

A Contribution to the History of *Galanas* in Late-medieval Wales

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On the feast of St Andrew (30 November), 1430, in the course of a serious breach of the peace in the town of Ruthin, John ap Ieuan Goch Saer, described as a yeoman of the township of Garthgynan, in the commote of Llannerch, stuck a dagger, valued at sixpence, into Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn and killed him. Although few details of the incident have been preserved, save for the returns of an inquest, it was evidently part of a broader fracas which took place over a number of days during which John ap Ieuan Goch was himself wounded, and was in no way an uncommon episode in the frequently volatile atmosphere of a medieval Welsh town in the late Middle Ages. What distinguishes this particular homicide from a host of other examples is its highly significant sequel, which is the subject of this present brief study. For, at a subsequent town court, an appeal of homicide was commenced by a Bleddyn ap Hywel ap Ieuan, describing himself as a kinsman (*consanguineus*) of the victim, against John ap Ieuan Goch, by then attached and imprisoned in the castle of Ruthin, an action which was, however, later withdrawn when a fine of 20s. 0d. was paid to the lord by the would-be appellant.¹

What follows on the record of the town court held in the interval between the prosecution of the appeal and its abandonment is of even greater consequence than the killing itself and the appeal, and helps to shed some additional light on the history of *galanas* in late medieval Wales. For at that court there came in person before Geoffrey Clerk and John ap Ithel, especially deputed with powers by the steward, Maredudd ap Llywelyn Chwith, Madog ap Ieuan Llwyd, Ieuan Goch Saer and seventeen other named persons to acknowledge that they owed a sum of £24 to Ithel ap Dafydd ap Cyn' and Geoffrey Clerk, assigned to receive the amends and *galanas* price of Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn, on the part of the kindred (*parentela*) of the mother of Gruffydd; and Dafydd ap Madog ap Ieuan and the said Geoffrey Clerk, assigned to receive the amends and *galanas* price of Gruffydd on the part of the *parentela* of the father of Gruffydd.² A third part of the

¹ An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Cyfraith Hywel Seminar at Aberystwyth in 2002 and I am grateful to those present for their comments. An especial thanks to Richard Ireland for his perceptive reading of the present version and to Daniel Huws for his characteristic generosity in providing references. The case in question has been reconstructed from entries in The National Archives, SC2/222/1, mm.43, 44, 45v. (the court rolls for the town of Ruthin for the years 1422–41). All documentary references in this article are to records

in The National Archives unless otherwise noted. The Dyffryn Clwyd Court Roll Database 1294–1422 (hereafter Database), ESRC Data Archive, Study Number 3679, has also been consulted.

² *Ibid.*, m. 45v. I have not been able to identify the victim's associations. Geoffrey Clerk was bailiff of Ruthin in 1432 (SC2/222/1, m. 52) and held other offices. John ap Ithel was a frequent juror and officeholder in the town (Database GC7 (passim), GC7/611, 735, 737).

amends or *galanas* price (*precium galanas*) was to be reserved to the lord, Reginald de Grey, for enforcing or compelling the levying of the sum (*pro compulsione levandum*). A list of some thirty-two names follows with a sum of money ranging from 3s. 4d. to £1 0s. 0d. allocated to each name. These are almost certainly the names of those on whom the obligation to pay the *galanas* price was placed, with a further four named as pledges of John ap Ieuan Goch for keeping the peace. Subsequently, at a session of the court of the commote of Llannerch, pledges were taken on the part of the *parentela* of the victim for keeping the peace towards the slayer.³

Despite the many deficiencies of the roll, and the skeletal, even the sketchy attributes of the court record, the account of the events surrounding the death of Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn provide a valuable addition to the small dossier of cases which relate to the history of *galanas* in the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd and the even smaller number of examples which were brought to some sort of conclusion in the courts of the lordship.⁴ Viewed alongside the evidence drawn from the lordship of Clun and from Dyffryn Clwyd and discussed in an important study by R. R. Davies in 1969, it also provides information on the ways in which cases of *galanas* were initiated and prosecuted in the courts of a marcher lordship.⁵ Although the curial records of several marcher lordships and of the royal lands in Wales have now been searched in some detail, very few references to *galanas* by name have been identified. The corpus of evidence is undoubtedly exiguous, but it nonetheless suggests the survival well into the fifteenth century of some key elements of an institution which looms large in texts of Welsh law of medieval date and raises several important issues relating to the legal principles and procedures acknowledged and practised in two Welsh jurisdictions in the later Middle Ages.

