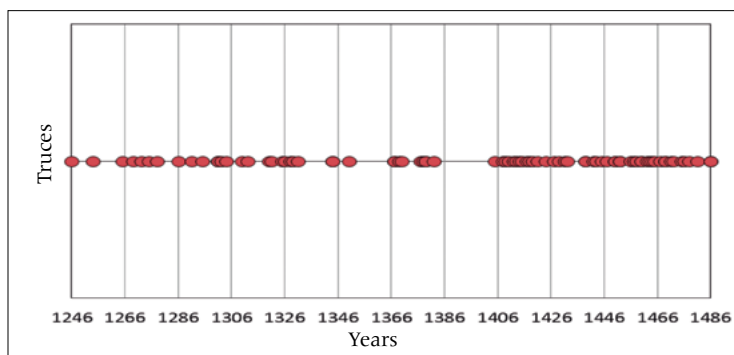
24. In fact, we know that the peaces were not an exclusive initiative of the monarchs. Lords and councils signed private pacts in line with their specific interests, and this undoubtedly helped to make life easier.



truces (for example, those agreed in 1301<sup>25</sup>, 1418<sup>26</sup>, 1467<sup>27</sup>, 1469<sup>28</sup>, 1471<sup>29</sup>), were only partial and local agreements that benefited specific interests and not the state as a whole. We also left out letters of credentials that do not contribute more information than what they normally include, likewise with proposals and negotiations that did not lead to anything. Nor have we included diplomatic relations between Fez and Granada, as these lie outwith the scope of this study, although they could well be analysed on another occasion and be used in a comparative study.

#### 4. A proposal for periodization

**Graph 1. Spread of the chronological evolution of the truces.**



Graph 1 shows the spread of the agreements for truces over time. It is interesting to observe how these are clearly clustered into two periods. The first goes from 1246 (Treaty of Jaén) to 1329, and the second, from 1405 to 1486. On the other hand, from the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, these are more widely spread, and are mainly clustered between 1366 and 1386. Despite this, the first period appears more scattered than the second, where there is a

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The Fajardos, the *adelantados* of Murcia, signed pacts in their own name with the kingdom of Granada. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 112.

25. Giménez, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada...*: 80-81.

26. Salicrú, Roser. *El Sultanato Nazarí de Granada, Génova y la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007: 199-208.

27. Fernandez de Córdoba, Francisco. "Historia y descripción de la antigüedad y descendencia de la casa de Córdoba". *Boletín de la Academia de Córdoba, de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes*, 78 (1958): 268-269.

28. García, José Antonio. *Treguas, Guerras...*: 82-86.

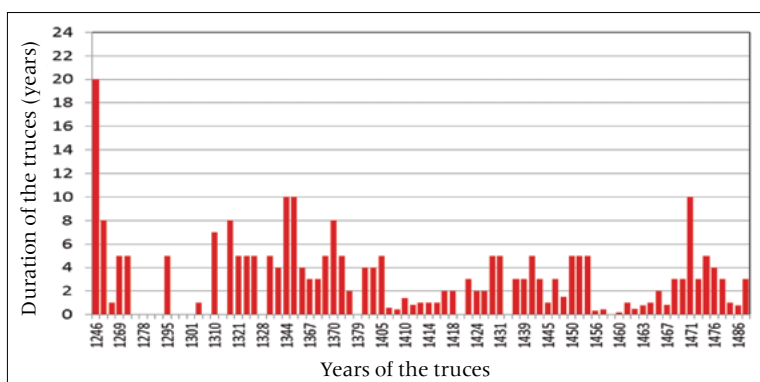
29. Carriazo, Juan de Mata. "Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478...": 349-350.





closer sequence of truces. From this, we can establish that the 15<sup>th</sup> century was the period with a greater sequence. To interpret the above in greater depth and establish certain epochs, it is necessary to cross reference the information with another type of graph.

**Graph 2. Duration of the truces (years).**



The information presented in Graph 2 complements the details from Graph 1. If we look at the “year of truce”, we can see that there was continuity in the period from 1246 to 1328. Then, from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century (1328) the sequence of truces tends to become more scattered before clustering again between 1344 and 1369, with a more regular sequence. As mentioned above, the 15<sup>th</sup> century was the century of the truces, with over 50% of the information from this vector. On the other hand, it is also interesting to verify another aspect: during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as being scattered, the truces tended to last longer, with an average of around 7.7 years, in contrast with the 2.8 years that the truces lasted in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, in the period between 1246 and 1328, we can find truces with a duration of 20 years (1246) and several that lasted between 5 and 8 years. In the period from 1344 to 1367, it is possible to verify agreements with a duration of close to 10 years (the peace treaty after the siege of Algeciras). In the case of the peaces from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, they were much shorter lasting, with only one that stretched to 10 years. This illustrates an important phenomenon that, although the truces show the possibility and intention of peace for a certain period of time, these often ended by violent action with the seizing of booty and captives. This meant the breaking of the truces. However, depending on the domestic situation, efforts were quickly made to re-establish these.

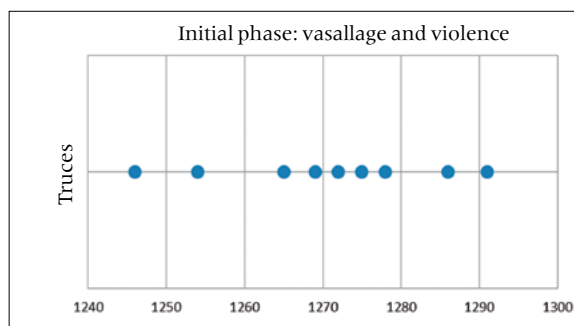
Thus, through these graphs, it is possible to see, at least roughly, three distinct moments related to the phases of the truces: one from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century to the



mid 14<sup>th</sup>, another from then to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and a third, from the start of the 15<sup>th</sup> to the end of the same century. This does not preclude the existence of fluctuation within these periods, but as an overview, it seems interesting to note the possibility of defining these three main phases.

