RESCUE OF CHRISTIAN CAPTIVES IN TRUCES BETWEEN CASTILE AND THE NASRID EMIRATE OF GRANADA (13TH-15TH CENTURIES). A PROPOSED ANALYSIS

DIEGO MELO CARRASCO AND FRANCISCO VIDAL-CASTRO
UNIVERSIDAD ADOLFO IBÁÑEZ AND UNIVERSIDAD DE JAÉN
CHILE-SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the rescue of captives during truces signed by the Nasrid Emirate of Granada (1232-1492) and the Kingdom of Castile during the 13th-15th centuries. We know that one of the major impacts of border activity and battles beyond it was the taking of captives, who suffered the consequences while maintaining a distant hope for rescue. The lucky ones found their freedom, whether because they were indeed rescued or because they escaped.

For both capture and rescue, the texts of the truces include a series of mechanisms that respond to a border context undergoing phases of violence and influenced by the internal problems of each state.¹

KEY WORDS

Nasrid Emirate of Granada, Kingdom of Castile, Captives, Capture, Rescue.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Granatae Emiratum Nazarinus, Castellae Regnum, Captivi, Captio, Redemptio.

1. The present paper has been carried out with the support of Project FONDECYT No. 11130061. Used Abbreviations: ADM, Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli; AMJ, Archivo Municipal de Jaén; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Spain); BN, Biblioteca Nacional (Spain).

1. Introduction. Background. The scourge of border violence: captivity

The most serious and devastating result of predatory border activity was the taking of captives,² which occurred both during open war as well as during periods of truce. The business of capture became one of the main incentives for Christian military leaders residing near the border, especially since rescuing captives generally implied large sums. On their part, Christian kings took as much care as possible to emancipate captives, sometimes facilitating the creation of funds to this end. Such was the case when Alfonso X (the Wise) (1252-1284) granted the council of Murcia a third of all gambling profits, which his successors would confirm.³ The same situation can be observed on the other side of the border. Liberating captives was one of the sultan's priorities since the Prophet himself recommended it. In addition, there are wills that explicitly stipulate a specific amount of money to be used for rescuing captives since this was considered a good work.⁴

2. The news of the captivity of Christians appear profusely in the testaments, in lawsuits, in royal instructions, in concessions of grants and, above all, in conceited capitular acts. In the case of Muslim captives, the news is much scarcer, being more abundant from the fifteenth century. In this regard see, for example and among others: Argente del Castillo Ocaña, 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, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 215-217; Torres Fontes, Juan. "La cautividad en la frontera granadina (1275-1285). Estampas jienenses". *Boletín de Estudios Giennenses*, 162/2 (1996): 895-910; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Sobre el 'entrar', 'vivir' y 'salir' del cautiverio: un aspecto de la vida en la frontera castellano-granadina en los siglos XIII-XV", *Iacobus, Revista de Estudios Jacobeos y Medievales*, 31-32 (2012): 181-214.

3. Torres Fontes, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad en la frontera murciano-granadina*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 77.

4. *El rescate de cautivos es una cuestión tan importante que es considerado una obligación de la comunidad en su conjunto [...] El concepto de rescate de un prisionero ya se apunta en el Corán aunque aplicado no a cautivos musulmanes sino a infieles, sobre quienes, una vez vencidos, se dice: 'Luego, devolvedles la libertad, de gracia o mediante rescate para que cese la guerra' (XLVII, 5/4; trad. Cortés, 583). También aparecen en otras aleyas la idea de liberación, manumisión, redención y la necesidad de colaborar económicamente a ello [...] Así, la actividad jurídica de los grandes maestros, fundadores de escuelas, prestó atención al tema e incluso, se escribieron obras específicamente dedicadas al derecho de guerra y relaciones internacionales con los enemigos y los pueblos conquistados. [...] Los gastos del rescate del cautivo pueden ser pagados por diferentes personas y ser afrontados de diversas formas. Por ello, el pago puede ser, según quién lo efectúe, de carácter estatal, colectivo o individual y, según la forma de realizarlo, además del pago unívoco y directo, puede hacerse mediante prorrateo (en caso de pago de un colectivo) o intercambio de cautivos ("The rescue of captives is such an important issue that it is considered an obligation of the community as a whole [...] The concept of rescuing a prisoner is already pointed out in the Qur'an although applied not to Muslim captives but to infidels, over whom, a Once defeated, it is said: "Then, return them freedom, of grace or by means of a ransom so that the war ceases" (XLVII, 5/4, trans. Cortés, 583). The idea of liberation, manumission, redemption and the need to collaborate economically with it also appear in other verses [...] Thus, the legal activity of the great teachers, founders of schools, paid attention to the subject and even, specifically dedicated works were written to the law of war and international relations with the enemies and the conquered peoples. [...] The expenses of the rescue of the captive can be paid by different people and be dealt with in different ways. Therefore, the payment can be, depending on who makes it, of a state, collective or individual nature and, depending on the way it is done, in addition to the univocal and direct payment, it can be done by prorating (in case of payment of a collective) or exchange of captives"). Vidal Castro, Francisco. "El cautivo en el Mundo Islámico: Visión y vivencia desde*

There were various ways to enter into captivity, the usual being: 1) open war, that is, attacks from Granada, the Marinids, Castile or Aragon, followed by counterattacks from both sides; 2) Muslim or Christian cavalry raids on the opposing side of the border; 3) and finally, border defense and surveillance, which involved messengers and postmen, advancing castle defenders, or those who spied on enemy movements.⁵ Despite this, it must be known that on many occasions, captivity was the consequence of acts of war that were poorly planned or executed, resulting in partial or total defeat.⁶

Of all these, one of the most common was capture at the hands of small cavalry groups of *almogávares*,⁷ or thieves. These generally fell upon wayfarers, farmers, shepherds, hunters, or loggers. Others were taken for travelling without a safe-conduct, although this did not always guarantee immunity.⁸ Many hunters and

el otro lado de la frontera andalusí", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 787-788.

5. González Jiménez, Manuel. "Esclavos andaluces en el Reino de Granada", *La sociedad medieval andaluza, grupos no privilegiados. Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. Jaen: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1984: 331-332. See also Carmen Argente del Castillo: [...] *La cautividad se producía primordialmente en acciones de guerra y en esos casos podemos hablar de cifras bastante importantes, se trata indiscriminadamente de hombres, mujeres y niños, estas noticias nos las suelen transmitir las fuentes narrativas. Pero hay otra forma de llegar al cautiverio, más difusa, originada por la actividad de rapiña, que se realizaba a uno y otro lado de la frontera* ("[...] The captivity was produced primarily in actions of war and in those cases we can speak of quite important figures, it is indiscriminately about men, women and children, this news is usually transmitted to us by narrative sources. But there is another way to get to the captivity, more diffuse, originated by the activity of robbery, which was carried out on both sides of the border"). Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 212.

6. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 238; Calderón, José; Díaz, Francisco. *Vae Victis: Cautivos y prisioneros en la Edad Media Hispánica*. Alcala de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2012: 19-50.

7. They are called like that to those men who in the border were in charge of carrying out the activity of predation, either by stealing or captivating. The word *almogávar* derives from the Arabic *mugāwir* "he who makes an algará", "an incursion". When the term penetrated into Spanish it did, like many other Arabisms, with the Arabic article incorporated, resulting in the *almogávar* solution. The Arabic words of *gwr* root carry in their semantic core the primordial idea of penetration, of insight. For this reason, *almogávar* refers to the person who makes an *algará* penetrating or entering enemy territory. Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. "Puntualizaciones acerca de la naturaleza de los *Almogávares*". *Cahiers de Linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 9 (1984): 164; Gámez, María. "Privilegios de Frontera: Quesada y Alcalá La Real", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 156; Porras Arboledas, Pedro. "Las relaciones entre la ciudad de Jaén y el Reino de Granada. La paz y la guerra según los libros de actas de 1480 y 1488". *Al-qantara*, 9 (1988): 333; Corriente, Federico. *A dictionary of Andalusí Arabic*. Leiden: Brill, 1997: 385; Corriente, Federico. *Diccionario de arabismos y voces afines en Ibero-romance*. Madrid: Gredos, 1999: 198-199; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Instituciones...": 59; Rodríguez Molina, José. *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*. Alcala la Real: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 51.

8. As the case of the Valencian Martín Pérez in 1451, see Salicrú, Roser, ed. *Documents per a la història de Granada del regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 454-455; Peláez, Antonio. *Dinamismo Social en el Reino Nazarí (1454-1501): de la Granada Islámica a la Granada Mudéjar*, Granada: Universidad de Granada (PhD Dissertation), 2006: 454, where it is commented on this capture: *Se tienen noticias de otras formas de cautiverio, aunque en menor grado. Este es el caso de cautiverios a mercaderes realizados a expensas del salvoconducto que aseguraba su tránsito por el territorio granadino* ("There are news of other forms of captivity, although to a lesser degree. This is the case of

shepherds were captured as ‘collateral’ for entering Muslim or Christian territory during forbidden periods.⁹

All these captures, both of men and women, had a clear lucrative end since substantial earnings could be obtained by demanding payment in exchange for freedom. Thus, the capture of Christian Castilians and Muslim Nasrids at the border made Spain stand out from the rest of the Mediterranean, where the practice of *marque* and the search for cheap labor were more common; Castilians, on the other hand, were seized basically for the profit of emancipation.¹⁰ It is also true, however, that while payment was being arranged, the owners, who could be the captors or not, tried to get some work out of their captives.¹¹

2. Captives’ destiny

The prisoner is a substantial part of war booty. Respecting the defeated enemy’s life turns out to be very advantageous since the business of his sale creates copious benefits.¹² This is true even for the Castilian crown, which benefitted from the

captives to merchants carried out at the expense of the safe-conduct that ensured their transit through the territory of Granada”).

9. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 84.

10. [...] los propietarios de cautivos vieron que resultaba más beneficioso revender el cautivo a su lugar de origen que venderlo a precio de mercado (“the owners of captives saw that it was more beneficial to resell the captive to its place of origin than to sell it at a market price”). Ramos Loscertales, José. *El cautiverio en la Corona de Aragón durante los siglos XIII, XV y XV*. Saragossa: Publicaciones del estudio de filología de Aragón, 1915: 135-136.

11. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Cautiverio y martirio de doncellas en la frontera”, *IV Estudios de Frontera, Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera, Congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real en noviembre de 2001. Homenaje a Don Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2002: 37.