In the first place the role in several of the recorded cases of the criminal appeal should be noted. This was, in essence, a private accusation, albeit one modulated by the rules of the royal courts in England and by seigniorial courts in Wales, and brought by the injured party or, in the case of homicide, by the victim's kin.⁶ Although not of Welsh but of Anglo-Norman origin, the use of the appeal in initiating a claim of *galanas* was singularly appropriate. Both the appeal and a plea of *galanas* could trace their distant origin in the bloodfeud; the securing of compensation was an element common to both, as was the place accorded the kin in commencing the action.⁷ Introduced into the royal lands by the Statute of Wales of 1284 for cases of homicide, wounding, rape, arson and robbery,

³ SC2/221/13, m.15 (a very damaged court roll for the commote of Llannerch).

⁴ Nine cases have so far come to light, seven of fifteenth-century date, although this may not be the full complement. Of these the conclusion of only two is recorded on the court roll, and the possibility of an extra-curial settlement cannot be ruled out. This is almost certainly the case in a plea of *galanas* brought in 1449 when the parties were granted a licence to concord (SC2/222/5, m. 30). The latest case that I have so far identified pertains to 1489–90, when John ap Dafydd ab Adda brought a plea of *galanas* against John ap Gruffydd ap Ieuan to the court of Llannerch (SC2/223/17, m.10).

⁵ The key historical study is R. R. Davies, 'The survival of the bloodfeud in medieval Wales', *History*, 54 (1969), 338–57 (hereafter 'Survival of bloodfeud') with earlier studies cited in the article. *Galanas* in the

texts of Welsh law is now thoroughly analysed by Meir Harris, 'Galanas a sarhaed yng Nghyfraith Hywel', University of Wales, Aberystwyth Ph.D. thesis, 2003. See also T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford, 1993), espec. pp.181–201.

⁶ For the criminal appeal, see Margaret H. Kerr, 'Angevin reform of the appeal of felony', *Law and History Review*, 13 (1995), 351–83; R. D. Groot, 'The jury in private criminal prosecutions before 1215', *American Journal of Legal History*, 27 (1983), 113–41; C. Whittick, 'The role of the criminal appeal in the fifteenth century', in J. A. Guy and H. G. Beale (eds), *Law and Social Change in British History* (London, 1984), pp. 55–72. I hope to be able to discuss the criminal appeal in medieval Wales in more detail on another occasion.

⁷ W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (London, 1922–38), 12 vols., ii, 256–7, 362–3.

the regular use of the appeal in the courts of the county of Flint is well-documented in the records; likewise, a late fifteenth-century tract on legal procedure associated with the lordship of Brecon includes the plaint of appeal among seven species of plaint which might be entertained in the courts, while numerous examples have also been noted in the court rolls of several other lordships of the march, including those of Dyffryn Clwyd and Clun in the late Middle Ages.⁸ We cannot, however, be certain that an appeal of homicide was invariably a preliminary to a claim for compensation or indeed that all cases of *galanas* were commenced by an appeal.⁹ On the contrary, the evidence culled from Dyffryn Clwyd in the fifteenth century shows that a plea of *galanas* (*placita galanas*), a plea not associated with an appeal, might be prosecuted in the courts of the lordship, although no details of such a plea have been preserved in the court record.¹⁰ Later texts of Welsh law preserve instances of a specimen plea (*cwyn galanas*) although their geographical provenance is not specified, but the specimen plea of *sarhaed*, an action closely associated with the plaint of *galanas*, can be found in a late fifteenth-century text derived from a court record relating to the township of Bacheurig, in the commote of Llannerch in Dyffryn Clwyd 'in the lordship of Sir Edmund Grey, lord of that lordship' (*yn arglwyddiaeth Syr Edmwnd Gray arglwydd y wlad hon*).¹¹ It may not be a coincidence that many of those who figure in the proceedings connected with the case of John ap Ieuan Goch Saer can be located in the very same township, that of Bacheurig, which was the source of a *cwyn* in native Welsh law. Likewise, the commote of Llannerch provides an example of an intimate knowledge of one of the more arcane procedures of Welsh law, namely that of *cant yr ardyrchafiad* which makes its fleeting appearance in a case of *galanas* brought to the commote court in 1398.¹² The evidence suggests at the very least that the principles and formal procedures which informed Welsh jurisprudence had not been forgotten in this small enclave of north Wales in the late Middle Ages.