Thus, the stage from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> to the mid 14<sup>th</sup> centuries could be called the “Initial Phase: vassalage and violence”, the second, the “Middle Phase: dispersion and peace”, and the third, the “Final Phase: of conflict and frontier violence”.

**Graph 3. Truces signed during the Initial Phase.**



This stage began with the signing of the Treaty of Jaén (1246), and concluded around 1291 with the signing of the truce between Muhammad II and Sancho IV. The initial duration of the Treaty of Jaén was 20 years and this was confirmed in 1254 by Alfonso X the Wise after the death of Ferdinand III the Saint. It lasted until 1261, when the truce was breached by the Granadans<sup>30</sup>. All this coincides with the development of Alfonso’s expansionist policy, which took the form of the conquest of the enclaves of Cadiz, Jerez and Niebla. This forced Muhammad I to resort to his fellow African Muslims, the Marinids. The rupture was widened by the Mudejar revolt of 1264, leading Granada to request a truce the following year.

However, this situation was accentuated with the internal revolt of the Asqilula, which spread due to Marinid meddling with the army. On the other hand, Alfonso X interfered in the internal affairs of Granada supporting precisely the Asqilula. Muhammad II could not resolve this complex situation facing the emirate without Marinid help.

This was also the epoch when the question of the Strait began to loom, a situation that the Marinids and Nasrids disputed. The external and internal pressures were eased with the signing of the truce of 1276, another signed in 1278, new signings in 1285 and then those of 1286 and 1291. The latter was never observed,

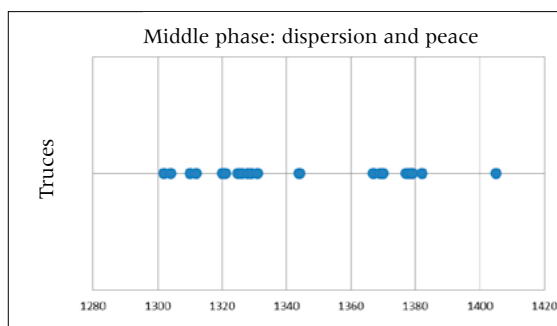
30. Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía que dedicó al Rey Don Felipe II*. Jaén: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaíno, 1866: 267.



which encouraged Granada to again negotiate with the Marinids, leading to a period of war until the death of Sancho IV on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1295<sup>31</sup>.

It is for this that it is often claimed that there were twenty years of total insecurity between 1275 and 1294, because of the endless wars<sup>32</sup>. In this sense, it is usually stated that this was a complex epoch, but that this appreciation of the existence of periods of peace and truce should also be mentioned, as these were breathing spaces in this tense panorama. However, all this leads us to think that the time on the frontier in the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century must surely have passed in an steadily worsening state of war. On the other hand, a definitive pact was signed with Aragon for trade and collaboration in 1301.

**Graph 4. The signing of truces during the Middle Phase.**



This period, that began around 1295, with the death of Sancho IV, reached its most important moment with the conquest Algeciras in 1344. This was the start of a new stage in the relations between Castile and Granada, one that ended with the Battle of Los Collejares in 1406. Indeed, this stage was characterised by less frontier violence, with rather longer pacts of truces due to factors related to the domestic situation that arose with the death of Sancho IV, and the rise of the Cerda crown princes. This situation would continue throughout the reign of Ferdinand IV (1295-1312), who had to face conflicts with members of the House of Lara. The same situation, but even more serious, affected Peter I. All this contrasted with events in Granada, where, after the rise of Yusuf I, there was a stage of consolidation that reached its peak during the reign of Muhammad V.

It is in this setting that the 14<sup>th</sup> century began with a period of weakness for the Castilians, meaning that the war against the Muslims and the conflicts on the frontier

31. Argote de Molina, Gonzalo. *Nobleza de Andalucía...*: 333.

32. García, Francisco. "La frontera Castellano-Granadina a fines del siglo XIII", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 28.



were less important<sup>33</sup>. During this century, we find a period of truces and peaces of around 85 years, while the wars were spread over 15 years<sup>34</sup>. In most cases, these clashes were not generalised, but mostly localised, such as with the sieges of certain cities. It is true that the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was an epoch of clashes and frequent sieges, but these did not occur simultaneously everywhere nor last very long. The outbreaks of war in this period were as follows. Between 1297 and 1302, there was a Granadan offensive, which led to the taking of Alcaudete, Bedmar and Quesada and the siege of Alcalá de Benzaida, followed by the Castilian counter-attack of 1309 that led to the recovery of the places that had been lost<sup>35</sup>. A significant period of confrontations began in 1319; 1328 was also a time of military incursions in the region of Jaén, and there was another outbreak of war between 1341 and 1344<sup>36</sup>.

However, the existence of ten treaties of truce from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century must be taken into account. Some of these were long-lasting, like the one between 1303 and 1309, ratified in 1307 and 1309, the year when war was declared, to then find three years of extensions of the truce (1310, 1311 and 1312), which gives us a insight of certain periods of war aimed more at conquering lands and fortresses than the demand to sign peaces and truces, with recognition of vassalage to Castile and the corresponding payment of taxes<sup>37</sup>.