12. In general, in relation to the sale of the captives, their value will be in accordance with the number available, although the continued influx into the markets will prevent them from reaching high prices. Some points of sale, in the case of the kingdom of Granada, will be:

a.- Plazas y fortalezas fronterizas donde se hacían unas primera ventas. Las más importantes de estas plazas, para el caso granadino, eran de este a oeste Vélez –Blanco y Purchena, en la frontera Murciana; Alicún, Guadix y Baza en el caso de la frontera de Jaén; en el sector fronterizo central Rute, desde donde se distribuían a Granada y Málaga y en la parte occidental la gran plaza de Ronda.

b.- Granada, como capital del reino y centro geográfico equidistante de la frontera territorial y marítima, centro de consumo y centro de redistribución.

c.- Los puertos granadinos y las ciudades muy próximas a la costa, a través de las que estos esclavos eran vendidos o revendidos a mercados norteafricanos o italianos generalmente: Vera, ya muy valorada por Torres Fontes respecto a la frontera murciana, Almería, Málaga y Algeciras eran plataformas de exportación

d.- Mercados africanos como Arcila o Salé a los que se llegaba unas veces discretamente y, en otras ocasiones, a través de Ceuta como eslabón intermedio (“a.- Border squares and fortresses where first sales were made. The most important of these squares, for the case of Granada, were from east to west Vélez -Blanco and Purchena, on the Murcian border; Alicún, Guadix and Baza in the case of the border of Jaén; in the Rute central border sector, from where they were distributed to Granada and Malaga and in the western part the great square of Ronda. b.- Granada, as the capital of the kingdom and geographic center equidistant from the territorial and maritime border, center of consumption and center of redistribution. c.- The ports of Granada and the cities very close to the coast, through which these slaves were sold or resold to North

sale as well as the donation, exchange, and rescue of captives, to say nothing of the interest it generated among private individuals. Many looted, stole livestock, and captured men, women, and children.¹³

Therefore, prisoners of war taken during cavalry raids, ground warfare, or maritime incursions were subject along with the rest of the booty to the control of the capturing state, which could decide their future, respond to any complaints related to their capture, and receive any ransom demanded for them. Nonetheless, before royal officials intervened in the booty, deciding whether or not the prisoners had been taken through good military practices, the prisoners remained in the hands of their captors, with no safeguard but the interests of the latter.¹⁴ Border captives seized during truces and peace were treated very differently since during such periods captivity was considered illegal; thus, those captured on peaceful soil had to be returned to their land because such was “the ancient law and custom of the borderlands”; hence the existence of meeting points at which such captives could be handed over.¹⁵

3. On the emancipation of captives

Establishing pathways to freedom from captivity was the first order of business since it was something that all captives yearned for. And they were able to achieve it in various ways. The most common were escape, conversion, ransom, or exchange.

3.1 *Escape*¹⁶

This was an exit route without mediation that occurred when captives lost the hope of liberation or simply took advantage of an occasion to escape. This way

American or Italian markets generally: Vera, already highly valued by Torres Fontes regarding the Murcia border, Almería, Málaga and Algeciras were export platforms. d.- African markets such as Arcila or Salé, which were reached at times discreetly and, at other times, through Ceuta as an intermediate link”). Martínez Carrillo, María. “Historicidad de los ‘Miraculos Romañados’ de Pedro Marín (1232-1293). El territorio y la esclavitud granadinos”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 21 (1991): 90.

13. Martínez Carrillo, María. “Historicidad...”: 90.

14. Ramos Loscertales, José. “El cautiverio...”: 123.

15. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 85.

16. *En 1412, dos muchachos presos en Málaga estuvieron ocho días excavando un túnel subterráneo donde se hallaban hasta llegar a la ribera del mar, evasión a la que se sumaron otros doce hombres. En 1442, Martín de Morriño, Pedro de Antequera, Juan de Valencia y Ferand González de Alburquerque, que estaban en el corral del rey en Granada, aprovecharon que su vigilante estaba borracho y tuvieron el suficiente sigilo para que los mastines que los custodiaban no levantarán el aviso* (“In 1412, two boys imprisoned in Malaga spent eight days digging a tunnel where they were until they reached the shore of the sea, evasion to which twelve other men joined. In 1442, Martín de Morriño, Pedro de Antequera, Juan de Valencia and Ferand González de Alburquerque, who were in the king’s yard in Granada, took advantage of the fact that their guard was drunk and had enough secrecy so that the mastiffs who were guarding them did not raise the advertisement”). Rojas Gabriel, 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: 218.

out meant great danger because if it was unsuccessful, the punishment was very harsh, ending sometimes even in death. Yet there must have been a frequently used system because the truce treaties have clauses on what actions both states must take if escaped prisoners return to their native land. These treaties establish that captives be welcome into their home country.¹⁷

Some detailed descriptions of the vicissitudes of escape have come to us from accounts of miraculous liberations.¹⁸

3.2 Conversion

Another way to escape was by renouncing one's faith; there are many cases involving this reality of border life, the temptation to reject free religious determination¹⁹ due to the hopeless conditions in which rescue is awaited.²⁰

17. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Cautiverio y martirio...": 47. In relation to these dispositions we will take an example of the truce signed between Castile and Granada in 1443: [...] *E otrosí; si quando fuyere catibo cristiano o moro, pleitado o non pleitado, e llegare a su tierra, que non seamos tenudos [...] pero que sea tornado lo que fuyere con ellos, de aver e de otra cosa qualquier si fuere fallado en su poder, e que jure el cativo sobredicho que non llevó ninguna cosa [...]* ("[...]And others; if, in the event, Christian or Moorish, pleaded or non-pleaded, come to your land, they are not taken but [...] whatever is going on with them, of seeing anything else if it were failed in your power, and swear the above mentioned cat that did not take anything [...]") 3rd of August, 1444, Real "near Peñafiel". Juan II orders D. Pedro de Aguilar to deliver the red certificate to Ruy Gómez de Herrera and Luís González de Leiva. Follow the testimony of the delivery of the document cited. ADM. Archivo Histórico. Caja 1, doc. 147. López de Coca Castañer, José. "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): 27.

18. García de la Borbolla, Ángeles. "La espiritualidad de los cautivos de Santo Domingo en la obra de Pero Marín", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 257- 267; de Cossio, José. "Cautivos de Moros en el siglo XIII", *Al Andalus*, 7 (1942): 77; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "Los milagros de Guadalupe como fuente histórica para la reconstrucción de la vida en la frontera (España, Siglos XV y XVI)", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 8 (2005): 181-212; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "Los milagros en la religiosidad hispánica (siglos XIII al XVI)", *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre. (Hors-série: Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs)*, 2 (2008) <<http://cem.revues.org/9002>> (Consulted 26th April 2016); Rodríguez, Gerardo. "El norte de África en los milagros de Guadalupe", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12/2 (2010): 447-465; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "La Corona de Castilla: Fronteras, Milagros y confesionalidad", *Revista Signum*, 14/2 (2013): 234-249.

19. Rodríguez Molina, José. "Libre determinación religiosa en la frontera de granada", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 693-707; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Algunas consideraciones en torno a la frontera, la tregua y libre determinación en la frontera castellano-granadina. S. XIII-XV", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 14 (2012): 109-120.

20. *En la preocupación de que un cautivo concreto pudiera hacerse moro, que revelan multitud de testimonios, se refleja una situación muy real y extendida en la época [...] Esto es, por ejemplo, lo que sugiere un acta de 1485 conservada en los protocolos cordobeses en la cual queda constancia del bautismo, en la parroquia de San Nicolás de la Ajarquía de Córdoba, de un joven de unos 32 años llamado Juan, que había sido musulmán anteriormente con el nombre de Abraham, el cual confesó ser hijo de un moro granadino y de una cristiana cautiva llamada Catalina Fernández, oriunda de Cieza. Tal vez lo mismo sucedió en otros casos conocidos, como, por ejemplo, en el de una de las nueras de Alatar, Elvira de Valles, que se hizo de nuevo cristiana, juntamente con sus dos hijos, Pedro y Fernando, al ser tomada en la ciudad de Loja* ("In the preoccupation

On the other hand, for Christians, converting to Islam was a relief. In some cases, this conversion was induced, but in others the prisoners simply chose to apostatize, especially if they were young. The Muslim principle of no coercion in matters of faith was implemented both in theory and in practice. In this sense, the Nasrid emirs had no trouble with clauses in the peace treaties that did not allow Christians to be forcibly converted to Islam in the Nasrid Emirates.²¹ However, we must not ignore a certain opportunism or convenience behind these changes of religion.²²

As for the convert, he is considered dangerous and is feared for his religious opportunism, for being rootless and marginal in both Christian and Muslim society.²³

that a specific captive could make a moor, which reveal a multitude of testimonies, it reflects a very real and widespread situation at the time [...] This is, for example, what a record of 1485 suggests preserved in the Cordovan protocols in which there is proof of baptism, in the parish of San Nicolás de la Ajarquía of Córdoba, of a young man of about 32 named Juan, who had previously been a Muslim with the name of Abraham, who confessed to being the son of a Moor from Granada and of a captive Christian named Catalina Fernández, a native of Cieza. Perhaps the same happened in other known cases, such as, for example, one of Alatar's daughters-in-law, Elvira de Valles, who became a Christian again, together with her two sons, Pedro and Fernando, when she was taken the city of Loja"). Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre cautivos cristianos en el reino de Granada", *Meridies: Revista de Historia Medieval*, 3 (1996): 145.

21. [...] *por nos e por lo que después de nos vinieren e heredaden el dicho reyno de non consentir que ningún christiano natural o subdito de los reynos de nuestro señor el rey sea tornado moro en el dicho reyno de Granada* [...] ("[...] for us and for what after we come and inherit the said kingdom of not allowing any natural christian or subject of the kingdoms of our lord the king to be turned into the Moor in the said kingdom of Granada"). Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Juan II y la frontera de Granada*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954: 40.

22. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 145. In the case of Catalano-Aragonese Crown: *També els sarraïns captius a la Corona catalano-aragonesa renegaven i adoptaven la religió cristiana bé per conveniència, si no podien obtenir aviat la lliberació a canvi d'un rescat o mitjançant intercanvi, o bé per convicció, especialment entre els més joves. La conversió no significava l'alliberament, però facilitava l'entesa amb l'amo, que tenia a les seves mans de concedir al captiu la manumissió a talla, és a dir, pagant a terminis* ("Also the captive Saracens in the Catalan-Aragonese Crown reneged and adopted the Christian religion for convenience, if they could not soon get liberated in exchange for a rescue or exchange, or by conviction, especially among the youngest. The conversion did not mean liberation, but it facilitated the understanding with the master, who was in his hands to grant the captive the manumission by size, that is to say, paying in installments"). Ferrer y Mallol, María. "La redempció de captius a la Corona Catalano-Aragonese", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985): 241.

23. García Fernández, Manuel. *La Campiña Sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV)*. Estudios Sobre Poblaciones de la Banda Morisca. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2005: 72.