Whether initiated by means of the criminal appeal or by a plea of *galanas*, all the cases of which we have record were evidently integrated into the structures of criminal justice operated by the lords. The hue and cry, the public notoriety given to the crime by means of the returns of a jury of presentment or a jury *ex officio*, the coroner's inquest on the body of the victim, the suspect's indictment can be well illustrated from the court records as can the arrest of the suspect by seigniorial officials and, when he or she could not be

⁸ I. Bowen, *The Statutes of Wales* (London, 1908), p. 5; Chester 30/2, mm. 3, 7v.; Chester 30/24, m. 9v.; Chester 30/37, m. 39v. (a small selection from numerous examples from the county of Flint); the single surviving plea roll for the Principality of North Wales has one appeal brought by a wife for the death of her husband (Wales/20, m. 35). For the lordship of Brecon, see S. E. Roberts, 'Legal practice in fifteenth-century Brycheiniog', *ante*, 35 (2001), 307–25; for Dyffryn Clwyd, SC2/216/2, m. 14; SC2/216/10, m. 16; SC2/223/22, m. 7. and for appeals in the lordship of Clun, see Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud'.

⁹ Several appeals of homicide in Dyffryn Clwyd did not proceed into a claim of *galanas*.

¹⁰ The *placita galanas* occurs in a case of 1398 brought to the court of Llannerch (SC2/220/19, m.29; Database E/2367). A number of fifteenth-century cases refer to a plea of *galanas* e.g. SC2/221/10, m. 20v., m. 24 (1415–16); SC2/223/17, m. 10.

¹¹ For a printed text of a *cwyn galanas* see A. Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London, 1841), ii, 466–7; Harris, 'Galanas a sarhaed', pp. 228–35 (for discussion of the sources and the suggestion that the *cwyn* may have been a fifteenth-century jurists' construct). The *cwyn sarhaed* printed in *A.L.*, ii, 474 from the 'book of Trev Alun, of the handwriting of Gutyn Owain', is almost certainly of fifteenth-century date. The source is identified as having been 'with Mr. Trefor, Tref Alun' (*yn ygrifenedig o law Guttyn Owain gyd â Mr. Trefor, Tref Alun*) in *Y Greal* (London, 1806), p. 322, printed from N.L.W.13246B. For the Bacheurig connections, see below, pp. 92–3. The *cwynion* and the texts in which they occur are discussed by Sara Elin Roberts, 'Plaints in mediaeval Welsh law', *Journal of Celtic Studies*, 4 (2004), 219–61 and note especially p. 220 n. 5.

¹² Database E/2367. It is discussed in Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud', 348.

apprehended, the processes of outlawry and the final pronouncement of the sentence.¹³ Indeed, as the few cases which have been identified in Dyffryn Clwyd in the fifteenth century suggest, proceedings at the lord's suit might be prosecuted in parallel with the private prosecution of a plea of *galanas*, two cases brought to the commote courts in the early fifteenth century being particularly instructive in this respect.¹⁴ When, for example, Iorwerth ap Bleddyn ap Cyn' brought a plea of *galanas* against Dafydd ap Gwilym ap Dafydd for the death of his brother, killed in the township of Ceidio in 1415–16, the defendant's persistent failure to appear in court to answer the charge incurred the penalty of *tremyg* according to the principles of Welsh law in what was essentially a civil dispute between the two litigants.¹⁵ But the felon was also and simultaneously subjected to the seigniorial processes of *capias*, exigent and eventual outlawry, and his lands forfeited to the lord.¹⁶ The intermingling of seigniorial and private justice is equally clear in other cases of fifteenth-century date of which we have record although none was brought to conclusion in the lord's court.