All this turbulence in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century ended around 1344, after the siege of Algeciras, when the Peace of Algeciras was signed and lasted ten years. Thus, in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were around thirty years of truce and peace (shown in graph 2), only counting on the news we have about peace treaties and the signing of truces and their respective duration. To this, we must add the months when there was no fighting because of the suspension of the conflict. In line with this, there are 18 mentions of war in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century saw a series of acts of war with the destruction of Jaén, Úbeda, the siege of Baeza and various attacks on Cordoba. However, all these incursions were very localised and due more to the civil war between Peter I and Henry II than the conflicts between Castile and Granada. Henry, on his part, was just as indisposed to the Granadans, allies of the legitimate monarch, that, when he reached power, he did what he could in a simulated way to sign truces with Granada, as he had enough work dealing with the disorganisation and problems of Castile, just after a cruel war<sup>38</sup>.

33. Segura, Cristina. "Las reinas castellanas y la frontera en la Baja Edad Media", *IV Estudios de Frontera. Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la Frontera. Homenaje a Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*. Jaen: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2002: 519-534.

34. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 104.

35. Ladero, Miguel Ángel. "Los Estados Peninsulares a la muerte de Alfonso X el Sabio". *VII Centenario del Infante Don Fernando de la Cerda, Jornadas de Estudio*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 1976: 332-333.

36. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

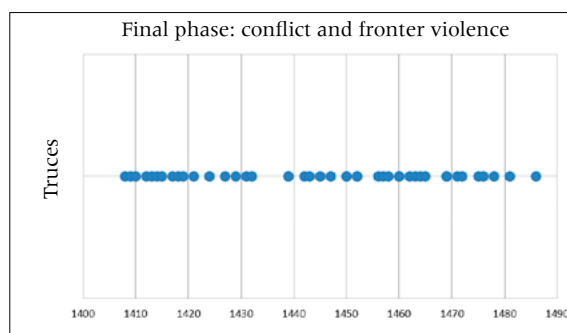
37. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

38. Segura, Cristina. "La reinas castellanas...": 527.



In these reflections, Rodríguez Molina concludes that *en el siglo XIV las proporciones temporales más significativas fueron favorables a las treguas, pues sólo éstas ocuparían en torno a un cómputo estimado del 85% de la centuria y únicamente el 15% de ella y no completo, compondría el tiempo ocupado por las confrontaciones bélicas. Es decir, que durante un tiempo aproximado a los 85 años se pudieron practicar actividades comerciales, arrendamientos de pastos y tierras de cultivo*<sup>39</sup>.

**Graph 5. Signing of truces during the Final Phase.**



Except for the Battle of Los Collejares, the conquest of Antequera and the Battle of La Higueruela, the wars in the 15<sup>th</sup> century were brief affairs. However, the peaces and truces occurred almost annually, with short gaps between them, marked by the cavalry raids and certain frontier violence. This phase coincided with the rule of John II and Henry IV in Castile, and that ended with the rise of the Catholic Monarchs. From this point of view, there was a phase of consolidation by Castile, although not free of problems of succession and tantrums by the nobility, especially that frontier, differentiated from the internal processes that began to undermine the fragile stability of the Nasrid state, especially in the unstable decade from 1445-1455, and that Francisco Vidal Castro has clearly identified. This stage concluded in 1486 with the truce prior to the capitulations and handing over of the capital of Granada.

In this sense, in the words of Juan Torres Fontes,

*desde la conquista de Antequera hasta el comienzo de la definitiva campaña de de 1482, que acabaría con la conquista total del reino de Granada, se caracterizó por una sucesión casi continuada de las treguas, cuya ruptura formal, tanto en el reinado de Juan II como en el Enrique IV, no cambiaría sustancialmente la situación, aunque ocasionalmente*

39. "in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the longest periods of time were favourable to the truces, as these alone occupied an estimated 85% of the century and only 15% of it, and not all this, was taken up by armed confrontations. In other words, during around 85 years, one could trade, lease pastures and fields" (Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 107).



*se modificarán las condiciones económicas y geográficas entre ambos reinos, todo queda dependiente de las respectivas situaciones a la hora de renovar las treguas, la cuantía de las parias a pagar y de los cautivos a entregar. Hubo también incorporaciones territoriales de importancia, como Archidona y Gibraltar, aunque la conquista de esas plazas fronterizas no modificarán ni supondrán un reajuste extraordinario de la frontera para los dirigentes granadinos, porque todo siguió sensiblemente igual<sup>40</sup>.*

Thus, at least, González Jiménez also saw this for the area of Morón, where, between 1402 and 1427, relations between Castile and Granada were good, except for the 1405-1410 period<sup>41</sup>. However, with the exception of the Battle of Los Collejares, the conquest of Antequera and the Battle of La Higuera, as stated above specific events, the longest period of war was the one between 1430 and 1439<sup>42</sup> and, even here, we find peaces signed within this same period, like that of 1431<sup>43</sup>.

So, apart from the relevant events of war mentioned, short in duration, the most prolonged period of war was between 1430 and 1439 (during the reign of John II), which, in turn, fell inside a longer phase that stretched from 1432 to 1454<sup>44</sup>. However, within this phase, we can distinguish a first period of war, as mentioned, from 1430 to 1439. A second phase, of peace, lasted from 1439 to 1445, with no significant modifications to the frontier. The events of 1445 to 1452 were very different. There was a Granadan predominance on the frontier and a manifest weakness of the Castilians. During this period, the rulers of Castile worked to counterbalance their military weakness on the frontier with political intrigues and financial assistance to the crown princes of Granada who aspired to take the throne. This was the turbulent decade that began in 1445 and led to a civil war in the Emirate of Granada.