That is why we frequently find these men serving as spies for the *adalides* (“guides”)²⁴ or sometimes as heads of *almogávar* groups.²⁵

3.3 Emancipation through payment or exchange

In this case, the captive is rescued through sums procured by Christian religious orders (redeemers)²⁶ or in exchange for captives of the other religion.²⁷ In general,

24. *El arabismo adalid viene de dalil: ‘guía, conductor, jefe de la caballería ligera que corre el país enemigo’, proveniente de la raíz verbal sorda dalla: ‘guiar, acompañar a alguien para mostrarle el camino, indicar, presagiar...’ [...] en suma, podemos decir que el adalid entre los musulmanes tenía funciones de guía de ejércitos; sirviendo de explorador y rastreador; se ocupaba de conseguir noticias seguras acerca de las características del territorio, de las defensas de las ciudades y de los movimientos de las tropas enemigas, generalmente, mediante la captura de naturales del país* (“The Arabic leader comes from dalil: ‘guide, conductor, head of the light cavalry that runs the enemy country’, coming from the deaf verbal root dalla: ‘guide, accompany someone to show him the way, indicate, presage ...’ [...] In sum, we can say that the leader among the Muslims had the functions of guiding armies; serving as an explorer and tracker; he was in charge of obtaining sure news about the characteristics of the territory, the defenses of the cities and the movements of the enemy troops, generally, through the capture of natives of the country”). Mañillo Salgado, Felipe. “Función y cometido de los Adalides a la luz de textos árabes y romances”, *Actas del III Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las tres culturas*, Carlos Carrete, ed. Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1988: 110. [...] *E teniendo lo ellos así alçado deuen lo tornar luego de cara contra oriente, e ha de fazer con espada dos manera de tajar alçando el braço, contra arriba, tirándola contra ayuso, e la otra de traviesso, en manera de cruz, diciendo assi: Yo fulan desafio en el nome de dios, a todos los enemigos de la fe: e de mi Señor el Rey, e de su tierra. E esso mesmo deue fazer, e decir, tornádo se a las otras partes del mundo. E después desto, ha de meter el mismo el espada, en la vayna, e poner le el Rey, vna seña en la mano, si lo alçare adalid, e decir le así. Otorgo te que seas un adalid, de aquí adelante. E si otro lo fizieren, en boz del Rey, deue le ese poner la seña en la mano. Diciendo le assy: yo te otorgo en nome del Rey, que sean adalid. Y dende adelante, puede traer armas, e caballo, e seña, e assentar se a comer con los caualleros, quando acaesciere, e el que lo desonrasse, ha de auer pena segund por caballero, por honrra del rey* (“And when they have lifted it up, they must turn it face-first against the east, and must make with the sword two ways of cutting, raising the arm, against the top, pulling it down, and the other with cross-hair, in the manner of a cross, saying thus: I defy myself in the name of God, to all the enemies of the faith: and of my Lord the King, and of his earth. And that same must do, and say, turning to the other parts of the world. And after this, he has to put the sword himself, in the vayna, and put the King, a sign in his hand, if I raise him a leader, and say so. I grant you that you are a champion, from here on. And if someone else does, in the voice of the King, he must put the sign in his hand. Saying thus: I grant you in the name of the King, that they be champions. And from the front, he can bring arms, and a horse, and a sign, and sit down to eat with the knights, when it happens, and the one who decries it, there must be a penalty according to the knight, for the honor of the king”). Alfonso X el Sabio, *Las Siete Partidas (el Libro del Fuero de las Leyes)*, ed. José Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, Madrid: Editorial REUS, 2004: Partida II, Tit. XXII, ley 3; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El Adalid de la frontera de Granada”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985): 355; Mañillo Salgado, Felipe. “El Estatuto Jurídico de los adalides en el derecho de Cuenca-Teruel”, *Actas del II Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1985: 206.

25. Torres Fontes, Juan. “La frontera...”: 59.

26. Cipollone, Giulio. “Eslavitud y liberación en la frontera”, *Estudios de Frontera. Alcalá la Real y el Arcipreste de Hita*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1996: 85.

27. *El intercambio hombre por hombre debía de estar a la orden del día en los territorio de frontera, donde la inseguridad hacía del cautiverio una cuestión ordinaria. En estas circunstancias, contar con moros cautivos podía llegar a ser un requisito necesario para la liberación de prisioneros cristianos, de ahí que las autoridades públicas incentivaran económicamente su dedicación al canje, eximiendo a los capturadores o a los dueños de los impuestos que gravaban las ganancias de la guerra —el quinto del botín— y las transacciones comerciales —el portazgo* (“The

rescue was considered a great economic problem because, as documents show, the prices demanded for captives were exorbitant. That is why it was preferable to organize a prisoner exchange with someone from the opposite side.²⁸ The volume of captives and the difficulties that their rescue entailed can be seen in the actions of Constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo²⁹ after launching an incursion into the city of Illora in 1462.³⁰

Freedom could be bought by transferring family assets or, when those were insufficient, by leaving a family member as a hostage until the rest was collected. If the person possessed no property, they would be under the shelter of eventual public charity, which could be channeled in the following ways: bequests made in wills,³¹ which

man-for-man exchange had to be the order of the day in the frontier territory, where insecurity made captivity an ordinary matter. In these circumstances, having captive Moors could become a necessary requirement for the liberation of Christian prisoners, hence the public authorities would economically incentivize their dedication to the exchange, exempting the captors or the owners of the taxes that were levied on the profits of the captives. the war - the fifth of the booty — and commercial transactions — the toll”). García Fitz, Francisco. “¿De Exterminandis Sarracenis? El trato dado al enemigo musulmán en el reino de Castilla León durante la plena Edad Media”, *El cuerpo derrotado: Cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, Maribel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 116.

28. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 216.

29. Although he has traditionally been called Miguel Lucas with the surname “de Iranzo”, the truth is that his real name is Miguel Lucas de Nieva and was never called “de Iranzo”, surname of his stepfather and not his father. *Relación de los hechos del muy magnífico e más virtuoso señor, el señor don Miguel Lucas, muy digno condestable de Castilla*, eds. Juan Cuevas Mata, Juan del Arco Moya, José del Arco Moya. Jaen: Universidad de Jaén, 2001: xiv, note 13.

30. [...] Y así traídos, como el dicho Condestable oviese información quién e quales eran las personas que tenían sus maridos, o padres, o fijos, o hermanos o otros parientes cativos, de aquella çibdad de Jahén, y que más miserables eran, a cada vno de aquellos mandó dar su moro, con que pudiese sacar pariente. Y desta cabsa, muchos salieron a tierra de cristianos, no tenían esperança de salir ni nunca salieran. Y, mal pecado, pudiera ser que algunos dellos, con desesperación de la mala vida, renegara de la fé, como otros han fecho en tal caso como este (“And so brought, as the said Constable had information who and what were the people who had their husbands, or fathers, or fixed, or brothers or other captive relatives, of that city of Jaén, and that more miserable were, to each of those he commanded to give his moro, with which he could get a relative. And this house, many went to the land of Christians, had no hope of leaving or never leave. And, bad sin, it could be that some of them, with desperation of the bad life, renegade of the faith, as others have done in such a case as this”). Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “De nuevo sobre...”: 229.

31. De ahí que en algunos testamentos se designasen ciertas cantidades para la redención de cautivos en manos musulmanas: “[...] En 1394, don Alvar Pérez de Guzmán, señor de Olvera, legaba en su testamento ‘a las órdenes de la Trenidat e de Santa María de la Merçet de Sevilla, por ayuda de sacar catyvos, a cada una, una dobla de oro [...]’. En 1408, el cabildo sevillano entregaba al alfajeme Pedro Alonso 30 doblas de oro que se le habían otorgado como ayuda para su redención. En 1411, el concejo de Sevilla mandaba al jurado Alfonso Martínez de Esquivel que diese a Diego Fernández, padre de un niño de siete años cautivo de los moros y cuya liberación estaba tasada en 120 doblas, los 2248 maravedís y 6 dineros que dicho jurado tenía en su poder en concepto de las penas impuestas a los hombres que habían vuelto sin licencia de la guarnición de la villa de Zahara (“And so brought, as the said Constable had information who and what were the people who had their husbands, or fathers, or fixed, or brothers or other captive relatives, of that city of Jaén, and that more miserable were, to each of those he commanded to give his moro, with which he could get a relative. And this house, many went to the land of Christians, had no hope of leaving or never leave. And, bad sin, it could be that some of them, with desperation of the bad life, renegade of the faith, as others have done in such a case as this”). Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. “La frontera entre...”: 227.

were generally not too important in comparison with other attested possessions; help from religious brotherhoods, although they only helped their members; letters from the council that allowed begging as a means to pay the rescue of a family member;³² and getting the council to cover at least part of the ransom with its own income.³³ Another possibility was selling family assets and thus being ruined.³⁴ In any case, the ransom price was just one part of the costs necessary to free a captive.³⁵

In the case of Muslim captives from the Emirate of Granada, rescue was carried out in the same fashion since many Granadian families also suffered from their relatives' capture during Christian incursions. Hence, in order to obtain their freedom, they used similar methods or the same ones as the families of Christian captives. Among these was the possibility of acquiring a Christian captive to try to exchange him for their own captive relative.

In some cases, the holder of the captive Christian refused to accept monetary payment, demanding his own captive relative as the only means of transaction.³⁶ Other cases confirm that two Christians could be exchanged for a Moor, perhaps someone worth a higher ransom.³⁷

Many times, when the number of captives was very large and their rescue could compromise a local economy, the crown intervened. Sometimes it took indirect measures, encouraging other institutions or people to help captives' families collect the amount necessary for rescue. But on other occasions, the crown contributed these funds directly.³⁸

Likewise, the monarchs promoted the creation of institutions that fought for emancipation, such as the orders of the Mercedarians and Trinitarians. Documents from the 13th century onwards confirm the presence of these monks on the southern

32. This was a very slow way, because to be profitable it was necessary to exercise it for a long time and in one of the big cities or moving from one place to another. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 151. An example of award letter to beg is this that is granted September 19, 1488 to a neighbor of Jaen: [...] *Mandaron dar carta para pedir limosna a Blanca Rodrigues, mujer de Francisco Lopes de Duque, su fijo, que está cativo puede aver veinte días poco o más o menos, yendo a Granada, e lo levaron a Granada donde está cativo. Se rescató por 7.200 con los derechos* ("They sent a letter to beg alms to Blanca Rodrigues, a wife of Francisco Lopes de Duque, her landlord, who is willing to spend twenty days or so, going to Granada, and they took him to Granada where he is alive. He was rescued for 7,200 with the rights"). Garrido Aguilera, Juan. "Relaciones fronterizas con el Reino de Granada en las Capitulares del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén", *IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 172.

33. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 217.

34. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 150.

35. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 150.

36. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 150-151.

37. [...] *Este día, Martín Fernádes, partidior, metió en el dicho cabillo a Alfón de Baça e Antón Palomino, los cuales troxo de Canbil por el moro que levó que Fernando de Torres avía fecho sacar. E pidió por merced le diesen por quito de la fiança en que se avía obligado a dar traídos de los dichos dos cristianos, o de traer el moro; e traía los dichos cristianos [...]* ("This day, Martín Fernádes, partidior, put Alfón de Baza and Antón Palomino in the said council, which he brought from Canbil for the Moor that Fernando de Torres had sent out. And he asked for mercy to give him for a fifth of the bond in which he had been obliged to bring brought from the said two Christians, or to bring the Moor; and he brought the Christian sayings"). Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Cartas de la frontera", *Al-Andalus*, 11 (1946): 126.

38. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 51.

Iberian Peninsula.³⁹ There is no news of their liberation activities because they were more focused on captives in North Africa, who were mainly captured by marke. That system was much more frequent in Aragon than in Castilian territory.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, monks were active redeemers in early Medieval Granada, which in some cases led to their imprisonment or death.⁴¹ The rescues achieved by Mercedarian friars in the emirate between 1218 and 1492 were compiled in the 18th century by Friar Fernando del Olmo.⁴²

When a truce treaty between Castile and Granada would enter into effect, hopes for the rescue of Christian captives would rise since the sultan would promise to hand over hundreds of prisoners along with the well-known pariahs. It appears that Castile always tried to negotiate the liberation of the greatest possible number of individuals. For instance, the truce of 1410 resolved to free 300 captives;⁴³ another 100 were freed in that of 1417 and 733 in that of 1443,⁴⁴ although the fourth and final deadline of Oct. 1445 was not met.⁴⁵

39. The Order of the Holy Trinity was founded in Aragon in 1201 and the Merced, of French origin, seventeen years later received a letter of privilege of John I. Although the activity of both soon headed biased towards North Africa, later they settled in Castile and held in the Emirate of Granada an almost continuous activity mission to which the monks of Guadalupe joined. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. "La frontera entre...": 223.

40. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 51.

41. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera de Granada, 1265-1481", *Revista de Historia Militar*, 1 (2002): 82.

42. Eighteenth-century manuscript *Genealogía deste convento del Real Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced. Redención de cautivos de Granada* (BN, núm. 8293), written in Granada by Fernando del Olmo; Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. "La frontera entre...": 224. See Arié, Rachel. *La España Musulmana*, Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1983: 197.

43. [...] *E porque el rey de Castilla (151vA) fiziese esta tregua (124vP), obligóse el rey de Granada de le dar trezientos cautivos de los cristianos quel tenía catiuos en su reyno, en que los diese por él que fuese confirmada e fecha la tregua fasta seys meses, en esta manera: los çient cautiuos dende a vn mes, e los otros çiento dende a tres meses, e los otros çiento dentro en el plazo de los seis meses. E que los diese al Infante, o en Alcalá a quien su poder ouiese, o a don Alonso Fernández, señor de Aguilar, alcaide de Alcalá, o a su alcaide, e el dicho plazo* ("[...] And because the King of Castile (151vA) made this truce (124vP), the King of Granada was obliged to give him thirteen captives of Christians who had catiuos in his kingdom, in which he gave them for him to be confirmed and dated the truce until six months, in this way: the one hundred captives for one month, the other one hundred for three months, and the other one hundred within six months. And give them to the Infant, or in Alcalá to whom his could have, or Don Alonso Fernandez, Mr. de Aguilar, mayor of Alcalá, or his alcaide, and the said term"). García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982: 402-407.

44. [...] *E nos obligamos eso mesmo a pagar con todo lo susodicho, de los catibos cristiano, viejos e moros, omes e mugeres, que sean catibos verdaderamente (f. 234 vº), setecientos e treinta e tres; e escoja el rey de Castilla fasta treinta a su voluntad, si los oviere estrangeros o qualesquier otros; e los que falliescieren de todo el número dicho, que demos por cada uno dellos treinta doblas del oro susodicho* ("And we obligate ourselves that same to pay with all the aforesaid, of the Christian captives, old men and Moors, men and women, who are truly captives (f. 234 vº), seven hundred and thirty three; and the King of Castile chooses up to thirty at his will, if he will owe them foreigners or any other; and those who fail of all the said number, that we give for each one of the thirty doubles of the aforementioned gold"). López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acercas 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): 11-32.

45. López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acercas de las relaciones...": 221-222.

4. Truces and captives

From a general perspective, the truces have been well studied and addressed by professors Carriazo,⁴⁶ Seco de Lucena,⁴⁷ Torres Fontes⁴⁸ and more recently by professor López de Coca,⁴⁹ among other early (even 19th century)⁵⁰ and later authors.⁵¹ They all coincide in laying out certain fundamental characteristics that help to understand this type of treaty. Firstly, it has been shown that the truces never became lasting or definitive peace treaties, unlike those sometimes established between Christian kingdoms. By their very nature, they recognized nothing more than a temporary peace. If they were not renovated upon expiration, both sides could legitimately resume hostilities.⁵²

Secondly, until the Trastámara dynasty rose to power, the truces implied the recognition on Granada's part of Castile's superiority, which entailed payment

46. Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "La últimas treguas con Granada". *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 3 (1953): 11- 43; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478". *Al-Andalus*, 19/2 (1954): 317-364; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002.

47. Seco de Lucena, Luis. *Muhammad IX, sultán de Granada*, ed. Concepción Castillo. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1978: 181-191.

48. Torres Fontes, 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, 1994, Pedro Segura Artero, ed. Lorca: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997: 63-78.; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478". *Hispania*, 86 (1962): 186-229; Torres Fontes, 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 Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463", *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 163-199; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Instituciones y sociedad..."; Torres Fontes, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: HUM-165: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010; Torres Fontes, Juan. "La frontera...".

49. López de Coca Castañer, José. "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): 11-32; López de Coca Castañer, José. "Castilla, Granada y las tregua de 1443", *Estudios de Historia Medieval. Homenaje a Luis Suárez*, Miguel Ladero Quesada, Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela, Julio Valdeón Baroque, eds. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1991: 301-313; López de Coca Castañer, José. "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadian Frontiers 1369-1482", *Medieval Frontiers Societies*, Robert Bartlett, Angus Mackay, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989: 127-150.

50. Amador de los Ríos, José. *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*. without publisher, town and year [Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1879].

51. García Luján, José. "Las treguas con Granada de 1439". *Qurtuba*, 3 (1998) 39-45; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez y Granada en las treguas de 1467", *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 9-10 (2007-2008): 7-19; Pérez Castañeda, Dolores. *Enemigos Seculares. Guerra y treguas entre Castilla y Granada (c.1246-c.1481)*. Madrid: Sílex Ediciones S.L., 2013; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Las Treguas entre Granada y Castilla durante los siglos XIII a XV", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, 37 (2012): 237-275.

52. González Jiménez, Manuel. "La frontera entre Andalucía y Granada: realidades bélicas", *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla. Actas del Symposium Conmemorativo de Quinto Centenario*, Miguel Ladero Quesada, ed. Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993: 97.

of annual tributes or pariahs.⁵³ From the end of the 14th century, we can see how this course of action gives way to the practice of handing over a certain number of captive Christians, as has been expressed beforehand. However, we must not ignore the semantic aspect of paying or handing over captives: while for Christians it could be considered a sign of submission and vassalage, for Granadians it was simply a show of good will and a gracious donation.⁵⁴ Documentary evidence reflects this since the majority of the most important treaties demanded tribute from Granadians, which, on more than one occasion, meant a great economic effort for them.⁵⁵

On the other hand, for areas closest to the border, truces implied economic relief and returning to a certain normalcy, which brought with it the renewal of commercial exchange, the negotiation and liberation of captives, and the possibility of carrying out economic activities without being surprised by the enemy.⁵⁶ That is why once the truces were signed, the Castilian king made sure to convey their content to the borderlands, at the same time prohibiting any act of violence against Granadians and allowing business to resume. Those who performed these activities carried letters of assurance⁵⁷ from border councils. In these letters, the councils formally promised to comply with the truce.

53. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "En torno al vasallaje y las parias en las treguas entre Granada y Castilla (XIII-XV): Una posibilidad de análisis". *Medievalismo*, 22 (2012): 139-152.

54. [...] [estas treguas] fueron entendidas por los cristianos como un signo del sometimiento islámico materializado además en el pago de parias al reino de Castilla, 12.000 doblas de oro. Sin embargo, para el reino nazarí de Granada este símbolo tan sólo fue una muestra de buena voluntad y entendimiento pacífico, una manifestación de convivencia entre monarcas que se declaraban y ¿se? sabían amigos y vasallos [...] ("[these truces] were understood by the christians as a sign of the islamic submission materialized also in the payment of pariahs to the Kingdom of Castile, 12,000 gold doubles. However, for the Nasrid kingdom of Granada this symbol was only a sign of goodwill and peaceful understanding, a manifestation of coexistence between monarchs who declared themselves and ¿se? they knew friends and vassals [...]"). González Jiménez, Manuel. "Sobre la alteridad en la frontera de Granada (una aproximación al análisis de la guerra y la paz, siglos XIII-XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Historia*, 6 (2005): 229.

55. The amount of the parias was very variable, and if at first payment of outcasts had noticed half the revenues of the emir, then the number dropped sharply: in the fifteenth century was common a number between eleven thousand and thirteen thousand gold doubloons. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera...": 54.

56. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera...": 102-103.

57. Only as an example we reproduce one of them: [...] *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: Loreño 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 porquiel 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 rremaneçerremos en obligación para en las cosas que mandáredes las facer como propias nuestras. Nuestro Señor conserve vuestra virtuosa persona como... desedáis. De Jahén, XXXVI de nouiembre de LXXXIX años [...]* ("[...] Very honored, striven, Fidalgo and appreciated, virtuous and noble knight the alcayde Abulcaçin Venegas, mayor sheriff of the King of Granada and his Council: the council etc. We entrust you with a strong will to make the things you order and order: Loreño de Sella, Genoese, inhabitant of this city, goes with our insurance to that city of the Kingdom of Granada to negotiate and free

When one of the monarchs died, the peaces and truces lost all force. Therefore, when new monarchs were interested in upholding the peace, they would quickly send messengers before news of the former monarch's death could spread so as to confirm their intention to keep the peace under the conditions stipulated by both kingdoms.⁵⁸

As for the content of these truces, Manuel García Fernández tells us, "the truce was always a tremendously monotonous border institution that from the 13th century always repeated certain clauses from the Pact of Jaén of 1246, the model of Granadian vassalage; these were generic protocols and obligations, always on the level of the state or kingdom. However, each truce had individual clauses that were specific to the given historical period and which not only distinguish, but also help to explain the truces".⁵⁹ In general, each treaty had its own specific determinants that depended on historical circumstances. That is why the people of Sevilla, Córdoba, and Jaén did not have the same aspirations, but rather each understood "their peace" and "their truce" in their own way.⁶⁰

Despite the truces' efforts to guarantee the safety of people and goods, there was always an awareness of risk, which made itself known by a sort of insecurity, because danger and threat were constant. That is why it was extremely difficult to prevent incursions from all kinds of adventurers since depopulation and orography made it easy to enter the other state's territory.⁶¹ All the same, peace was respected and longed for because it provided not only safety, but also understanding, allowing differences to be put aside. Proximity made it easier for individuals on both sides to get to know each other, which was inconceivable in times of war. Real peace fomented an atmosphere of sincerity, reinforced by a mutual understanding among people who shared a living space—that of the border.⁶²

Taking this into account, we can affirm that despite the complex border dynamic, truces allowed for certain means of coexistence among Muslims and Christians in the border zone, independently of any possible attacks or violations of local or

certain things of his merchandise. Therefore, much ... we ask, so because it goes with our insurance as for our contemplation, be well treated and honored in that city and Kingdom, in all the things you need, and it will not be done with anger or harm. And in this, beyond ... our request we will remain in obligation for the things that you command the fader as our own. Our Lord preserve your virtuous person as ... you wish. Of Jaén, XXXVI of November of LXXXIX years"). Viernes 26-XI-1479, AMJ. Libro de Actas Capitulares. doc. 171. Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "En la frontera de Granada...": 303.

58. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Características y proyección de las treguas entre Castilla y Granada durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, 30 (2008): 277-287.

59. García Fernández, 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; García Fernández, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2006: 89.

60. García Fernández, Manuel. "Andalucía...": 136.

61. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Dualidad...": 70.

62. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Dualidad...": 70.

isolated truces. In this sense, truces ‘rationalized’ border life,⁶³ making it “more human”, if you will, less exposed to ideological confrontations. This can be seen in some of the trivial aspects of daily proximity, reflected especially in important socioeconomic activities such as commerce, shepherding, trading garments, etc.⁶⁴

In almost all the texts, there are regulations on the commitment to respect the freedom and integrity of subjects from both sides, as well as how fugitives should be treated.⁶⁵ Thus, we can understand why when a peace treaty demanded the return of many captives Muslims would often refuse, alleging that they would be left without any captives for individual exchanges.⁶⁶ This was due to the fact that when a relative was captured and had to be rescued through direct exchange, it was necessary to have an enemy captive. This captive could be bought at slave markets or from someone who had been in combat, who also had the duty to facilitate this purchase for the family.⁶⁷

Taking prisoners during times of truce was considered illegal⁶⁸ and those who were captured during this period had to be returned to their home according to “the ancient law and custom of the borderlands”.⁶⁹ However, there were some cases in which the captive wished to remain in the other state for personal reasons; in such cases, to settle the conflict between the new adopted family and the original one, who hoped to free the supposed captive, believing him to be held against his will on enemy territory, cross-border meeting points were set up so that these captives, who often converted, could exercise their right to free religious determination and decide which side they wanted to live on.⁷⁰

63. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Dualidad...”: 72.

64. García Fernández, Manuel. “La alteridad...”: 230.

65. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia”: 84.

66. AHN. Sección Infantado, Caj. 13, Leg. 1º, f.10, Amador de los Ríos, José. “Memoria...”: 84-85.

67. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia...”: 86.

68. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Cautiverio y martirio...”: 45.

69. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 165. [...] *Se librarán los salvoconductos y las franquicias consabidos a los tratantes, arrieros y comerciantes, musulmanes, cristianos / y judíos de ambas partes, pudiendo ir o venir sus bestias y todas sus mercancías de vuestra nación a la nuestra y de la nuestra a la vuestra, de acuerdo con las costumbres conocidas por los tratados precedentes. Pagarán sus impuestos habituales, según las costumbres reconocidas, con seguridad completa; no sufrirá ninguno de vuestra parte ni de nuestra parte perjuicio ni daño en su persona, bienes / ni condición.* [...] (“The safe-conducts and the franchises known to traffickers, muleteers and merchants, Muslims, Christians / and Jews of both parts will be freed, being able to come or come their beasts and all their goods of your nation to ours and of ours to yours, according to the customs known by the preceding treaties. They will pay their usual taxes, according to recognized customs, with complete security; You will not suffer any of your part or our part harm or injury to your person, property / condition”). 1472 three years truce between Mawlay Hasan, King of Granada, and Enrique IV of Castile, represented by his ambassadors Diego Soto, ‘comendador’ of Moratalla and doctor Juan Díaz de Alcocer. García Luján, José. *Treguas, Guerras y capitulaciones de Granada (1457-1491). Documentos del Archivo de los Duques de Frías*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 1998: 97-105.

70. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 85. Rodríguez Molina, José. “Libre determinación...”: 693-708; Melo, Carrasco, Diego. “Algunas consideraciones en torno a la frontera, la tregua y libre determinación en la frontera castellano-granadina. S. XIII-XV”. *Estudios de Historia de España*, 14 (2012): 109-120.

The treaties state that fugitives must be welcomed, there being no obligation to return them to where they had been imprisoned. The only rule was that they could not take anything from where they had come. Consequently, they had to return any valuable objects and if they had nothing with them, they had to swear along with the residents of the last place where they had stayed that they had not left anything hidden on their way.⁷¹

5. Captivity: exchange, search, rescue, and emancipation. A proposed analysis

5.1 Exchange

Below, we will suggest a way to analyze truce content in relation to the aforementioned institutions who sought to maintain border peace. To this end, we have broken down the content of the different treaties according to parameters that allow us to analyze the actions of these institutions and thereby compare proposed aims with historic reality.

As for captive exchanges, the chronological aspect of the analysis turns out to be rather telling. We have tracked such exchanges and in order to present them graphically, we have created the following scatter plot, which shows which truces we are talking about.

71. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Las relaciones de convivencia...": 88. [...] *Otrosi si fuxere catiuo christiano o moro rendido o non rendido e \ legare a su tierra que non seamos tenudos de lo tornar pero que \ sea tornado el auer con que fuyo E otra cosa qual quier si fuere fallada \ en su poder E si non fuere fallada en su poder que jure el catiuo sobre \ dicho que non leuo ninguna cosa otrosi que juren los del lugar donde sallere \ e los de la posada donde poso quel que no fuyo con ninguna cosa e que sea \ quito el catiuo sobre dicho e comprehenda este juyzio a los catiuos de amas \ las partes de los christianos e de los moros equal mente en esto E de lo que confirmamos con vos [...]* ("Otheri if I were a Christian captive or a surrendered or not surrendered moro and \ I will arrive at your land that is not had of the to return but that \ it is tornado the have with which I flee and another thing whatever if it were found \ in his power. And if it were not found in his power that the captive should swear on \ said that he did not take anything other than swear those of the place where it comes out \ and those of the inn where he posed that I do not run away with anything and that is \ removed to the above-mentioned captive and understand this judgment to the captives of both \ the parts of the Christians and the Moors also in this and of what we confirm with you"). 1413, Truce for one year between Granada and Castilla. Arribas Palau, Mariano. *Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón*. Tetuan: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes, Editora Marroquí, 1956: 47-56.

GRAPH 1. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT INCLUDE CAPTIVE EXCHANGE.

This diagram clearly shows that truces with clauses on prisoner exchange are concentrated mainly in the 15th century. Those of 1413,⁷² 1414,⁷³ and 1415⁷⁴ are particularly important and all were signed between Granada and Castile during the reign of Fernando I of Antequera (1380-1416), a time marked by military advance. Those of 1424⁷⁵ and 1429 were signed by Granada and Castile during the reign of Juan II (1426-1454). These treaties were immersed in the violent border process that resulted in the taking of prisoners. One example of this is that the truce of 1429 is an extension of the previous one. All of this occurs during the period of

72. [...] nos fagades saber que nos enuiaredesl ocho, o, diez catiuos christianos tansolament somos de aquesto tan marauellados que mas no podemos assi como seyer deuemos razonablement E otra e mellor respuesta speraua\ mos de vos en aquesto ne uso puede scusar que dizides que vuestros vassallos se congoxan\ e la ciudat de Granada sen ha aualotado car uso sodes Rey de vuestro Regno e per consil guent podeades ordonar, e disponer a vuestro arbitrio, e plazer de todas las cosas que son dentro de aquell\ quanto mas rey alto grande honrado exalçado e alabado entro (sic) los moros de nuestro muy caro e muyll amadohermano e amigo continuando en aquesto nuestra instancia uso rogamos que nos\ querades hauer por scusado ca en nenguna manera consideradas las cosas susol dichas nos non fariamos tregas nenguna sin los dichos catiuos christianos que stan en\ vuestrop regno [sin que los dichos cativos christianos] no nos diziedes E sobre aquestas cosas scriuimos clarament de nuestra intención [...] ("let us know you will send us | eight, or, ten Christian captives, we are only of this so marvelous that we are not | we can as well as be reasonably should be. And another and better answer we expected from you in this in use can excuse you saying that your vassals are anxious | and the city of Granada have been crowded to use your King of your Kingdom and therefore you can order, and dispose at your will, and pleasure of all things that are within that the more king high honored great praised and praised among (sic) the moros of our very expensive and very beloved brother and friend continuing in this our use instance we pray that | You want to have excused and in no way considered the aforementioned things we would not make any truces without the said Christian captives who are in your kingdom [without the said Christian captives] did not tell us and about these things we clearly wrote of our intention"). Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 37-39.

73. 1414, Ferdinand I of Aragon to Yusuf III of Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 74-85.

74. 1415, Truce between Castile and Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 85-94.

75. 1424, Truce between John II of Castile and Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad VIII, El Izquierdo, de Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 94-106.

1411-1428,⁷⁶ which has traditionally been identified as a peaceful stage. Yet the truces from these years show that it was not free of border incidents. A similar situation can be observed in the truces of 1431,⁷⁷ 1439,⁷⁸ and 1450,⁷⁹ all of which were between Castile and Granada. Their creation can be linked to the events of the Battle of La Higuera (1431),⁸⁰ in which Granada's weakened state and Castile's capture of prisoners will cause the corresponding clauses to be further elaborated.

As for the truce of 1450, it occurs during a period of Granadan supremacy on the border that coincides with intrigues encouraged by Castile in the sultanate, all of which is added to the developments of border violence.⁸¹ Finally, the agreements

76. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "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) 13th-15th centuries", *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 8 (2014): 211-238.

77. 1431, Pact of vassalage between John II and Yucef Aben Al-Maul. Benavides, Antonio. *Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada*. Tomo VIII, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: 41-45.

78. [...] E ha de dar el dicho rey de Granada a Alfonso de Astunniga, que está cautivo en el dicho regno de Granada, sin preçio ninguno, desde el día que la dicha tregua se otorgare fasta diez días primeros siguientes.= E ha se de entregar al dicho señor rey de Granada al alcaide Abrahén Alamin, fijo del alcaide Alamin, desde el día que la dicha tregua se otorgare fasta treinta días primeros siguientes.=

A se de entregar al dicho sennor rey de Granada Aben Azeite, que esta cativo en poder de la muger del dicho Alfonso de Astonniga, pagando el dicho sennor rey de Granada, ootro por él, mille doblas de oro castellanas de la vanda que costó a la muger del dicho Alfonso de Astunniga, o por ellas mille doblas do oro valadís // v° de buen oro e de justo peso, el día que las dichas mille doblas se dieren e pagaren. =

Ha se de dar mas al dicho sennor rey Llc Granada un moresno e una moresna que llaman al moresno Mahomad e a la moresna Haxa, que están por rehenes del dicho Alfonso de Astuinniga. Han de dar por ellos de parte del dicho sennor [rey] de Granada un christiano e una christiana moços e sanos, de la hedad de los dichos moresno e moresna, poco mas o menos, de los que están cativos en el dicho regno de Granada [...] ("And the said King of Granada has to give Alfonso de Astunniga, who is captive in the said kingdom of Granada, without any price, from the day that the said truce is granted up to ten following first days.

And he must deliver the said King of Granada to the warden Abrahén Alamin, son of the warden Alamin, from the day that said truce is granted up to thirty following first days.

A to deliver to the said King of Granada Aben Azeite, who is held captive by the wife of the said Alfonso de Astonniga, paying the said King of Granada, another for the thousand gold dubs Castilian of the band that cost the woman of the said Alfonso de Astunniga, or by them a thousand golden doubles valadies // v ° of good gold and of just weight, the day that said thousand doubles are given and paid. =

He has to give more to the said King of Granada a Moor and a Moor who call the Moor Mahomad and the Moor Haxa, who are held hostage by the said Alfonso de Astuinniga. They must give for them on behalf of the said Lord [King] of Granada a Christian and a Christian healthy and healthy, of the age of the said Moors and dwell, more or less, of those who are captives in the said Kingdom of Granada").

1439, Three-year truce agreed by Inigo Lopez de Mendoza with Abd Allah al-Amin. García Luján, José. "Las treguas...": 42-45.

79. 1450, John II communicates grant truces. 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*, López de Coca Castañer, José, ed. Málaga, 1987: 16.

80. Nieto Soria, José. "El ciclo ceremonial de la batalla de La Higuera (1431)", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12 (2010): 389-404; Motos, Encarnación; Morfakidis, Mosjos. "Un pasaje de Laonicos Calcocondylas relativo a la Batalla de la Higuera y a sus consecuencias inmediatas", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 71- 82.

81. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A possible...": 223-224.

of 1462⁸² and 1463⁸³ correspond to the rule of Enrique IV (1454-1474) and are thus linked to constant truce breaches, which were caused by offensive individual actions on both sides of the border; it was a time of skirmishes, livestock theft, felling, and fires, a time of border violence par excellence.

Therefore, the unsafe conditions imposed by the border, especially in the 15th century, created by individuals or groups of *almogávares*, will result in a series of violent actions: stealing cattle, contraband, and prisoner capture.

In order to control border violence, states created, along with the *jueces de querella* (dispute judges)⁸⁴ to be mentioned in the next section, other municipal offices that

82. [...] Nos, don Pedro Giron, por la gracia de Dios, maestre de la Cavalleria de la Orden de Calatrava. Por quanto el rey nuestro señor, por algunas causas e razones conplideras a su servicio e al bien de sus regnos, nos enbio mandar que asentamos las pazes e tregua e sobreseimiento de guerra con el rey don Ysmael e regno de Granada de barra a barra por cierto tienpo e en cierta forma, segunt todo mas largament se contiene en las cartas e poderes quel dicho señor rey para ello nos mando dar, por virtud de las quales nos asentamos las dichas pazes e tregua e sobreseymiento con el dicho rey e regno de Granada de aquí en fin del mes de mayo primero que verna, del Señor de mil e quatrocientos e sesenta e tres años, con ciertas paryas e cabtyvos, segund todo mas largament se contiene en contrabto que cerca de lo susodicho por nos, en nombre del dicho señor rey, e por los procuradores del dicho rey de Granadam se otorgo. [...] ("[...] We, Don Pedro Giron, by the grace of God, Master of the Cavalry of the Order of Calatrava. Because the king our lord, for some reasons and reasons conplideras to his service and the good of his regnos, sent us to send us settle peace and truce and dismissal of war with King Don Ysmael and kingdom of Granada from bar to bar by a certain time and in a certain way, according to everything, it is contained in the letters and powers that the said king, for this, commanded us to give, by virtue of which we settle the said peace and truces and dismissal with the said king and kingdom of Granada from here to the end of the month of May, the first to come, from the Lord of one thousand four hundred and sixty-three years, with certain parias and captives, according to everything, but it is contained in a contract that close to the above mentioned by us, on behalf of the said Mr. King, and by the solicitors of the said King of Granada was granted"). 1462, Don Peter Girón, Master of Calatrava announced six-month truce with King Ismael of Granada. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463", *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 196.

83. [...] Por ende, por la presente damos poder e facultad conplida a vos, el nuestro bien amado don Pedro Giron, maestre de calatrava, nuestro camarero mayor e del nuestro consejo, para que por nos e en nuestro nombre e de nuestros regnos, podades asentar e firmar e intar la dicha tregua e paz e sobreseimiento de guerra con el dicho rey e moros del dicho regno de Granada por tienpo de ocho meses e con las parias e condiciones acostunbradas en los años pasados e con otras qualesquier que vos entendades que cumple a nuestro servicio, e para cerca dello fazer e otorgar los contrabtos e recabdos que se requieran, o segund que en las dichas treguas que nos al dicho rey e regno en los años pasados dimos e otorgamos se acostunbra a fazer, o como a vos en los años pasados dimos e otorgamos se acostunbra a fazer, o como a vos bien visto fuere.[...] ("[...] Therefore, we hereby give power and power to you, our beloved Mr. Pedro Giron, master of calatrava, our senior waiter and our council, so that for us and in our name and our kingdoms, we can settle sign and intar the said truce and peace and dismissal of war with the said king and Moors of the said region of Granada for eight months and with the pariahs and customary conditions in the past years and with any other that you understand that meets our service, and for close to doing and granting the contracts and errands that are required, or secondly that in the said truces that we have said to the king and kingdom in the past years we gave and granted to get used to doing, or like you in the Last years we gave and granted to get used to doing, or as you well seen it [...]"). 1463, Don Peter Girón, Master of Calatrava, to sign a truce with the kingdom of Granada for eight months. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada...": 197-198.

84. Its documented existence is established from the text of the truces of 1310 in Murcia. However, its clearest configuration is not verified until 1393, with Enrique II who gave full form to the institution, although, in the opinion of Juan de Mata Carriazo not act until 1405 or 1406. In the case of Murcia, Torres believes Fontes find their antecedents in the first half of the fourteenth century, under the name of "Ballesteros de monte", and in the case of Moron, Gonzalez Jimenez recorded it between 1420 and 1427.

would play a transcendental role in recovering stolen objects and locating captives. We're referring to the *fieles del rastro* (trackers).⁸⁵ These were a sort of border patrol

The powers of judges / mayors were: 1.- *Oír las quejas, querellas y agravios de moros y cristianos, juzgándolas conforme a derecho*; 2.- *Todos los habitantes estaban obligados a acudir a sus emplazamientos y a entregarle cualquier persona que hubiese quebrantado la tregua*; 3.- *Tenía la facultad para conceder autorización para hacer prendas en territorio granadino como represalia*; 4.- *Todos los habitantes del reino estaban obligados a prestarle su ayuda y cumplir sus órdenes en el transcurso del ejercicio de sus funciones*; 5.- *Tenía autoridad para ordenar y hacer cuantas cosas considerara convenientes para la seguridad de la frontera. Había a lo largo de la frontera cuatro alcaldes mayores entre moros y cristianos, en el obispado de Cádiz, Sevilla, Córdoba-Jaén y Murcia, y probablemente actuaban en pareja, musulmán y cristiano, en cada sector fronterizo* ("1.- Hear the complaints, complaints and grievances of Moors and Christians, judging them according to law; 2.- All the inhabitants were obliged to go to their places and to deliver to him anyone who had broken the truce; 3.- He had the faculty to grant authorization to make garments in Granada territory in retaliation; 4. All the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to lend their help and carry out their orders in the course of the exercise of their functions; 5.- He had the authority to order and do as many things as he deemed convenient for the security of the border. There were four major mayors among Moors and Christians along the border, in the bishopric of Cádiz, Seville, Córdoba-Jaén and Murcia, and they probably acted as a couple, Muslim and Christian, in each border area"). We know that this institution was replicated across the border and was called Judge between Kings (al-Qadi al-Muluk bayna). Figure this title referred to Grenadian Mayor Ali Sa'id al-Amin private secretary Sultan Abu l-Hasan 'Ali and head of the office interpretation of his chancellorship, which also served magistracy said Safar 5 875 = 3 August 1470. the powers that had this judge were: *la competencia para fallar las querellas que los cristianos pudieran formular contgora los granadinos por las infracciones cometidas por éstos a los tratados de treguas convenidos por ambas partes, durante la vigencia de los mismos* ("the competence to rule the complaints that christians could make against the citizens of Granada for the infractions committed by them to the truce treaties agreed upon by both parties, during the validity thereof"). See Quesada, Tomás. *La Serranía de Mágina en la Baja Edad Media*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989: 181; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Instituciones...": 71; Giménez Soler, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada*. Barcelona: Imprenta de la casa provincial de la caridad, 1908: 167-169; Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera...": 55; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Un alcalde entre los...": 104; Torres Fontes, Juan. "El alcalde entre Moros y cristianos del reino de Murcia". *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 78 (1960): 55-80.; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Notas sobre los fieles del rastro y alfaqueques murcianos". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 10 (1961): 92; González Giménez, Manuel. "Morón, una villa de frontera (1402-1427)". *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 57; Seco de Lucena, Luis. "El Juez de frontera y los fieles del rastro", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 7 (1957): 140; Porras Arboleda, Pedro. "La frontera del Reino de Granada a través del libro de actas del Cabildo de Jaén de 1476". *Al-qantara*, 14 (1993): 154.

85. When an algar was carried out in the border limits that came to the jurisdiction of a council, a whole apparatus was set in motion that had the purpose of keeping track of the thing lost or stolen, or the trace of the captive. This last mission was entrusted to the rastros. The faithful of the trail constituted an institution at the service of the border judge, a sort of "border police", who was in charge of following the footsteps of the alleged criminal until they found it. In general, they constitute a closed corporation of individuals appointed, educated and sworn, being primarily a council office. There are very few details that we have about your organization and the ones that exist are the ones referring to the corporation of faithful of the trail of the Council of Jaén that was constituted by 30 people.

Their services were not only demanded by the mayors between Moors and Christians, but also by the alcaldes mayores of the border. In this sense, not only were they limited to the persecution of those who broke peace with the Kingdom of Granada, but they were also employed in the resolution of similar problems among Christians; at least in the kingdom of Murcia, this was the case.

The most remote antecedents of this tracing office go back to the 14th century and appear for the first time with its functions delimited in the truces signed in 1331; since then, the office was constituted. His action was coordinated by the mayors of the trail and his performances were recorded by the scribe of the trail.

Its *modus operandi* was the following: when a violence was committed on a person or thing on the part of the people on the other side of the border, the injured themselves, by themselves, or represented

that followed the footprints of the suspected criminal or captive until they found him and recovered all that had been stolen.

5.2 On the rescue and liberation of captives

We have already touched on the issue of captivity and the situation of captives, indicating why this was the real scourge of the border. Indeed, as Juan Manuel Calderón Ortega has recently stated in an interesting article, “Once they were captured, [the captives] were taken to a secluded place, which could be very far from where they had been apprehended [...]. The secluded places varied since the influx of prisoners was so great that authorities were forced to prepare special areas [...]. The prisoners had to systematically bear irons, fetters, handcuffs, wooden clamps, iron halters, chains, iron cages, and other instruments to immobilize them [...]. These terrible conditions were no different for Moors or Christians [...] prisoners were piled up in foul-smelling, deep, underground dungeons, in awfully unhealthy conditions, exposed to all types of diseases, covered in rags [...]”.⁸⁶

Therefore, rescuing captives goes hand in hand with exchanging them, and in this sense the truces are very specific, especially as we approach the 15th century. In fact, this clearly shows the connection between border violence and prisoner capture as a result of *almogávar* activity. Although it is true that these military leaders stole cattle and everything else considered booty, it is also true that the biggest benefit was to be found in taking captives, which were possible objects of sale or exchange and were important from a political standpoint.

by their council, claimed the services of these faithful of the Trace, who went to the place of abuse, recognized the traces of the attackers and followed their trail to the limit with another council. Then there they summoned the corresponding authorities and rastreros and gave them the trail; thus, those who receive it must respond to the violence, unless the trace passes to another term, whose neighbors and rastreros can receive it, in turn. And so, it continues, until you reach the place where the captive is, the stolen thing or the thieves, who are compelled to return them or pay compensation. Established the responsibility of the alleged criminals, the judge dictated sentence, which was to be executed within fifty days. Quesada, Tomás. “La Serranía...”: 179; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El alcalde entre moros...”: 58; Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 90; Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 19-29; Porras Arboleda, Pedro. “El derecho de frontera...”: 278. An example of this is what is displayed in a letter dated March 16, 1465 in Martos, where Juan Docampo, commander or mayor of the town of Martos by the master of Calatrava, to Alcalá la Real. About some Moors that it claims [...] *A lo que, sennores me escriuis de moro que yo mande entre-/ gar a la çibdad, me escribieron requiriéndome que, pues el rrastro me era dado por vos otros, / carta de su requerimiento/ me enviaron una carta firmada de los nonbres de vos otros, sennores, en la qual se contiene commo vos otros, sennores, les fisisdes saber que avyades entregado el rrastro de aquel moro esta villa, e commo avyades sabido que aquel moro estaua en la villa de Porcuna e que codemandasen a la dicha villa [...]* (“To which, gentlemen you wrote to me of moro that I ordered to deliver to the city, they wrote to me requesting that, since the trail was given to me by you others, letter of your request they sent me a signed letter of the nuns of you, gentlemen, in which is contained as you, gentlemen, you made them know that you had given the trail of that Moor this town, and as you had known that the Moor was in the village of Porcuna and co-defendant to the said town”). Juan Lovera, Carmen. *Colección Diplomática medieval de Alcalá la Real*. Jaén: Ayuntamiento, 1988: 166.

86. Calderón Ortega, José. “La liberación alternativa: Reflexiones en torno a las fugas de cautivos durante la Edad Media”. *Medievalismo*, 18 (2008): 16.

Truces will thus include various mentions of this issue, often prolonging their negotiation. In the following graph, we compile mentions of captive emancipation and rescue that appear in the truces studied. On very few occasions do the texts specify the full name of those seeking freedom.⁸⁷

GRAPH 2. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT INDICATE RESCUE AND RELEASE OF CAPTIVES.

As we can see, these references to rescue and emancipation are concentrated in the 15th century, in the period of 1400-1440. The case of captive exchange is similar, as is expressed in the following graph:

GRAPH 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXCHANGE (IN BLUE) AND RELEASE OR RESCUE OF CAPTIVES (IN RED).

87. See Appendix.

Based on these observations, it appears that the 15th century was characterized as an epoch in which border violence made itself very manifest and resulted in captivity. Nonetheless, we must not forget that during this time, periods of civil war in the Nasrid Emirate and to a lesser degree in Castile result in commotion at the border, since without clear laws or truces in force, due to the starts and stops that so often follow each other, many get immersed in the commotion, seeking captives and booty.⁸⁸

5.3. Border institutions and their activities: *fieles del rastro* and *jueces de querella*

The following scatter plot will help us to locate the appearance of *fieles del rastro* in the truces that we have studied.

GRAPH 4. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES INDICATING THE ACTION OF THE TRAIL FAITHFUL.

As can be observed, the references occur during the 15th century. This can be explained by the fact that, as has already been mentioned several times, 15th century truces tend to be shorter than agreed upon. This is due firstly to breaches; secondly, to the complex Granadian political situation and sultan turnover during the middle of the century;⁸⁹ and thirdly, to constant *almogávar* activity at the border during the last third of the century. All of this, in our opinion, causes the truces to focus on two important aspects: restablishing business activity at the border level through regulations on trade and taxes; mitigating border violence through *bordre* entities in charge of keeping the peace. That is the context in which *fieles del rastro* become relevant.

88. Torres Fontes, Juan. "La frontera...": 165.

89. Vidal Castro, Francisco. "Una década turbulenta de la dinastía nazarí de Granada en el siglo XV: 1445-1455", *En el epílogo del Islam andalusí: La Granada del siglo XV. Granada: Grupo de Investigación Ciudades Andalusas bajo el Islam*, Celia del Moral, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002: 75-116.

This situation can be plainly seen when analyzing mentions of *jueces de querella* and *fieles del rastro* in the truces we have studied, as is shown in the following combined scatter plot.

GRAPH 5. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT INDICATE THE ACTION OF ALPHAKEKS, JUDGES OF THE COMPLAINTS AND FAITHFUL OF THE TRAIL.

This graph gives us an idea of the relationship between references to *jueces de querella* and references to *fieles del rastro*. A correlation can be observed from 1410⁹⁰

90. [...] *Que sean puestos juezes para ello en las villas e señoríos de anbas las partes, en los lugares de los cristianos o de los moros, a do acaeciére, para que sean juezes e fieles (156vC) para que provean en las querellas e continúen los juyzios dellas, e fagan pagar los daños.*

E quando acaeciéren las tales querellas de la vna parte a la otra, en los averes o en las personas e otras cosas que pueden acaecer semejantes, que vayan por el rastro, e den el rastro a do fuere fallado que fué mal fecho; e a la parte donde fuere, que sean tenudos a lo rezeuir [...] ("[...] That they be appointed judges for it in the villas and lordships of anbas the parties, in the places of the Christians or of the Moors, to where it happens, so that they are judges and faithful (156vC) so that they provide in the quarrels and continue the trials of them, and make the damages pay.

And when such quarrels from one side to the other occur, in the assets or in the persons and other things that may happen to be similar, that they may go by the trail, and give the trace to wherever it was found that it was wrongly done; and to the part where it is, that are had to receive it [...]"). 1410, Treaty truces with Granada. García de Santa María, Alvar. "Crónica...": 402-407.

to 1424,⁹¹ as well as from 1439⁹² to 1460.⁹³ The first stage coincides with the border

91. [...] *con nos que adelantemos vos, e nos jue | ses fieles en las partidas de nuestras villas, e nuestros señorios que oygan las querellas, | e ayan poder de las judgar, e de las librar, e pagar los querellosos de amas las | partes de lo que se aforma sobre ello, esta pas de nos, e de vos el Rey onrrado | Rey de granada sobre dicho que quando acaesçer que sea segui | do el Rastro, e se pa | raren sean demandados los de la partida so se parare el Rastro, e ellos que sean | tenudos de lo Resçebir, e sy lo non quiesieren Resçebir, e ouiere testigos dello que | sean tenudos a pagar lo que se perdiere, e que sea asignado el plaso a lo Resçebir del | día que acaesçiere en diez días, e se llega en la demanda contra los fechores E | esperen sobre la partida donde se parare el Rastro entre ellos plaso de cinquenta | días, e sy fuere fallado lo que fuere tomado que sea tornado a cuyo fuere E sy | non fuere fecho cumplimiento de derecho al dicho plaso que sean tenudos los | dichos jueses de las querellas en aquella partida que fagan a lo de aquella partida | pechar lo que se perdiere, e sy se detouiere el jue de las querellas de non librar en | el dicho plaso que fagan dello suplicacion a nos, e a vos, e a lo que ouiere de oyr | por nos, e por vos que lo mandemos librar, e faserle emienda dello, e dar pena | al jue sobre dicho, e lo que es a pagar por lo que dicho es por las personas que sean || tornadas ellas mismas antes del plaso, e despues en toda manera, e que maten a los mal | fechores, e sy fueren falladas las personas despues de la muerte de los malfechores | que sean tornados, e sy non pudieren ser ávidos que paguen por cada persona dellas quaren | ta doblas de oro, e los ganados, e las otras cosas que non pudieren ser tornadas pa | gado por cada cosa su valor segunt lo que tasaren los jueses, e sea juyzio comun | a cada parte de amas las partes cristianos, e moros equal en esto [...]* (“[...] with us, let us go ahead, and we will | faithful people in the games of our villas, and our lords who hear the complaints, | and the power to judge, and to deliver, and to pay those who love you, love them | parts of what is shaped about it, this peace of us, and of you the King honored | King of grenade on said that when it happens that the Rastro is followed, and they stop being sued the ones of the game so the Rastro will stop, and they that are | have received it, and if they do not want to receive it, and there would be witnesses of that | be had to pay what is lost, and to be assigned the term to receive it from | day that they happen ten days, and it arrives in the lawsuit against the deeds E | wait on the departure where the Rastro will stop between them fifty term | days, and if it is found whatever it is taken that is tornado to which it is E yes | the fulfillment of the right to the said term is not fulfilled; said judges of the complaints in that game that they make at that game | pay what is lost, and if the judge stops the complaints of not freeing in | the said term that makes of it supplication to us, and to you, and to what you would have to hear | for us, and for you that we send it to be rid of, to make you believe in it, and to pity | to the judge about said, and what it is to pay for what said is for the persons that are || tornadas themselves before the deadline, and then in any way, and kill the evil | deeds, and if the people were found after the death of the malefactors | that they are tornadoes, and can not be had to pay for each person of them forty golden doubles, and the cattle, and the other things that can not be returned paid for each thing its value according to what the judges, common judgment | to each part of both the Christian parts, e moros equal in this [...]). 1424, Truce between John II of Castile and Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad VIII, “El Izquierdo”, of Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. “Las treguas...”: 94-106.

92. [...] *Han de ser puestos é nonbrados por los dichos Señores reyes, é con sus poderes, jueçes para determinar los dichos danos, robos, saltos, muertes, é desfacer las prendas é oir los querellosos, segund los tiempos pasados fueron puestos, é los preçios convertibles de las cosas que se tomaren, ó robaren, ó mataren, é se non pudieren aver. [...]* (“[...] They must be appointed and appointed by the said lords, kings, and with their powers, judges to determine the said damages, robberies, jumps, deaths, and undo the garments and hear the complainants, according to the past times were put, and the convertible prices of things that are taken, or stolen, or killed, and if there could not be [...]). 1439, Chapters of the conclusion of the truce. Amador de los Ríos, José. “Memoria...”: 128-131.

93. [...] *E de lo que afirmamos en estas pazes con vos el dicho rey hon[r]rado de Granada sobredicho e lo afrimades vos con nos que adelantemos e oygan las querellas e ayan poder para las judgar e de los librar e pagar los querellosos de amas las partes, e de lo que se afirma sobre ella esta paz de nos a vos el rey honrrado de Granada sobredicho e quando acaesçiere querella de qualquier de amas las partes en cuerpos e en averes e en otra qualquier cosa de lo que puede acaesçer que sea seguido el rastro de los fechores e de lo que fuere tomado e do llegare el rastro e se parare sean demandados los de la partida do se pararae el rastro, e ellos que sean tenudos de las reçeber e sy lo non quisieren reçeber e ouiere testigos dello que sean tenudos a pagar lo que se perdiere, e que sea asynado el plazo a lo reçeber del día que acaesçiere en diez días e sea allegada la demanda contra los fechores e esperesn la partida donde se parare el rastro entre ellos plazo de cinquenta días e si fuere fallado lo que le fuere tomado que sea tenuto a cuyo fuere e sy no fuere*

situation of 1405-1410. The reference that occurs towards 1424 may be linked to the complex border situation caused by constant truce breaches and short-lasting reestablishments.

The period coinciding with the 15th century has the first mention of *fieles del rastro*, in the truce of 1439,⁹⁴ signed during the reign of Juan II (1406-1454). It establishes a series of specifications on vassalage and captive delivery, all of which was linked largely to episodes of border violence. Finally, the reference of 1460 is related to a truce signed by Granada and Castile under Enrique IV. This truce stipulates, among other things, "Mutual defense, inflicting no harm at the border, returning merchandise taken by the tax collector or escaped prisoner to its owner, assurance letters for merchants, not welcoming escaped nobles or tax collectors,

fecho complimiento de derecho al dicho plazo que sean tenudos los dichos juezes de las querellas en aquella partida que fagan a los de aquella partida pechar lo que se perdiere e si se detoviene juez de las querellas de no librar en el dicho plazo que faga dello suplicaçion a nos e a vos e al que lo oviere de aver por nos e por vos, e nos e vos lo mandemos librar e fazer enmienda dello e dar pena al juez sobredicho, e lo que es pagar lo que dicho es por las presonas que sean tornadas a ellas mesmas antes del plazo e despues en tienpo toda manera que maten a los malfechores, e si fueren falladas las presonas despues de la muerte de los malfechores que sean tornadas, e sino pudieren ser ávidos que paguen por cada persona dellas quarenta doblas de oro e los ganados e las otras cosas que no pudieron ser tornadas sea pagado por cada cosa un valor segund lo que tasaren los juezes e que sea este juyzio común a cada parte de amas las partes christianos e moros e ygual en esto [...] ("[...] And of what we affirm in these peace with you the aforementioned honored King of Granada and you affirm with us that we go ahead and hear the quarrels and have power to judge and to deliver and pay the complainants of both parties, and of what is affirmed about her this peace from us to you the honored king of Granada above and when there is a quarrel of either of the parties in bodies and in salaries and in any other thing of what may happen that the trace of the deeds and what was taken and where the trail will come and stop will be demanded those of the game where the trail will be stopped, and they will be had of the receiving and if they do not want to receive it and there will be witnesses of it that will be had pay what is requested, and that is assigned the term to receive the day that occurs in ten days and be joined the lawsuit against the deputies and wait for the game where the trace between them within fifty days and if it were found or whatever may be taken that is held to which it is and if it is not done in compliance with the right to said term that the said judges of the complaints have in that game that makes those of that party pay what is lost and if stop judge of the quarrels not to deliver in the aforementioned period to make it supplication to us and to you and to whoever is there for us and for you, and we and you send it to deliver and make an amendment of it and to pity the judge above, and what it is to pay what is said is for the victims who are turned to themselves before the deadline and then in time any way they kill the wrongdoers, and if the people were found after the death of the evildoers they are turned, and if they cannot be paid for each person forty gold doubles and the cattle and other things that could not be returned are paid for each thing a value according to what the judges assess and that to this judgment common to each part of both the Christian and Moorish parties and the same in this [...]"). 1460 Chapters of truces signed between Henry IV and Çad of Granada. García Guzmán, María. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xericiense. El tratado de paz de 1460", *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 11-12 (2010): 108-110.

94. [...] *E han de ser puestos e nonbrados por los dichos sennores reyes, e con sus poderes, juezes para determinar los dannos, robos, saltos, muertes e desfazer las prendas e oír los querellosos, segund los tienpos pasados fueron puestos, en los preçios convenibles de las cosas que se tomares o robaren mataren e non se pudieren aver [...]* ("[...] And they must be appointed and appointed by the said kings, and with their powers, judges to determine the damages, thefts, jumps, deaths and undo the garments and hear the complainants, according to the past times were put, at the convenient prices of things that are taken or stolen will kill and can not be [...]"). 1439, *Tregua de tres años acordada por Iñigo López de Mendoza con Abd Allah al-Amín* García Luján, José. "Las treguas...": 42-45.

[and] not returning escaped prisoners".⁹⁵ To sum up, this truce sought to reestablish cordial relations between two states, which had been broken by ever more frequent border incidents.

Hence, the actions of *jueces de querella* and *fieles del rastro* reflect not only a shade of violence at the border, but also the area's ability to organize and the emergence of rather interesting offices and personalities that can only be understood in this particular situation. In this sense, we have a "hot border"⁹⁶ not so much because of military confrontations between two states as much as due to border incidents, which will become more common over time. That is why truce pacts set deadlines to make amends and avoid breaches and new hostilities, although reprisals will always be considered a right, and as such, will be invoked whenever necessary, thus raising the possibility of breaching a truce and resuming violence.⁹⁷

The actions of *alfaqueques* (ransomers of captives) are also registered in the various truce treaties. The following graph shows when these are mentioned in the treaties we have studied.

GRAPH 6. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT CONTEMPLATE ACTION OF ALFAQUEQUES.

95. García Luján, José. "Las treguas...": 108-110.

96. *La quietud no fue norma que imperara en la frontera, ya que la actividad, pacífica o belicosa de sus más cercanos vecinos sería permanente y los hechos de corto alcance, la continuidad de las penetraciones en busca de botín y cautivos, no cesaría y a las acciones depredatorias seguían las represalias. Y en estas fases de paz oficial pero de incontenible actividad fronteriza, que no logran impedir las autoridades mayores y menores de ambos reinos, persiste la inseguridad que todas las poblaciones cercanas pueden desconocer y tienen siempre presente pese al deseo generalizado de buena vecindad por una y otra parte* ("Stillness was not the rule that prevailed at the border, since the activity, peaceful or bellicose of its closest neighbors would be permanent and the short-term events, the continuity of penetrations in search of plunder and captives, would not cease the actions predators followed the reprisals. And in these phases of official peace but uncontainable border activity, which fail to prevent the major and minor authorities of both kingdoms, insecurity persists that all nearby populations may be unaware of and always keep in mind despite the general desire for good neighborliness for one and other part"). Torres Fontes, Juan. "La frontera...": 97.

97. Rodríguez Molina, José. "La vida de moros...": 333.

Although, as James Brodman points out,⁹⁸ the practice of emancipation was not institutionalized until the 12th century, it won't be until the 13th century that the monarchs try to create order, stipulating *alfaques*' competencies and obligations in the *Partidas*, and later in the law codes of Alcalá de Henares (1348), the Toro Codes (1368), and the Toro Courts (1371).

If we study the graph, we can see that references to *alfaques* in the truces are concentrated in the 15th century, basically in the period of 1410-1481, but mainly in the period of 1410-1424. This time was characterized by border violence and military activity that would lead to the taking of captives.⁹⁹ On the other hand, during truce breaches, border violence would manifest itself in the taking of not only captives, but also goods such as livestock.¹⁰⁰

In order to verify *alfaques* activity in the best way possible, we must analyze it in terms of prisoner exchange and liberation according to the data provided in the truces. This makes their contribution in the 15th century much clearer. The following graph shows this cross analysis:

GRAPH 7. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRIPS THAT INDICATE EXCHANGE AND RESCUE OF CAPTIVES IN RELATION WITH THE ACTION OF THE ALFAQUES.

It is interesting to verify that the truces involving *alfaques* are precisely the ones that mention captive rescue and exchange. This makes sense if the three aforementioned tasks correspond to *afaques*, although not only to them. On the other hand, it is also interesting to see that a good deal of *alfaques* activity is concentrated in the 15th century, which was marked by a much more dangerous

98. Brodman, James. "Municipal Ransoming Law on the Medieval Spanish Frontier", *Speculum*, 60/2 (1985): 324-330.

99. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A possible...": 222-225.

100. Díaz Borras, Andrés. *El miedo al Mediterráneo: la caridad popular valenciana y la redención de cautivos bajo el poder musulmán (1323-1539)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001: 61.

military situation, at least during the rule of Juan II, and a greater number of border incidents.

6. Conclusion

Based on this analysis, we can observe that truces tended to occur in the final period, in the 15th century overall. This reflects nothing less than a heightening of military-political tension due to Castilian expansionism and the ambitions or interests of nobles and other Castilian classes, for whom the war on Islam was a pretext and a source of exaltation, social mobility, and wealth, as research has shown. In this sense, the scourge of the border par excellence and of military action in general will be captivity. In response to this and to organize border life, the truces will establish and regulate peace-seeking institutions, which, as can be observed in the quantitative analysis, were most active in the period prior to the final war of 1482-1492.

Maintaining border security, resolving controversies, and rescuing captives reveal the efforts of both sides to safeguard peace and at the same time maintain relations between the two states, which benefit from business. In addition, this gives the two states a break from the internal conflicts they must sometimes face.

Finally, it is interesting to see how the Nasrid Emirate of Granada managed to make diplomacy an efficient peacekeeping tool so as to resolve its own internal divisions. The Nasrid government was able to visualize, with enormous diplomatic realism, what was most convenient for its society. This allowed the sultanate, and thus al-Andalus, to survive almost all of the 15th century, and in general during its entire history beginning in 1232.

From the detailed analysis of the truce treaty can be deduced that they were especially concerned about establishing flows and relations of good vicinity. One of the most frequent and crucial issues of these treaties refers to the measures and procedures to deal the capture as well as the rescue of prisoners. This shows an interest to organize the entire process not only recover captives but also to anticipate the irregular capture of prisoners in the future. Over the 80% of the treaties signed in the fifteenth century relate to these concerns.

Also, it is significant that at least in the 60% of the cases the truces make reference in their articles to the captives, but only de 25% of them refer to the alfaqueque or other institutions related to the rescue of prisoners. This shows that captives and alfaqueque do not always appeared together in the treaties, since de latter act only when the pact does not consider the return of captives (usually required by Castilla from the Nasrid State). By remaining the captives under Nasrid domain, it was necessary to hire the alfaqueque services and ease his access to border zones to accomplish his role.

Appendix. Truces indicating captive exchange, rescue, or emancipation, the ctivity of *almogávares*, *adalides*, *alfaqueques*, *fieles del rastro*, and *jueces de querella*.

Year	Captive exchange	Captive rescue or emancipation	Almogávares	Adalides	Alfaqueques	Fieles del rastro	Juez de querella / mayor of Moors and Christians
1310							x
1326	x						
1344						x	
1377		x					
1379		x					
1405	x	x	x				
1410		x			X	x	x
1414	x	x			X	x	x
1415	x	x			X	x	x
1417		x					
1418		x	x			x	
1424	x	x			X	x	x
1429	x						
1431		x