The case of John ap Ieuan Goch Saer was, however, concluded in court and the lord's pecuniary interest in the proceedings is evident and significant. Law texts of thirteenth-century date already suggest the intrusion of seigniorial authority into *galanas* arrangements, the *traean cymell* (the exacting third) being levied to the lord's use from the sum payable to the kin of the deceased.¹⁷ This was undoubtedly the practice also in the lordship of Clun where, as Davies has shown, a fixed third of the compensation fine was levied by the lord in the fourteenth-century cases of which we have record.¹⁸ The evidence, discussed in his article, for its possible survival in Dyffryn Clwyd is, however, less clear. In an important case of 1365 where the kindred's involvement is most clearly in evidence (although it is nowhere specifically described as a case of *galanas*) seigniorial authority was certainly indicated by the licence granted to the two kindreds to come to financial agreement, a composition then enrolled on the court roll in the form of a final concord, and by the payment of a fine of £10 by the slayer to redeem his life and to secure the lord's pardon.¹⁹ There is no mention of a *traean cymell* in the record and Davies suggested a contrast between the practice in the lordship of Clun, where the survival of *galanas* was a 'fossilized local custom . . . deliberately upheld by a profiteering lord', and divorced from any substantial contact with a living Welsh law, and Dyffryn Clwyd where its survival was seen to be 'entirely in response' to the demands of a local community and an unbroken tradition of native jurisprudence.²⁰ But it is clear that seigniorial involvement in the *galanas* in Dyffryn Clwyd in the first half of the fifteenth

¹³ For the procedure, for which there is ample evidence in the court records, see F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn, ed. S. F. C. Milsom (Cambridge, 1968), ii, pp. 578–82.

¹⁴ SC2/221/10, mm. 20v., 22. The second case appears on mm. 23v., 28 (the slaying of Dafydd ap Ieuan Goch ab Einion by Iorwerth ap Dafydd ap Iorwerth Hen, when the homicide's forfeited lands were given to Robert ap Ieuan Goch, although it is unlikely that he was related to the slain man).

¹⁵ For *tremyg* see R. R. Davies, 'The twilight of Welsh law, 1284–1536', *History*, 51 (1966), 160–1; R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'A glimpse of Welsh medieval court procedure in a poem by Dafydd ap Gwilym', in C. Richmond and I. Harvey (eds), *Recognitions:*

Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 171–2 (for *dirwy tremyg*).

¹⁶ SC2/221/10, m. 22. Dafydd ap Gwilym forfeited his lands, although they were later regranted to his daughters, *ibid.*, m. 26.

¹⁷ Harris, 'Galanas a sarhaed', espec. p. 292 (for a discussion of the development of *traean cymell* in the texts).

¹⁸ Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud', 346, 353 and sources cited, where a sum of £8 is noted as the lord's third. More cases of *galanas* seem to have been brought to conclusion and noted on the court record in fourteenth-century Clun.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 347–8.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 346, 347.

century was as punctilious and voracious as it had been in Clun a century earlier. Nor need this occasion any surprise. The almost unbroken tenure of the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd by the Greys, the lord's frequent visits to his Welsh lordship, his occasional participation as an arbiter in arbitration agreements, and the numerous referrals of cases, especially those when matters of Welsh law were at issue, from the commote courts to the decisions of the lord and his council, undoubtedly preserved an enduring seigniorial interest in the judicial affairs of the lordship, a participation which can scarcely be paralleled in other Welsh jurisdictions in the period.²¹