A fourth phase stretched from 1452 to 1454, and was characterised by the onslaught by the nobles that brought down Álvaro de Luna's government and led to his execution, and which prevented Castile from carrying out any foreign adventure. This was the start of a stage marked by frontier skirmishes mainly aimed at seizing bounty and captives for sale and exchange.

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40. "from the conquest of Antequera to the start of the definitive campaign of 1482 that would end with the total conquest of the Kingdom of Granada, was characterised by an almost continuous succession of truces, whose formal rupture, under the reigns of both John II and Henry IV, did not substantially change the situation, although occasionally the economic and geographic conditions between the two kingdoms were modified, everything remained dependent on the respective situations when it came to renewing the truces, the amount to pay in tributes and the captives to be handed over. There were also important territorial incorporations, like Archidona and Gibraltar, although the conquest of these frontier places did not modify nor mean any extraordinary readjustment of the frontier for the Granadan leaders, because everything remained basically the same" (Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: HUM-165: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010: 84); Torres, Juan. *La frontera Murciano-Granadina...*:158.

41. González, Manuel. "Morón, una villa de frontera (1402-1427)", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada...*: 57.

42. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 108.

43. Rodríguez, José. *La vida de moros...*: 105.

44. See the recently-published work by: Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)...*: 14-15.



Thus, the internal struggle and weakness of the monarchy then impeded any Castilian activity beyond the borders. All attention was focussed on maintaining a predominant position and securing possession of lands, awaiting Henry IV's accession and immediate decisions. This waiting attitude affected the frontier and lasted until the death of John II<sup>45</sup>.

Then, during the reign of Henry IV and until 1488, when the Catholic Monarchs began the final war against Granada, the frontier remained stable in many sectors, although it was not free from individual offensive actions. At this time, cattle rustling raids by Castilian councils became more dangerous when these were between a Christian council and a Muslim one. There was no lack of motives for retaliation, skirmishes, logging and burning, unexpected seizures, theft and even more-serious actions. All this is reflected in the local annals<sup>46</sup>.

Thus, this century was characterised, in general terms, by a practically uninterrupted continuity of truces, only broken by frequent raids, always localised, of no great importance except for a few larger ones. Many of the truces were signed effectively to stem brief and sporadic breaks by some of the parties to the existing peace and truce.

## 5. Final words

From the systematisation of the information about the truces, we have defined a progression of these in a dynamic that appeared with the passing of time, establishing three phases in the evolution of the truces: the first, from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century to the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, the second, from the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the third, from the beginning to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In view of their characteristics, these are defined as the "Initial Phase: vassalage and violence"; "Middle Phase: dispersion and peace" and "Final Phase: of conflict and frontier violence".

Although it is true that some sub-periods can be recognised inside each of these, addressing minor alterations could lead to complex subdivisions that would impede an overview. Moreover, a possible contribution of this periodisation lies in it being structured from the nature and contents of the truces, not from the historical evolution of the states involved, although, logically, this is one of the determining factors of the truces.

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45. Torres, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*...: 16.

46. García, Manuel. "Un episodio de la Frontera de Granada: el Madroño 1462". *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 79 (1974): 10.



## Appendix. Pacts, truces and peaces

Year	Title	Archive	Editor	In	Date, Place, Pages	Date of the signing of the Document	Place	Date of entry into force	Date of expiry	Duration	Granting / authorizing
1246	Pact of Jaén		Menéndez Pidal, Ramón	<i>Primera Crónica General de España</i>	Madrid: Gre-dos, 1977, chap. 1070	1246	Jaén	1246		20 years	Ferdinand III of Castile
1254	Confirmation of truces with Mahmud Aboadille Aben Azar Alhamar		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: Chap. I, Vol. II, 269	1254		1254	1262	8 years	Alfonso X the Wise of Castile
1265	Request for truce by Granada		Rosell, Cayetano	<i>Colección de Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla</i>	Madrid: Atlas (Biblioteca Autores Españoles), 1953, t. I, vol. LXVI, p. 11	1265	Alcalá de Benizayde	1265	1266	1 year	Alfonso X the Wise of Castile
1269	Peace treaty between Muhammad II and James II	ACA, Canillería, R. 340, f 68	Alarcón y Sanz, Maximiliano and García de Linares, Ramon	<i>Los Documentos Árabes Diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i>	Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Serie C., núm. I, 1940, 2-3	1269, 15th May 695, Rayab	Orhuela			Lifelong	Muhammad II
1272	Truce between Granada and Ricos Hombres		Rosell, Cayetano	<i>Colección de Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla</i>	Madrid: Atlas (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles), 1953, t. I, vol. LXVI, 32-33	1272		1272		Lifelong	Alamir Aboadille, Amir amus Lemin, Don Felipe
1275	Ratification of peace between the Castellians and Granadans		Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso	<i>Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla</i>	Biblioteca Autores Españoles. Madrid: Atlas (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles), 1953: LXVI, chap. LVIII, 46-47; chap. LIX, 47	1475	Seville				Alfonso X the Wise of Castile