If the role assumed by the lord in the case under discussion accords with that claimed by seigniorial authority in the texts of Welsh law, the right of the paternal and maternal kin to a share in the compensation also suggests a continued awareness, at least in broad principles, of the arrangements described. Although the identities of the victim and his wider kin have proved difficult to establish, it is perfectly clear that representatives of the kindred (*parentela*) of his mother and father were nominated to receive the amends.²² Other features of the case, however, correspond far less readily with the principles contained in the law texts. For one thing, while an emphasis on the homicide's personal responsibility for providing a portion of the *galanas* price has been identified in the surviving texts, the name of John ap Ieuan Goch is curiously absent from the composition registered on the court record and his name is not found among those who were detailed to pay in the case under discussion.²³ Yet, he had been apprehended for his crime and committed to Ruthin castle and was, possibly, a landed proprietor in the lordship. He was described in the indictment as a yeoman of Garthgynan in the commote of Llannerch, the family's landed interests in the township affirmed by his parents' admission to a tenement there in 1416.²⁴ Secondly, while the *galanas* price of the laws was intimately connected with the victim's status or *braint*, it is difficult to determine on what basis the sum of £24 was calculated as the worth of Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn and, indeed, the sum bears a curious resemblance to the sum of £24 regularly recorded as the sums paid in compensation for homicide in the lordship of Clun in the fourteenth century.²⁵ Thirdly, while the law texts imply that compensation should be given and received according to a strict principle of consanguinity to the slayer and his victim, no such differential can be identified in the present case.²⁶ A sum of £1 0s. 0d. was required from each of those who formed the inner kernel of the slayer's close kinsmen, namely his father and three of his brothers. But the equivalent amount was also to be paid by a number of contributors whose kinship ties with the homicide (if, indeed, there were any) are difficult to establish.

²¹ From the fifteenth-century rolls see, e.g. SC2/223/2, m.11v.; 223/7, m. 6 (lord's advent); SC2/222/1, m. 27v.; 222/5, m. 16 (seigniorial arbitrations); SC2/223/22, m. 4, m. 8v. (referrals to the lord and his council). Examples could be multiplied.

²² SC2/222/1, m. 45. Pledges were also given by the *parentela* of the victim to keep the peace towards the slayer; SC2/221/13, m. 15 and above, p.

²³ Harris, 'Galanas a sarhaed', pp. 270–2, 288, for an important discussion of the issue of the slayer's pecuniary responsibilities as variously expressed in the texts. In a case of 1361 (not specifically described as a case of *galanas*) there is, likewise, no record of a contribution by the slayer (Database Llan/3/1746).

²⁴ His mother and father took lands in Garthgynan (a township adjacent to Bacheurig) from Hugh

Sergeant in 1416 (Database Llan7/1361). The lands described as 'next to *Geuengogh*' were surrendered by them to their son, Gruffydd, in 1418 (*ibid.*, 1610). I know of no surrender of land to John, the slayer. A John ap Ieuan Saer was in residence in Ruthin in 1469–70 (SC2/223/7, mm. 1,10) but his identity is uncertain and the name is, in any case, fairly common.

²⁵ The sum of £24 paid in Clun is either specifically recorded or can be deduced from the fact that a third (£8) was paid to the lord (See Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud', 346 and sources cited). The total of the contributions in the case under discussion falls just short of £24, but no sum is entered against one of the names.

²⁶ Harris, 'Galanas a sarhaed', p. 288 *et seq.*

Although there is some evidence to suggest that the importance of the degrees of consanguinity was acknowledged in the apportionment of the *receipt* of compensation in other cases, dating from the late Middle Ages, of which we have knowledge – in the lordship of Clun in 1400 kinsmen were to receive a share of the amends *secundum gradum consanguinitatis sui* while an arbitration decree specifies receipt ‘aftre theire degrees of theire cousinage or kynred’²⁷ – there is no indication that this was a governing principle in the *payment* of the *galanas* in the example which is the subject of the present enquiry.