1278	Peace between Granada, Castile and Benimires		Ibn Abi Zar	Rawd al Qirtas	Ambrosio Huici, trans. and annot. Valencia: Anular, 1964: 614-618	1277, November		1278, 24th February			Ibn-al-Ahmar, Abu Yusuf
1286	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>Instituciones y Sociedad en la frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 251	1286		1286			
1291	Peaces between Castile and Granada		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. XXIV, 320	Early May 1291					
1295	Letter between Don Jaime and Mahomat Aboadille Abenatar	ACA. Cancillería, R. 252, f.121	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 37-40	1295, 18th November	Barcelona			Lifelong	James II of Aragon
1301	Letter of truce between James and Alamir Mahomad	ACA. Cancillería, R. 334, f.36	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 77-80	1301, 16th September	Saragossa	1302, 1st January			James II of Aragon
1301	Treaty of peace and alliance between Muhammad II and James II of Aragon against Castile	Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, ed. Maximiliano Aarón Alarcón, Ramón García de Linares. Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940: 8-10	Tuñón de Lara, M.	<i>Textos y documentos de Historia Antigua, Media y Moderna hasta el Siglo XVII</i>	Barcelona: Labor, 1984: 458-460	1301, 31st December / 701, rabi second last day					Muhammad II



1302	Treaty between the king of Aragon and the king of Granada		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 90-91	1302, 24th February	Granada	1302, 1st March	1 year	King of Aragon
1304	Agreements between Ferdinand IV and Muhammad III		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866; chap. XLI, vol. II, 366-367	1304				Ferdinand IV of Castile
1310	Peace treaty between Ferdinand IV of Castile and Nasr		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 167-169	1310, 26th May	Seville	1310, 26th May	7 years	Ferdinand IV of Castile
1312	Treaty between Peter I and Mahomad Aben Azar		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866; chap. XLVII, vol. II, 374	1312, 7th September		1312		Peter I of Castile
1320	Peace between the kings of Castile and Granada		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 212-214	1320, 18th June	Baena	1320, 18th June	8 years	King of Castile
1321	Treaty of peace and friendship between Ismail I of Granada and James II		Alarcón y Santón, Maximiliano y García Linares, Ramon	<i>Los Documentos Árabes Diplomáticos del Arçivo de la Corona de Aragón</i>	Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940: Serie C, num. 1, 34-36	1321, 16th May/ 721, Rabi second 17	Granada?	1321, 16th May	5 years	Ismael I
1325	Peace between James II and Mahomed		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 229-232	1325, 23rd February	Barcelona	1325, 23rd February	5 years	Mohamad



1326	Treaty of peace between Muhammad IV and James II	ACA. Cartd-lleria, R. 55	Alarcón y Samián, Mariano and García Linares, Ramon	<i>Los Documentos Arabes Diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i>	Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940; Serie C, num. 1, 54-55	1326, 15th May /726, Yumada second 11	Granada	1326, 17th May	5 years	Muhammad IV
1328	Truces between King D. Alonso and Mahomad of Granada		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Noblez de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. LXI, vol. II, 392	1328				King Alfonso
1329	Truce between Granada and Castile		Cerdá y Rico, Francisco	<i>Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I</i>	Madrid: Antomnio de Sancha, 1787: 167-168	1329	Seville		for a certain time	King Alfonso XI
1331	Truces between Granada and Castile		Cerdá y Rico, Francisco	<i>Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I</i>	Madrid: Antomnio de Sancha, 1787: 250-252	1331, 19th February	Seville		4 years	King Alfonso XI
1344	Truce between Granada and Castile, Treaty of Algeciras		Cerdá y Rico, Francisco	<i>Crónica del Rey D. Alfonso Onceno, Parte I</i>	Madrid: Antomnio de Sancha, 1787: 618-623	1344, 26th March			10 years	King Alfonso XI
1344	Incomplete copy of the peace treaty sent to the Castilian chancellory by Peter IV, King of Aragon, and the Duke of Genoa	ACA. Cartas Reales num. 84	Bofarull, Próspero de	" Colección de Documentos Ineditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón ", 7	<i>Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia</i> . Barcelona: José Eusebio Montfort, 1851: VII, 176-179	1344, 25th March			10 years	
1367	Peace treaty for three years signed by Muhammad V of Granada and King Peter IV of Aragon	ACA. Cartas árabes 75. Pergamino 63x7 x 37	A.A.VV	<i>El perfume de la Amistad. Correspondencia diplomática árabe en archivos españoles (siglos XIII-XVII)</i>	Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2009	1367, 10th March	Granada	1367, 10th March	3 years	Muhammad V of Granada



1367	Peace treaty for three years between Peter IV and Mohamed V of Granada in his second reign	ACA. R. 1389, f.3	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 306-311	1367, 10th March	Lleida		3 years	Peter IV of Aragon
1369	Treaty between Peter IV and Mohamed V of Granada on his own behalf and on behalf of that of the sultan of Morocco		Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 312-313	1369, 17th November			5 years	Peter IV of Aragon
1370	Truce between Granada and Castile for eight years, it includes Benimarrin		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 97	1370, 1st June			8 years	
1377	Peace treaty for five year between Aragón and Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R. 1389-133	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 314-320	1377, 27th May	Barchna	Feast of Saint John, June	5 years	Peter IV of Aragon
1378	Extension of the truce of 1370, for two years	AGS. Estado, Francia, K-1710, fol 6. Original on paper	Toral y Fernández de Peñaranda, Enrique	"Dos cartas del rey Mahomad V de Granada"	<i>Boletín de Instituto de Estudios Giennenses</i> , 140, Jaén, 1989, 58	1378, 10th February		1378, 1st June	2 years	
1379	Confirmation of truces between Granada and Castile		Argote de Molina, Gonzalo	<i>Nobleza de Andalucía</i>	Jaen: Establecimiento tipográfico de Don Francisco López Vizcaino, 1866: chap. CXXXIV, vol. II, 527	1379, 9th May				John I of Castile?
1379	Confirmation of truces between Granada, Castile, Fez and Tremecen		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 110-111	1379, 21st August		1379, 21st August	4 years	Henry II of Castile
1382	Extension of the truce of 1379, between Granada and Castile. It includes Fez.		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 112-113	1382		1382, 1st October	4 years	



1405	Peace treaty for five years between Martin, King of Aragon and his son, Martin of Sicily with the sultan of Granada, Mohamed VII	ACA. Cancillería, R. 2248, f. 131	Giménez Soler, Andrés	<i>La Corona de Aragón y Granada. Historia de las relaciones entre ambos reinos</i>	Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de la Caridad, 1908: 325-333	1405, 4th May	Barcelona	1405, 5th May	1410, 5th May	5 years	King Martin of Aragon, King Martin of Sicily
1408	Concession of a truce for seven months		Torres Fontes, Juan	"La regencia de don Fernando de Antequera"	Miscelánea de estudios arabes y hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam, 14 (1965): 145			1408, 15th April	1408, 15th November	7 months	Ferdinand I of Aragon
1409	Ambassadors of Granada in Valladolid. New Truces	Crónica de Juan II, chap. 121	Carriazo, Juan de Mata	<i>Crónica de Juan II</i>	Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1982: 267-269	1409	Valladolid	1409, 31st August		5 months	King, Queen and Prince
1410	Treaty of truces with Granada	Cónica de Juan II, chap. 191	Carriazo, Juan de Mata	<i>Cónica de Juan II</i>	Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1982: 402-407	1410, 10th November		1410, 10th November	1412, 10th April	17 months	Don Ferdinand, Queen Catalina
1412	Extension of the truce of 1410		Aljo Hidalgo, Francisco	"Mercedes y privilegios a una plaza fronteriza del siglo XV: Antequera"	<i>Andalucía Medieval. Actas del I Congreso de Andalucía (Córdoba, noviembre 1979)</i> , Córdoba: Monte de Piedad, 1982: 409	1412, 10th April		1412, 10th April	1413, 5th February	10 months	
1413	Letter of truces between Ferdinand I and Yusuf III	ACA. Cancillería, R. 2.404, fol. 31 r., l. 1.	Arribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las tréguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 67-68	1414, 28th February	Saragossa			1 year	
1414	Truce between Castile and Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R. 3.397, fol. 179 r., l. 1	Arribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las tréguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 75-84	1414, 22nd May		1414, 14th April	1415, 15th April	1 year	
1415	Truce between Castile and Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R. 2.397, fol. 175 r., l. 1.	Arribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las tréguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 85-94	1415, 1st February		1415, 16th April	1416, 17th April	1 year	Ferdinand I of Aragon



1417	Prolongation of the Truce of 1415		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X, 2004: 134-135			1417, 16th April	1419, 16th April	2 years	John II of Castile
1418	Truce agreed between Alfonso the Magnanimous and the Alcaide Hayren, Messenger of Muhammad VIII of Granada	ACA. Cancillería, R., reg. 2641, ff.153v-156r.	Salicrú i Lluçh, Roser	<i>El Sultanato Nazarí de Granada, Génova y la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV</i>	Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001: 199-208	1418, 4th and 5th July	Saragossa			2 years	Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon
1419	Extension of the truce of 1417		Torres Fontes, Juan	<i>La frontera murciana-granadina</i>	Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X, 2004: 138-139			1419, 18th April	1421, 18th April		
1421	Truce between Granada and Castile		Rodríguez Molina, José	<i>La vida de mores y cristianos en la frontera</i>	Jaen: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 381	1421, 15th July	Tordessillas	1421, 16th July	1424, 15th July	3 years	John II of Castile
1424	Letter of truces between John II of Castile and Abu Abd Allah Muhammad VII, <i>el Equitardo</i>	BNE, ms. núm., 13.259, fol. 380 r., l. 5.	Arribas Palau, Mariano	<i>Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Ferrnando I de Aragón</i>	Tetouan: Editora Marroquí, 1956: 95-102	1424, 11th June	Villa de Ocaña	1424, 15th July	1426, 16th July	2 years	John II of Castile
1427	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las relaciones Castellano-Granadinas, 1427-1430"	<i>Relaciones exteriores del renio de Granada. IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza</i> , Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 90	1427, 16th February		1427, 16th February	1429, 16th February	2 years	
1429	Extension of the previous truce		Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las relaciones Castellano-Granadinas, 1427-1430"	<i>Relaciones exteriores del renio de Granada. IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza</i> , Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 98	1429, 5th February				undefined	John II of Castile