Indeed, most difficult of all to reconcile with any principle of kin-responsibility for payment in the case of the slaying of Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn are the criteria employed in the selection of the parties contributing to the fine. The texts, although there is some ambivalence as to the precise extent of kin participation, describe a cognatic kindred extending to seven or, sometimes, nine degrees of consanguinity while a fifteenth-century manuscript of a Latin text connected with the lordship of Denbigh (a lordship neighbouring on Dyffryn Clwyd and where the four-generation *agnatic* group was similarly the crucial kin-group for the inheritance of land) describes a *galanas* kindred, comprising of paternal and maternal kin, ‘to the third generation’ (*usque in terciam generationem*).²⁸ When the *galanas* arrangements emerge from the penumbra of the texts to the light of the record evidence, however, it is the kindred to the fourth degree which is identified as the relevant group in the lordship of Clun, as a decision given by the *patria* of the lordship in 1333 makes clear.²⁹ What relationship, if any, was borne by the thirty-two named contributors to the fine of £24 for the death of Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn is, however, far from clear. The presence among them of the slayer’s father and brothers, from each of whom a sum of £1 0s. 0d. was expected, as we have seen, conforms with the responsibilities of the close kin of the slayer in the classical exposition of the law of *galanas*. It is possible, too, that a number of the participants were connected by blood with the slayer’s maternal kin, although definite proof of such a familial connection has proved elusive. The presence, for instance, of a number of prominent Bacheurig tenants – among them Maredudd ap Llywelyn Chwith, Morys ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn and Ieuan Wyn ap Einion, members of a powerful lineage with roots in the township, may be explained by the fact that the slayer’s mother, Tangwystl, had, in 1399, inherited land in the township as one of the co-heiresses of her brother, Ieuan ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn Goch, *capellanus*, an estate that, on her death shortly after the slaying, passed to her eldest son Dafydd, one of the contributors to the fine.³⁰ But, equally, they,

²⁷ Davies, ‘Survival of bloodfeud’, 345 citing Salop Record Office 552/1/34, m. 36. For the arbitration see NLW Peniarth 354C, ff. 88–9 and Llinos Beverley Smith, ‘The grammar and commonplace books of John Edwards of Chirk’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 34 (1987), 174–85.

²⁸ Harris, ‘Galanas a sarhaed’, pp. 179–201 has a good discussion. The text of Redaction E is printed in H. D. Emanuel, *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws* (Cardiff, 1967), pp. 434–517. The associations of one of its manuscripts, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 454 with the lordship of Denbigh are suggested by the estreats from the commotal courts of the lordship, dating from the fifteenth century, on its end-leaves (Emanuel, *Latin Texts*, pp. 409–10). The division of the *galanas* payment, with a third paid by the slayer, and the extent of the contributing kindred,

is given on p. 449. The four-generation group as the relevant group for the inheritance of land was certainly in operation in the lordship, e.g. P. Vinogradoff and F. Morgan, *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334* (London, 1914), p. 150; N.L.W., Deeds Relating to Trovarth and Coed Coch Estates, no.33 (1502), but this was an agnatic group. Had the copyist of Latin E, possibly an ecclesiastic, confused the agnatic inheritance group with the cognatic *galanas* kindred?

²⁹ Salop R.O. 552/1/2, m. 12, cited in Davies, ‘Survival of bloodfeud’, 345.

³⁰ The lineage is recorded in P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 300–1400* (Cardiff, 1974), 2. 278 (Edwin 7), evidence which can be corroborated and supplemented by the court rolls. Tangwystl ferch Dafydd is identified as the wife of Ieuan Goch Saer

and a number of other contributors were also prominent as officials or as men of affairs in the lordship. Such was the case with Madog ap Ieuan Llwyd, noted as constable, juror and bailer in the courts of the commote of Llannerch, or Ieuan ap Hywel ap Iorwerth, whose regular service on the commote's grand jury is, likewise, attested by the court rolls.³¹ But the family of Ieuan Goch Saer was also embedded within urban society, and the connections of men such as Twna Trefor, ale-taster and frequent juror of Ruthin, or Dafydd ap Cad' the younger lay firmly within the ambit of the town.³² There is no obvious common denominator which links these men with each other nor with the homicide and his family and it is difficult to understand why they were prepared to contribute sums which were, in many instances, not insubstantial to the fund.³³ It may be that, in the final analysis, kinship was not the determinant of the liability to pay. On the contrary, ties of blood might be more readily activated and expressed when the receipt of money was the matter at issue. We cannot be confident nor certain that the complex webs of interrelationships within the rural and urban societies of the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd have been thoroughly understood, but in this particular instance it was, perhaps, more blessed to receive than to give.