1431	Pact of vassalage between John II and Yucef Aben Al-Maul		Benavides, Antonio	<i>Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada</i>	Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: vol. 8, 41-45	1431, 16th December	Ardales	1431, 16th December	life long	John II of Castile
1432	Recognition of vassalage by Yusuf IV to John II	AGS. Patronato Real. Leg. 1, fol. 124	Suarez, Luis	"Juan II y la frontera de Granada"	<i>Cuadernos de Historia Medieval</i> , 2 (1954): 38-42	1432, 27th January	Granada			John II of Castile
1439	Truce for three years agreed by Inigo López de Mendoza with Abd Allah al-Amin	Archivo Domenecq-Zurita, Señorío de Fernández de Zurita (Olim) n°7; n° 13 (folio 2v)	García Luján, José Antonio	"Las treguas con Granada de 1439"	<i>Quarta, Estudios Andalteses</i> , 3 (1998): 39-45	1439, 11th April	Jaén	1439, 15th April	3 years	John II of Castile
1439	Muhammad IX signs the truces with John II of Castile	AMC. Libro Azul, ff. 56-57	Aldón, Manuel and Martín, José	"La embajada de Diego Fernández de Zurita al Sultán Muhammad IX de Granada"	<i>Al-Andalus-Magreb</i> , 5 (1997): 69-70	1439, s.m.	Granada	1439, 15th April	3 years	Muhammad IX
1442	Copy of the Charter and Liti-gation that a city sent by order of his majesty, in the year 1442, to the Moorish king of Granada and the prince don Mahomat, his nephew and the heir to his kingdom, assuring them that for a period of five years no damage or harm would be done to the cities and places of his kingdom	Legajo particular de Alfonso Calonje	Martín Rosales, Francisco	"Documentos sobre la Frontera de Alcalá la Real"	<i>III Estudios de Frontera, Convivencia, Defensa y comunicación en la frontera. En memoria de don Juan de Mata, Carriazo y Arroquia</i> , Jaen: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 2000: 861				5 years	John II



1443	John II of Castile concedes a truce for three years to the Emir of Granada. An annex contains the Nazarine commitment to pay the parias and hand over captives	BL. Additonal Ms. N° 9.924, fols. 227-235	López de Coca, José Enrique	"Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas"	<i>Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino</i> , (2 <sup>nd</sup> epoch), 12 (1998): 24-30	1443, 20th March	Escalona	1443, 15th April	1446, 16th April	3 years	John II
1445	Memorial whereby Bartomeu Reus, royal secretary and ambassador of John of Navarre to Alfonso the Magnanimous, answers John on behalf of Alfonso, who agrees to sign a truce for a year with Yusuf V	ACA. Cancillería, reg. 2698, ff. 135r-138r.	Salicrú i Lluch, Roser	<i>Documents per a la Història de Granada del Regnat d' Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)</i>	Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003: 421-422	1445, 21st October	Adria			1 year	Alfonso the Magnanimous
1447	Prorogue of Truce between Granada and Castile		Rodríguez Molina, José	"La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera"	Jaen: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 388	1447, 17th October		1446, April	1449, March	3 years	John II
1450	Proclamation of dismissal	AHMJF: Archivo del Concejo, 1450, fol.143 v	Abellán Pérez, Juan	"Jerez. Las Treguas de 1450 y la Guerra civil Granadina"	<i>Estudios sobre el Reino de Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el IV Centenario de la Conquista</i> . Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987: 16	1450, 27th March		1450, 27th March		18 months	
1450	John II communicates the granting of truces	AHMJF: Archivo del Concejo, 1450, fols. 168 r-v	Abellán Pérez, Juan	"Jerez. Las Treguas de 1450 y la Guerra civil Granadina"	<i>Estudios sobre el Reino de Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el IV Centenario de la Conquista</i> . Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 1987: 16	1450, 7th April	Arévalo			5 years	John II of Castile





1452	Missive from John II to the city of Alcalá la Real, stating that he has given powers to D. Pedro de Aguilar to make a truce for five years with the king of Granada	Colectión Diplomática Alcalá la Real. Orig. 310 x 295 mm.	Juan Lovera, Carmen	<i>Colectión Diplomática Medieval de Alcalá la Real</i>	Alcalá la Real: Esclavitud del Señor de la Humildad y María Santísima de las Dolores, 1988: 140-142	1452, 16th August	Burgos	1452, 1st September	5 years	John II of Castile
1452	John II informs the council of Murcia that truces have been signed with Granada for five years	AMM, Caja I, núm. 104	Abellán Pérez, Juan	<i>Documentos de Juan II</i>	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1984: 665-667	1452, 16th August	Burgos	1452, 1st September	5 years	John II of Castile
1456	Zaad, King of Granada, negotiates truces with Juan Bravo, representative of Pedro Girón, Master of Calatrava	AHPJ. Archivo de los Condes de Humanes, legajo 15.789. Copia coetánea de la Chancillería Granadina	Porrás Arbolada, Pedro	"Documentos sobre musulmanes y judíos en archivos señoriales y de protocolos (siglos XV y XVI)"	<i>Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales y Ciencias Históricas</i> , 16 (1991): 152	1456, 10th October	Granada	1456, 16th October	4 months	Zaad, King of Granada
1457	Royal Charter to Diego Puerocarrero about the truce signed for five months	AMM, cartá original, caja I, nº 130	Molina Grande, María de la Concepción	<i>Documentos de Enrique IV</i>	<i>Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia</i> . Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio (Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Granada, 18), 1988: 160	1457, 16th October	Jaén	1457, 31st October	5 months	King of Castile
1458	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	"Enrique IV y la frontera de Granada"	<i>Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo</i> . Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1971: 3, 355	1458, August-September				Henry IV et Castile