The case of the slaying of Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn, one of the most detailed examples of the successful pursuit of a claim of *galanas* which has so far come to light, invites comparison with an earlier and equally detailed example, although not one specifically described as one of *galanas*. The case which was brought to the court of the commote of Coelion in 1365, and which relates to the killing of Bleddyn ap Dafydd ap Adda by Dafydd ab Einion, corresponds in many important respects, although not in all its particulars, to the case of 1430 which has been the subject of this enquiry.³⁴ In both instances, the action was initiated by means of the criminal appeal, brought, in the case of the earlier example, by the victim's sister and, in the later, by a kinsman of the slain. In both cases, too, the appeal was withdrawn when the compensation had been agreed and a fine for withdrawal paid into the seigniorial coffers. Both cases, likewise, confirm the importance of the cognatic kin in the receipt of the payment and, in both instances, the kinsfolk of the victim provided pledges to maintain the peace towards the slayer, thus to all intents and purposes, concluding the proceedings. The role of seigniorial authority is equally conspicuous, the processes of inquest prominent in both, and their conclusion in the

(also known as cooper) on her death in 1432–3, when she is recorded as holding various tenements in Bacheurig in English tenure and was succeeded by her son Dafydd (SC2/221/13, m. 20 v.). These lands had been inherited by her as one of the sisters and co-heirs of Ieuan ap Dafydd ap Bleddyn, *capellanus*, who died in 1399 (Database E/2416), lands that he had inherited from his father, Dafydd ap Bleddyn Goch, in 1394 (Database Llan5/687). I have failed, so far, to establish a connection between this family and the Bacheurig landowners who contributed to the fine.

³¹ For Madog ap Ieuan Llwyd see, e.g. Database GC7/206 (1412), elected constable of the commote of Llannerch; Llan7/725(1414), farmer of one of the commote's mills; GC7/*passim*, juror; SC2/221/13, m. 8, lands in Bacheurig. For Ieuan ap Hywel ap Iorwerth see GC7 (*passim*), juror; E/54 (1390), lands in commote of Llannerch. The references here given are not intended to be complete prosopographies.

³² Ieuan Goch Saer, although he litigated in the

courts of more than one commote, is mainly associated with Ruthin and was described as a baker in the town. Twna Trefor, although he had held land in the commote of Coelion (SC2/221/9, m. 8) also held office in Ruthin (GC7736 (1421), ale-taster; GC7, *passim*, juror of Ruthin. For Dafydd ap Cadwgan junior see GC7/487(1417), house in Llanruth, and GC7, *passim*, juror)

³³ For the exaction of compensation from the homicide's pledges and not from his kin in the lordship of Clun see Salop R.O. 552/1/2, m. 8 (cited by Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud', 356 n.) For the suggestion that the texts may reveal an increasing unwillingness on the part of the slayer's kin to contribute to the payment of *galanas* see D. Jenkins, *Cyfraith Hywel* (Llandysul, 1970), p. 72.

³⁴ Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud', 347 for analysis of the case of 1365 from SC2/219/2, mm. 29v., 30 and SC2/219/3, mm. 29–29v.

lord's court attested in the earlier example by means of a final concord and in the later by the registration of the names of the pledges and of the contributors together with the fact of payment on the court roll. Only in the later example is the lord's financial interest in the proceedings ascribed to his right to receive a third of the compensation while, in the earlier example, the substantial sum of £10 0s. 0d. paid to the lord is explained as one made to purchase the lord's pardon for the crime. Yet, despite the numerous points of comparison between the two cases, it would be unwise to argue in favour of coherent and clearly articulated understanding of a law of *galanas* in the seigniorial courts of the late Middle Ages, or indeed, to assume an unbroken expression of the principles preserved in the texts. *Galanas* may not have been the sole means nor the seigniorial courts the only forum for satisfying the appetite for compensation which was an enduring characteristic of late medieval society.³⁵ But, as this study has attempted to show, this 'fag-end of a largely superannuated legal system' was not entirely consigned to oblivion in fifteenth-century Wales.³⁶

³⁵ Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud', 354–5; NLW Llanfair and Brynoddol D33, an arbitration award of 1490 relating to Anglesey, is a further example of compensation paid for murder. See also Llinos

Beverley Smith, 'Disputes and settlement in late-medieval Wales: the role of arbitration', *English Historical Review*, 106 (1991), 835–60.

³⁶ Davies, 'Survival of bloodfeud', 357.