1460	Royal order, notifying the truce signed with Granada	AMM. Cartulario Real, fs. 99v-100r	Molina Grande, María de la Concepción	"Documentos de Enrique IV"	<i>Colección de Documentos para la Historia del Reino de Murcia</i> . Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio (Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Granada, 18), 1988: 160, 289-291	1460, 3rd April	Madrid	1460, 15th April	1461, 15th April	1 year	Henry IV et Castile
1460	Articles of the truce signed by Henry IV and don Sad of Granada	AMI. A.C., 1460, fs. 61v-62r	García Guzmán, María del Mar	"Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xercicense. El tratado de paz de 1460"	<i>Estudios sobre Patrimonio Cultural y Ciencias Médicas</i> , 11-12, (2010): 108-110	1460, 3rd April	Madrid	1460, 15th April	1461, 15th April	1 year	Henry IV et Castile
1462	Don Pedro Girón, Master of Calatrava announces a six-month truce with King Ismael of Granada	AMM. Cartulario Real 1453-1478, fol. 148.	Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1464"	<i>Hispania, Revista Española de Historia</i> , 23/90 (1963): 196	1462, 30th November	Porcuna		1463, 1st May	6 months	Henry IV et Castile
1463	Order from Enrique IV to Don Pedro Girón, Master of Calatrava, to agree a truce with the Kingdom of Granada	AMM. Cartulario Real 1453-1478, fol. 153 r.	Torres Fontes, Juan	"Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1465"	<i>Hispania, Revista Española de Historia</i> , 90 (1963): 197-198	1463, 27th January	Almazán			8 months	Henry IV et Castile
1464	Royal order to those on the frontier with the kingdom of Granada, notifying them of the truce signed by their king	AMM. Carta Original, caja 1, n° 150; Cart. cit., fol. 165v.	Molina Grande, María de la Concepción	"Documentos de Enrique IV"	Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio (Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Granada, 18), 1988: 509-510	1464, 14th March	Jaén			1 year	Henry IV of Castile
1465	Prorogue of the truce of 1464		Cascales, Francisco	<i>Discursos Históricos de Murcia y su reino</i>	Murcia: Francisco Benedito, 1775: 432	1465, 28th May	Salamanca			2 years	Henry IV of Castile



1469	The sheiks Abd Allah b. Inan, Ammar b. Musa and Kahhu and commanders Alonso de Lisón and Diego Soto, agree to a truce for three years	AHN. Archivo de los Duques de Frías, Catálogo 15, n. 2. Papel, 300/425mm. (Olim) Gaxón 11, n. 128	García Luján, José Antonio	<i>Treguas, Guerras y Capitulaciones de Granada</i>	Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1998: 82-85	874 E.H. Muharran/ 1469, 29th July	Llano de Guadalupe	874 E.H. 19th of Muharran/ 1469, 29th July	3 years	
1469	Three-year truce agreed by Ainen, Amir Abénamar, Raho and Abulhaya and Diego López Pacheco	AHN. Archivo de los Duques de Frías, Catálogo 15, n. 2. Papel, 300/425mm. (Olim) Gaxón 11, n. 128	García Luján, José Antonio	<i>Treguas, Guerras y Capitulaciones de Granada</i>	Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1998: 85-86	1469, 29th July		1469, 29th July	3 years	
1471	Truce between Granada and the faction of the Duke of Cabra	Colección Diplomática de Enrique IV. n.º CXI, p. 659	Carriazo, Juan de Mata	"Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478"	<i>Al-Andalus</i> , 19/2 (1954): 349-350	1471, December	Granada		10 years	Aly son of Abu-I-Nasar
1472	Peace treaty between Mawlay Hasan, King of Granada, and Henry IV of Castile	AHN. Archivo de los Duques de Frías, Catálogo 15, n.3. Vitela, 565/600 mm. (Olim) Gaxón 19, n. 26, n. 58. Vilella, vol. 99	García Luján, José Antonio	<i>Treguas, Guerras y Capitulaciones de Granada</i>	Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1998: 92-97	1472, 18th January	Granada	1472, 18th January	3 years	Henry IV of Castile
1475	Letter of truce with the Kingdom of Granada	AMC. Tombo de los Reyes Católicos. I. 63.	Carriazo, Juan de Mata; Carandé, Ramón	<i>El Tombo de los Reyes Católicos del Concejo de Sevilla</i>	Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1968: I. 122-123	1475, 17th November	Valladolid		<i>Tiempos a nosotros bien visto</i>	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella



1476	Exchange of letters about the signing of peace between the Catholic Monarchs and Muley Abulhacen, King of Granada	AMI. Actas de 1476, fols. 29r-30v.	Rodríguez Molina, José (Dir)	<i>Colección Diplomática del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén, Siglos XIV y XV</i>	Jaen: Exmo. Ayuntamiento de Jaén, 1985: 60-62	1476, 11th January	Jaén	1477, 11th March	1481, 11th March	4 years	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella
1478	Truce between Granada and Castile		Torres Fontes, Juan	Las treguas castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478	<i>Hispania. Revista Española de Historia</i> , 36 (1962): 219-220	1478			1481	3 years	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella
1481	1481 Peace treaty between Castile and Granada	AHN, Sección del Clero, legajo nº 2.456/2	Bonilla y Mir, José; Toral, Enrique	<i>El Tratado de Paz de 1481 entre Granada y Castilla</i>	Jaen: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1982: 29-32	1481, 1st March	Granada	1481, 12th March	1482, 11th March	1 year	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella
1486	King Ferdinand informs the council of Úbeda about the capitulation he had agreed with King Boabdil	Archivo Municipal de Úbeda	Porras, Pedro	"Documentos cristianos mudéjares de Andalucía en los siglos XV y XVI"	<i>Anaqueel de Estudios Arabes</i> , 3 (1992): 227	1486, 30th May	Loja	1486, 29th May	1487, 30th January	8 months	Ferdinand the Catholic
1486	Truce and peace for three years in the cities and towns that rose for Boabdil	Archivo de la Casa de Zaira. Carpeta C. núm. 7, fol 7j.	Garrido Ariza, Miguel	<i>Las Capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada</i>	Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1992: 168-169	1486, 5th June	Valdepeñas	1486, 5th June		3 years	Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella

