

DANIEL WALEY

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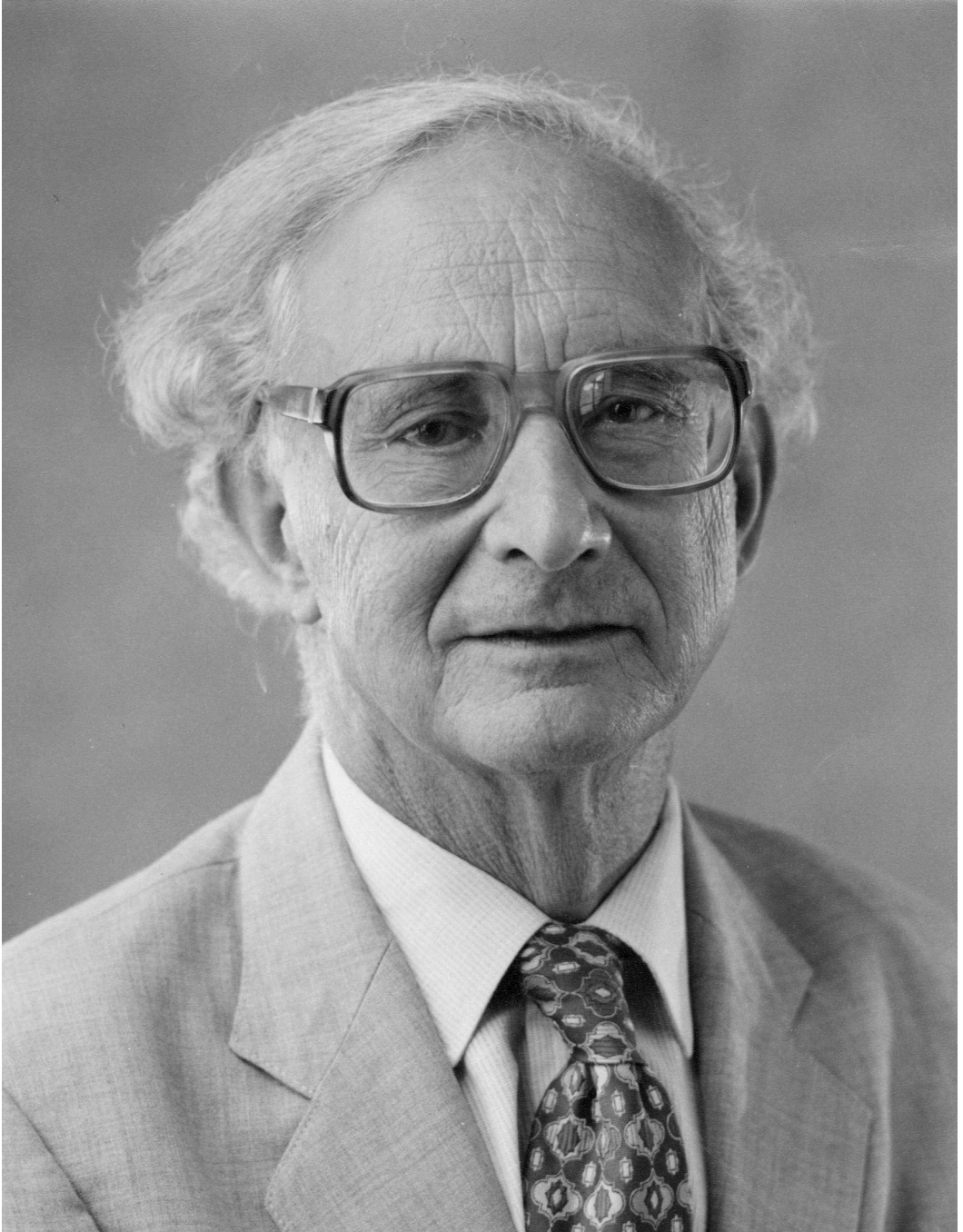
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by

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Daniel Waley was one of the leading medieval historians of the second half of the twentieth century: author of major, enduring textbooks on Italy and on Europe, he also produced a long series of studies of Italian cities, their governments and their armies in the thirteenth century. Exceptionally for such a productive medieval scholar, he also wrote impressive works on British modern history, and made a mid-career change, from lecturing at the London School of Economics to managing a department in the British Library.



DANIEL WALEY

'I was born in the house of my paternal grandmother in Notting Hill, London W11, but all my earliest memories are of Porters Hall, Stebbing, Essex, a big house, surrounded by a moat, where we lived from 1921 till 1926.' So opens an unpublished memoir of his childhood written by Daniel Waley in 2010; the memoir offers a set of character sketches of his parents and grandparents, of some of their servants, and of the sequence of houses in which they lived.¹ His father, Hubert, had failed at a succession of ventures (as a student at Oxford and at art school, as a lithographer) before inventing a continuous film projector and obtaining a post in the British Film Institute as 'technical director'. His mother, Margaret, had also dropped out, of Natural Sciences at Cambridge. His grandfathers were Philip Samuel Waley, a stockbroker prominent in London Jewish circles, who 'lived in a grand house in Gloucester Square' with countless servants, and David Frederick Schloss, a civil servant and member of the Fabian Society, who changed his name to Waley during the First World War. One aunt lived in 'a rather smart flat in Piccadilly', and uncles included Sigismund (David) Waley MC, a Treasury civil servant who was knighted, and Arthur Waley the distinguished orientalist and translator. 'The general milieu of my parents ... might be described as situated in the extreme outskirts of "Bloomsbury"', Daniel wrote, characterising this as 'a general approval of everything French' and 'a marked lack of interest in clothes and food'. From these sketches of people and places, Daniel draws a memorable portrait of his personal and family background: a high-achieving, wealthy family; a cosmopolitan outlook; enduring cultural interests in art and literature; and an inherited 'fidgety tendency'.

Daniel's education started early: his grandmother taught him French, using *French without Tears*; his mother read poetry to him, mainly Shakespeare; at a preliminary school an early encounter with art history, and with Giotto in particular, remained a strong memory in later life. Daniel's first school was near Dorking, and it followed an unusual learning scheme, the pupils not being taught in classes but individually moving from room to room to complete a set of assignments in a range of subjects. Daniel recalled the History teacher as 'brilliant', a judgement surpassed by a fellow pupil and later historian (Professor Sir Michael Howard): 'Daniel, we were taught by a genius!' Daniel then went to boarding school, Dauntsey's near Devizes (1934–8), the school having been chosen, Daniel recalled, on the basis of a not entirely enthusiastic recommendation by some friends. 'The staff were not a particularly impressive lot': the French master's insistence on pupils reading a book in French every week caused time problems in other studies; and the History teacher 'seemed to have used up all his energy in getting a First at Cambridge'; what Daniel enjoyed most was the cricket

¹All further unattributed quotations are to this memoir. I am very grateful to Daniel's daughter, Harriet Sogbodjor, for allowing me to see this document.

(‘slow bowler, even slower batsman’). Despite these deficiencies, Daniel won a scholarship to King’s College, Cambridge at the end of 1938, and then went to Paris for six months to take the ‘Cours de Civilisation Française’ at the Sorbonne, and to improve his French. It was while he was there in March 1939, on his eighteenth birthday, that he met Pamela Griffiths, who had come to Paris from a school in Kent on a similar mission. They married in 1945, almost immediately on Daniel’s return from Italy and while he was an undergraduate.

Pam played a large role in Daniel’s career. She was an excellent linguist and a distinguished academic (she had learned Japanese as part of her war-work at Bletchley and had her own career as Lecturer in Hispanic and Italian languages at Westfield College, London). Daniel acknowledged her role in the prefaces to several of his books: ‘I am indebted most of all to my wife, who has aided me constantly with advice and criticism’ (*Medieval Orvieto*, Cambridge, 1952); and ‘a quite overwhelming domestic debt’ was acknowledged for reading and critiquing the whole manuscript of *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1961). Daniel was also devoted to his children, and Pam wrote proudly in 2015 of the fact that they were an international family, Jewish, Welsh, with an African son-in-law and an Algerian daughter-in-law.²

After one year at Cambridge, Daniel volunteered for military service, and served in the Eighth Army, 1940–5, with periods in the Intelligence Corps (Field Security), and attachments to ‘a strange cosmopolitan “private army” in Tunisia’ in 1943, and to an Italian ‘First Motorised Group’ in 1944. In a memoir of his experience in Tunisia, Daniel described his ‘totally undefined role’, mainly as an interpreter, to a multi-national ‘secret unit’ of British, French, Spanish, Greek and Austrian soldiers.³ The memoir mixes a historian’s concern to categorise the unit’s activities—punitive expeditions, patrolling no-man’s-land, and raids behind enemy lines—and to assess its achievements, with a more personal and emotional reminiscence—his fear before going on raids, his relief at the cancellation of a raid which, he later discovered, would have been a death trap, and his witnessing of a war crime (‘I made no protest at the time’; the incident later gave him nightmares, according to Christopher Whittick). He recounts one hare-brained spying scheme: ‘One operation which was suggested was that I should be dressed as an Arab fruit vendor, with a donkey, and should visit some German positions. I had only a few words of Arabic, and I turned the idea down I thought it quite likely that this operation would have concluded by my being shot.’ The tale of another near-miss was marked by the same detached, retrospective amusement: ‘the nearest I came to being shot at was fire from the Bren gun of a nervous British infantry outpost’. He also recalled with pleasure his

² Christopher Wright, personal communication.

³ Imperial War Museum, Document 21185, Private Papers of D. P. Waley.

friendships with fellow-soldiers, an evening with some dancing Arabs, and a day when they drove to visit the Roman ruins at Dugga. He also served in the Sicilian campaign in the summer of 1943, and in his memoir he recreates some memorable episodes: problems with his puncture-prone motorcycle, an order to teach Italian to other members of his unit despite his own limited knowledge based on recipes, his involvement in the rounding up of active Fascists ('I interrogated many and arrested quite a few') and his outbreaks of malarial fever, requiring treatment in a field hospital near Syracuse. From Messina, he also embarked on the allied invasion of the Italian mainland.

'My war experience had a big impression on me', but, like many veterans, he did not talk much about it: according to Caroline Barron, he made out that he had had a clerical war, doing nothing much but sign cheques and write chits. He left Italy in September 1945, initially on leave, then on discharge, and within weeks he was back in Cambridge, newly married, belatedly joining the Michaelmas term, and opting for just one further undergraduate year (under special regulations for service-men), studying medieval European history and 'St Francis and the early Franciscans', a special subject taught by David Knowles, who left strong impressions on his students for his lectures, 'quite beyond the effect of the words themselves', for their 'beauty of language and depth of thought'.⁴ Daniel himself praised Knowles as 'a great teacher', 'mio maestro'.⁵ So what was the 'big impression' that the war made on Daniel? Foremost must have been a new interest in Italian history: in a conference paper at Assisi in the 1970s Daniel recalled his first sight of that city in October 1944 when his army division was advancing along the main road, en route to the front in the Apennines.⁶ Second, Daniel came to have an abiding historical interest in military strategy, recruitment and leadership: it was failings in these very fields that he recalled of his experience in Tunisia in 1943.

Once he had gained a first-class degree in 1946, 'research seemed the obvious next move ... and medieval Italy seemed equally obvious', especially as Pam was already studying for a PhD in Italian, while Daniel's special subject and his interest in Italy discovered during the war also must have contributed to the decision. Daniel consulted Previt -Orton, the recently retired Cambridge professor of medieval history, on possible research topics. Previt  (as he was known) was a scholarly and source-focused historian of Italy in his own right, though he was better known for his textbooks of European history, the *Outline of Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1916)

⁴C. Brooke, '1896-1974', in C. Brooke, R. Lovatt, D. Luscombe and A. Sillem (eds.), *David Knowles Remembered* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 21.

⁵D. P. Waley, 'Le istituzioni comunali di Assisi nel passaggio dal XII al XIII secolo', in *Assisi al tempo di San Francesco* (Assisi, 1978), pp. 69-70.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 69.

and the *History of Europe 1198–1378* (London, 1937).⁷ They met in the Botanical Gardens, where, ‘alternating historical advice with some serious bird-watching’, Previt  suggested studying the cities of either Lucca or Orvieto: ‘I eliminated Lucca perhaps foolishly because I doubted my competence to deal with Lucchese banking and silk manufacture’. That left Orvieto. (Daniel later unsuccessfully pressed Sydney Anglo to take on the PhD topic of Paolo Guinigi of Lucca, a fifteenth-century regime-leader.) David Knowles was assigned as his supervisor. However, Knowles’ appeal as a lecturer was not matched by skills as a thesis supervisor. He had supervised only one previous student, and his inexperience meant that students felt ‘pretty much unaided’: ‘the sparseness of his comments on sections of written work ... was legendary’.⁸ Daniel himself later recalled that, on telling Knowles that he had finished his thesis, Knowles remarked ‘Let’s see, I was supposed to be in charge of your work at one stage, wasn’t I?’ To get that far, Daniel had spent parts of the period since 1946 in Italy, reading in the archives and libraries, mainly in Orvieto. ‘Orvieto was such a dreary, dirty place in the 1940s, rather dominated by depressed *recluti* [conscripts] eating water melons, the only thing they could afford’, Daniel once told me, though work in the mornings-only archive was supplemented by a kind arrangement by which a local schoolboy carried registers to the municipal library at lunch-time for Daniel to continue reading in the afternoon. Daniel became addicted to archival work, and he and Pam went to Italy every year: ‘my passion for the *inedito* was something of a drug’, he wrote, and he recalled working through from opening time to closing time in Siena, or getting dispensation to work in the Vatican Archives in the afternoons. Daniel’s dissertation won prizes and plaudits: it was awarded the Cambridge University Prince Consort Prize, being selected as ‘specially distinguished’,⁹ and one chapter was submitted for the Royal Historical Society’s Alexander Prize, awarded ‘proxime accessit’, being read and published in the Society’s *Proceedings* in 1950. Presumably with the help of Knowles, it was also quickly selected for publication by Cambridge University Press.

While waiting to submit his PhD thesis in 1950, Daniel had applied for two lectureships, at the London School of Economics (a five-year assistant lectureship) and at Nottingham. Daniel was offered and took the post at the LSE, cabling from Arles where he was on holiday ‘Accept post writing’.¹⁰ Daniel was to stay at the LSE until 1972. There he taught late medieval English and European history and the

⁷R. B. Dobson, ‘Orton, Charles William Previt ’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35608> (accessed 11 January 2019).

⁸D. Luscombe, ‘David Knowles and his pupils’, in C. Brooke, R. Lovatt, D. Luscombe and A. Sillem (eds.), *David Knowles Remembered* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 132.

⁹London School of Economics, Archive, personal file of Daniel Waley.

¹⁰*Ibid.*; Christopher Wright, personal communication; Imperial War Museum, Document 21185.

intercollegiate special subject on Florence in the Renaissance. He was one of a small group of non-economic historians in the Department of Economic History, and for a time the only medievalist.¹¹ He was confirmed as without-term lecturer in 1956, promoted to Reader in 1961 and to Professor of History in 1970. After eighteen years' service, in 1967–8, he was granted three terms' sabbatical leave, which he used to write *The Italian City Republics* (London, 1969). Looking back, Daniel listed the advantages and disadvantages of this phase in his career: on the one hand, he enjoyed teaching some excellent students, cultivating friendships with colleagues, and opening the batting for the staff cricket team; on the other hand, the History degree was peripheral, and eventually he tired of teaching 'the same bits of medieval history in the same college year after year'. The LSE was, in Peter Denley's estimation, 'not a dream place' for a medievalist, especially a lone medievalist. There was no stream of research students in medieval Italian history.¹² Nevertheless, Daniel's own dissatisfactions were not shared by all his undergraduate students: Sydney Anglo recalls that Daniel 'was very good at teaching political ideas, because he was very sceptical and resistant to hi-falutin ideas. He was superb as a special subject teacher, and as a tutor.'¹³

Nevertheless, dissatisfaction must have been one of Daniel's main motives in applying for the post of Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum (now the British Library). Things converged to change his direction. The Museum's Trustees were keen to appoint an outsider. Daniel was looking for a change; he was interested in manuscripts; his uncle, Arthur Waley, had been a curator in the British Museum's Department of Oriental Antiquities; his son was also there in Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts. Moreover, Daniel had been disturbed by the recent student protests—his daughter recalls that in 1968 he made himself available at home to students who wanted to have tutorials but had difficulty getting physically into the LSE. Normal academic life there was seriously disrupted between 1968 and 1970, with occupations, closures, barricadings, disruption of lectures, teach-ins and confrontations with the police, as a result of student protests across a broad range of issues, from the Vietnam war and investments in South Africa, to the dangerous traffic in Houghton St; and this long period of repeated confrontation and conflict generated bans, suspensions, legal injunctions, disciplinary hearings against both students and sympathetic lecturers, and criminal prosecutions:¹⁴ 'It was always believed in the Dept of MSS that he was a refugee from the troubles which engulfed the LSE after 1968.'¹⁵

¹¹ LSE archive, Waley file.

¹² Sydney Anglo, personal communication.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *The Times*, 26 Oct. 1968, 11 Jan. 1969, 31 Jan. 1969, 4 Feb. 1969, 8 Feb. 1969, 17 Feb. 1969, 8 Mar. 1969, 17 Mar. 1969, 2 May 1969, 19 May 1969, 26 Sept. 1969, 4 Mar. 1970, 27 Nov. 1970.

¹⁵ Christopher Wright, personal communication.

Despite Daniel's lack of experience in general archive administration or in staff management, the British Museum was sufficiently impressed by his academic expertise and his reputation for friendly efficiency to appoint him to the post. The career of his predecessor as Keeper, T. C. Skeat,¹⁶ perhaps led him to think that the job would be more ivory tower than bed of thorns: Skeat had been at the British Museum for over forty years, in which time he had managed to publish nearly a hundred books and articles. This vision of the keeper-scholar surfaced in Daniel's review of a Festschrift to Richard Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library: commenting on the photograph of Hunt, Daniel claimed to detect 'symbolical significance in the relative position of the material to be seen on the keeper's desk, where a medieval manuscript lies open on top of proofs of the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, while these in turn conceal the contents of a mundane communication clearly marked "Confidential"'.¹⁷ If that was the new environment Daniel was expecting, he was soon disillusioned. 'I had a frigid reception from the Keepers of the other departments', because he was seen as an outsider who had not followed their standard career path. External appointments were not common practice at the British Museum, and Daniel 'may well have been the first Keeper to be appointed from outside'.¹⁸ Considerable difficulty also came from assistant keepers in his own department, some of whom were 'laws unto themselves'. His daughter reports that he was struck by the different workplace culture, for example the lunch and tea breaks;¹⁹ but routinised down-time was not even half of the problem—much more serious was the general workplace ambiance—'like a Victorian public school', one former colleague recalls, 'all protocols, hierarchy, cubby-holes and clock', with people addressing one another by their surnames.²⁰ 'Everything ... spoke still of ancient custom', wrote another former colleague.²¹ The Department of Manuscripts was inward-looking, had a long-established hostile relationship with the Department of Printed Books and was isolated from the wider intellectual world. Daniel 'was one of the first to attempt to change this'.²² In part this was through a 'liberal style of management'—social events, celebrating personal successes, humanising one-to-one progress meetings; and in part it was through new strategies, such as a positive change in the department's attitude to exhibitions, in favour of fuller participation.²³ However, there was also the

¹⁶ J. M. Gullick, 'Skeat, Walter William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/94840> (accessed 5 October 2018).

¹⁷ *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 October 1976, p. 1234.

¹⁸ Christopher Wright, personal communication.

¹⁹ Harriet Sogbodjor, personal communication.

²⁰ Andrew Prescott, personal communication.

²¹ Peter Jones, quoted in *King's College, Cambridge, Annual Report*, 2018, p. 122.

²² Andrew Prescott, personal communication.

²³ *Ibid.*; British Library Corporate Archive, Derek Turner to R. T. Richnell, 6 August 1974.

broader institutional context, which became more difficult after 1979 under the Thatcher government. Apart from the cuts to funding and the effects of high inflation, which overshadowed the Library's budgeting, a major issue arose over an imposed re-grading of curatorial staff, which was opposed by the unions. There was also, Andrew Prescott recalls, a civil service staff inspection, to which the British Museum had never before been subjected, examining comparability of grades. Daniel, however, stuck at it: 'perseverance marked his term as Keeper'.²⁴

Early in his term, Daniel reported to the British Library Board on the three problems faced by his department, and proposed his solutions to them: at a time of inflation, acquisitions were becoming more difficult and a central institutional fund was needed; the rise in the number of loans of British Library manuscripts to external exhibitions needed to be scaled back because it was hampering the cataloguing work, 'the most fundamental of our activities' as he later called it; and the thirty-year lag in publishing the catalogues of manuscripts could be addressed by publishing summary descriptions instead.²⁵ How far did he succeed in remedying these problems? He did oversee publication of the catalogues of manuscripts acquired between 1946 and 1950 (in 1979), and between 1951 and 1955 (in 1982)—but progress remained slow, and in 1982, when the backlog was rising again, he was still pushing his preferred solution of 'less elaborate and perfectionist methods of arranging and indexing our collections'.²⁶ It is not clear that Daniel was able, either, to stem the flow of loans to external exhibitions, as there were twenty-three in 1981–2.²⁷ Part of the continuing backlog in cataloguing was caused, contrarily, by perhaps the most significant of acquisitions during Daniel's term: the Blenheim papers, of the first duke of Marlborough and his wife, which had been accepted by the Treasury in lieu of estate duty in 1978. This was an unusually large acquisition of over 600 volumes, and 'the cataloguing took eight years and extra staff had to be recruited to help with it'.²⁸ In more normal years, acquisitions, whether by purchase, gift or in lieu of taxes, were much smaller in scale: whether single parchment leaves, account rolls, volumes of poetry, or collections of letters and papers from nationally significant figures such as Lytton Strachey or British ambassadors. Among the important acquisitions in these years were 'the unique manuscript of Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*', purchased from Winchester College; a fifteenth-century anthology of English verse and prose ('very rare ... must be regarded as a "national heritage" item'); and the Benjamin Britten archive, another collection received in lieu of taxes, but with the complication that its long-term loan to the Britten-Pears Library

²⁴ Andrew Prescott, personal communication.

²⁵ British Library Corporate Archive, British Library Board, 73/48; 82/36.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 82/36; *British Library Annual Report*, 1981–2, p. 23.

²⁷ British Library Board, 82/36.

²⁸ Christopher Wright, personal communication.

in Aldeburgh had to be negotiated, by Daniel.²⁹ Daniel also played a significant role in the acquisition of the North (Sheffield Park) papers, securing those of national importance in what he and Christopher Whittick described as ‘an entirely proper but archivally disastrous auction’ in 1981.³⁰ Was there any strategy behind this pattern of acquisitions? In a strategy document in 1976, Daniel stated a preference for ‘building on strengths’ rather than ‘filling the gaps’—‘the Department should not seek to acquire “one of everything” in the spirit of a stamp collection’—and was very hesitant about ‘taking the initiative’ in approaching owners to deposit papers.³¹

One manuscript deposit caused Daniel considerable trouble, as he later recounted in a letter to *The Times*.³² In 1984, he recalled, he had been approached by a former colleague at the LSE acting for Anthony Blunt, the so-called fourth man of the Cambridge spy-ring, unveiled by the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1983. This intermediary proposed the deposit in the British Library of a memoir written by Blunt, but on condition that there be no access to it for twenty-five years. Daniel accepted it on that condition. ‘It was then that the trouble began.’ First there was a leak to the press. Then Daniel received ‘an agitated visit’ from the British Library Chairman, who demanded to see the manuscript (Daniel surmised that he had received a reproof from the Prime Minister). Daniel had to explain that ‘neither he nor I ... could read it’. Later, at a meeting of the executive committee, Daniel was reprimanded by the Director of the Reference Division, who implied that he should have consulted higher authority before accepting the deposit.

This incident aside, Daniel derived great satisfaction from his career at the British Library: he was popular with colleagues, and he managed to publish a number of smaller-scale pieces of research. His richly varied career achievements were recognised by his election to the British Academy fellowship in 1991, the year also of his retirement, when he and Pam moved to Lewes, East Sussex. Daniel had lived in Littlehampton for a time as a child, so knew the county, and his keenness for walking (long walking) on the Sussex Downs was obviously well known to his colleagues, who gave him a waterproof Ordnance Survey map as a leaving gift. At Lewes, Daniel began to re-draw his remaining scholarly interests, completing some Italian projects, but slowly moving his focus to his own locality, his passion for archives leading him to the East Sussex Record Office.

Daniel’s many publications fall into six categories: studies of urban and papal government in central Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; military history,

²⁹ British Library Board, 79/57, 79/81.

³⁰ D. P. Waley and C. Whittick, ‘The earl, his daughter, her brother’s housekeeper and the cat: the remarkable story of the Sheffield Park archives’, *Archives*, 36 (2011), 62.

³¹ British Library Board, 76/83.

³² *The Times*, 17 Aug. 2009, p. 25.

mainly in medieval Italy; his two major textbooks on Italian city republics and later medieval Europe; articles and catalogue introductions relating to acquisitions and exhibitions and the British Library; essays and biographies on a range of topics of local Sussex history; and pieces on aspects of political thought. He also produced one book of modern British history, and Daniel was a frequent reviewer of new publications, which throw light on his style and method as a historian.

Daniel's PhD thesis, published unchanged in 1952, already shows some of his character as a historian: the hunting out of documents to investigate the history of towns or themes little studied or unreliably portrayed; privileging those documents that make it possible 'to glimpse between the lines something of the reality of ... [the] political scene', 'to catch something of the "flavour" of communal politics' (pp. 3, 10); outlining some 'basic features', such as physical position, social composition, and lasting political alliances and enmities, that shaped the long-term political narrative; and stressing continuity over short-term change. In the case of Orvieto, 'typical of a kind of commune that has been extremely little studied', this meant using the rich series of city council minutes (*Riformagioni*), giving weight to the city's large class of artisans and farmers, and the commune's long connection with the papacy and alliance with Florence. One chapter, published in 1950,³³ concerned the context and outcome of a 'scandalous' agreement between Orvieto and Pope Boniface VIII in 1293, to exchange some papal lands for a favour to the pope's family, which Daniel described as 'a vivid and typical example of Boniface's scheming', but matched by Orvieto's 'sheer cold-blooded opportunism' in exploiting the pope's weakness ten years later. This article was followed a few years later by papers publishing or analysing previously overlooked documents in the Vatican Archives on aspects of thirteenth-century papal government—remnants from the thesis perhaps, but also preparing the ground for a major study, which became *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century*.³⁴

This work opened with a characteristic and apologetic statement of authorial incapacity: having quoted Edouard Jordan's definition of papal rule in Italy as 'a series of obscure and monotonous conflicts', Daniel confessed that 'to make such a story interesting would need the genius of a Gregorovius'. Nevertheless, he believed the attempt valuable, as even unsuccessful rule was worthy of investigation, and as the papal state created in the thirteenth century lasted into the nineteenth. The essential question was how the popes sought to make a reality of their territorial claims in central Italy. The answer focused very much on the play of circumstances and

³³D. P. Waley, 'Pope Boniface VIII and the commune of Orvieto', *Transactions of the Royal History Society*, 32 (1950), 121–39.

³⁴D. P. Waley, 'An account book of the Patrimony of St Peter in Tuscany, 1304–6', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 6 (1955), 18–25; D. P. Waley, 'A register of Boniface VIII's chamberlain, Theodoric of Orvieto', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 8 (1957), 141–52.

opportunities, on relative strengths and weaknesses, on shifting cooperation with and resistance to government structures. Daniel's narrative is punctuated with insights of acute political realism: typical is his comment on Pope Innocent III's situation in 1201, 'his own resources were small, but his ... adversaries rarely worked in unison' (p. 44). Chapters of narrative alternated with chapters examining papal jurisdiction, the structure of government and resources (regarding his tentative conclusions on the fiscal balance sheet, he issued a 'reminder that ... the whole foundation of this chapter is quite unsure', p. 271). This work was well received by reviewers: 'nothing comparable has been attempted' since the nineteenth century, wrote one, while another foresaw that it would 'long remain the standard work'.³⁵

Meanwhile, an article in the *Papers of the British School in Rome* in 1954 had announced a new and important theme in Daniel's work: military recruitment, organisation and techniques. This article examined how the Normans were able to transport their cavalry in their campaign to conquer Sicily. From the title ('Combined operations') to the envoi, the article seems inspired and animated by Daniel's own military experience, as he concluded that 'lessons in combined operations learnt on the shores of Sicily in 1060–1 were applied between Normandy and England in 1066, just as those learnt on the southern Sicilian coast in 1943 were applied ... to the [Normandy] landings of 1944'.³⁶ This first foray into military history—Daniel later regretted the 'little space' he had given to it in *Medieval Orvieto*—was followed by an article in the *English Historical Review* in 1957, studying the recruitment of papal armies from the towns of the papal state, noting the extent of evasion of military service, and the weak authority of papal governors, often reduced to apologetic pleading and seeing their commands treated as mere requests.³⁷ He also wrote about military institutions and military obligations in Assisi, in the area around Rome, and, belatedly, at Orvieto, in what he called his 'Italian swansong', stressing that historians' attention has mostly been on large conflicts, not on the much more numerous but smaller military undertakings, which Orvieto's almost constant warfare seems to have typified.³⁸ In a more general conference paper attempting to look at warfare 'as it was', he stressed the dominance, among modes of fighting, of destructive raids, along with sieges and skirmishes, he rated highly the technical and strategic capacity of command of the

³⁵ P. Partner, in *English Historical Review*, 78 (1963), 324; D. Douglas in *Times Literary Supplement*, 2 March 1962, p. 139.

³⁶ D. P. Waley, 'Combined operations in Sicily, A.D. 1060-78', *Papers of the British School in Rome*, 22 (1954), 125.

³⁷ D. P. Waley, 'Papal armies in the thirteenth century', *English Historical Review*, 72 (1957), 1–30.

³⁸ D. P. Waley, 'Le istituzioni comunali di Assisi' and 'L'esercito del comune medioevale di Orvieto', *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico artistico orvietano*, 48–9 (1992–3, but 1999), 55–80; D. P. Waley, 'La féodalité dans la région romaine dans la 2^e moitié du XIII^e siècle et au début du XIV^e', *Structures féodales et féodalité dans l'occident méditerranéen (X^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1980), 515–22.

condottieri, but he concluded that ‘the real victims of war were the *contadini*’³⁹—this last observation being ‘very influenced by his wartime experience in Field Security’, according to Christopher Whittick, ‘where he had to cope with *contadini* hoping to cross the front line in order to get to market or drive their animals to pasture’. Waley’s most influential and insightful statements in this vein of his work came in two essays, one on Florentine armies, the other on early mercenary captains.⁴⁰ In the former, Daniel effectively dismantled the common view that the citizen militias of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, an expression of ‘civic zeal’, had been eroded in the fourteenth century by ‘apathy, economic specialization and the “cash nexus”’, and replaced by the mercenary armies and *condottieri* for which later medieval Italy became infamous. He argued, contrary to this republican myth, that the citizen army was itself from the first a paid army, that the hiring of foreign mercenaries began early, and that the detailed Florentine army lists from 1260 show a high level of absenteeism. In his article on early *condottieri*, using military contracts from thirteenth-century Bologna and Siena, he presented mercenary soldiers and their commanders as part of the precariat, leading a ‘hand-to-mouth’ existence of short-term contracts and unpredictable lay-offs, and investigated their identities and activities. In this, Daniel was decades in advance of more recent scholarship treating military service as a kind of labour.

Daniel may well be most remembered for his two exceptionally long-lived textbooks, *Later Medieval Europe from St Louis to Luther* (London, 1964), and *The Italian City-Republics* (London, 1969), currently in their third and fourth editions respectively. Following his practice of first sketching in some basic features, *Later Medieval Europe* starts with common elements of medieval monarchical government—from composite structures to the varying extent and efficiency of ‘bureaucratic machinery’—and the core of the book is formed by a series of chapters on Italy and France, though Germany and the eastern Mediterranean are not overlooked. The structure of presentation is well-suited to the student audience: a typical argument starts with the causes and nature of change, proceeds to the effects of change, and the importance of continuity, before drawing up a balance sheet. Waley was careful to insert challenges to the sort of common historiographical views that students of the 1960s might have picked up from other current reading: that ‘overmighty subjects’ could in fact provide a counter-balance to the ‘overmighty official’ (p. 56), that the stereotype of French lawyers serving the Crown is too much based on Nogaret, who was not typical (p. 60), that it is difficult to establish that warfare was more continuous

³⁹D. P. Waley, ‘I mercenari e la guerra nell’età di Braccio da Montone’, in *Braccio da Montone e i Fortebracci* (Narni, 1993), p. 128.

⁴⁰D. P. Waley, ‘The army of the Florentine republic from the twelfth to the fourteenth century’, in N. Rubenstein (ed.), *Florentine Studies* (London, 1968), pp. 70–108; D. P. Waley, ‘*Condotte* and *condottieri* in the thirteenth century’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 61 (1975), pp. 337–71.

in the fourteenth century (p. 100), that the Medici were tyrants (p. 220) and the Renaissance nothing more than a 'highly adhesive label' (p. 165). Repeatedly there is a stress on continuity: the Black Death only accentuated an existing trend (p. 103), the Avignon papacy marked no sudden break (p. 116), and so on. Military history too gets good coverage, in terms of organisation (John Zizka's innovations), training and strategy (English attacks on France), and tactics (the French in the Hundred Years' War and at Nicopolis). The first edition does now, it has to be said, show its age: the literary references, to Stendhal, Mann and Cervantes for example, are redolent of 1960s modern-language syllabi, and the use of foreign terms (three Latin words on the first page) did not make the text as accessible as it could have been. Nevertheless, as Peter Denley, who revised it, contends, 'compared to what else is available, it holds up even today, partly because it is so difficult to write a text book covering 250 years single-handed'. 'Still one of the best introductory textbooks on the market', said John Larner in reviewing the second edition in 1986: 'To read this book is like an everyday meeting with an old friend: so much, over the past twenty years, has one become familiarized with its author's words and thoughts as précised, paraphrased and plagiarized in so many student essays'.⁴¹ The ultimate accolade of a high citation index.

A similar judgement could well hold for *The Italian City-Republics* (my personal interest: I revised it in 2010). This must stand as one of the most successful textbooks on medieval history written in the twentieth century: it has been almost continuously in print for fifty years, has been translated into French, German, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and Turkish, and is still cited by Italian scholars. It was first published as part of Weidenfeld and Nicolson's 'World University Library', joining other titles that would become long-lived classics, such as W. G. Forrest's *Emergence of Greek Democracy* (London, 1966), and Lucy Mair's *Witchcraft* (London, 1969). It is difficult now to recover how students would have managed before *City-Republics* appeared. A reviewer of the first edition noted that this was 'the first general survey of the medieval Italian communes to appear in English in over sixty years', possibly referring to W. F. Butler's *The Lombard Communes* of 1906 or mis-datedly to M. V. Clarke's *The Medieval City State* of 1926, which Daniel told me 'held the field before I came along'. *Italian City-Republics* is concerned with the republican city-state in northern and central Italy, especially its political life, between the late eleventh and the early fourteenth century, from the emergence of collective action and communal institutions to the consolidation of urban lordships or regional states which spelled the end of many independent republics. As in previous books, he began with basic features of the population (classes, size, mobility), before dividing his study into three large sections on

⁴¹ *History*, 71 (1986), 505.

the institutions and officials of the communes, their evolution and complexity; on the communes' external relations with their neighbours and with emperors and popes (included here was discussion of public buildings and infrastructure); and internal divisions (magnates, *popolo* and the inevitable Guelphs and Ghibellines, which Waley downplayed). Waley's treatment had some unifying and well-judged features: a resistance to clear definitions and simple evolutions, frequent reference to analogous experience among the ancient Greek city-states, and the use of modern parallels. Also valuable for students is the use of a wide range of documentary sources—tax assessments, lists of oath-takers, financial budgets, diplomatic documents, statutes—combined with narrative and literary material (chiefly Dante and Boccaccio), and brief introductions to a range of fascinating types of text unfamiliar to the modern reader, such as advice books, letter manuals and civic eulogies. The continued pre-eminence of this book was confirmed by the second edition in 1978, which included a new chapter, prompted by work on agrarian history such as that by Philip Jones. This second edition was hailed in the *Times Educational Supplement* as 'a little gem which radiates readable scholarship'.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Daniel continued to write intermittently on various problems and places in Italian thirteenth-century history: on the question whether the inhabitants of communal territories (*contadi*) were oppressed and overtaxed by the cities which ruled them (with specific reference to Siena); on a political experiment in power-sharing between Guelph and Ghibelline factions at San Gimignano; on the creation of knights by the commune of San Gimignano and its motivations; and on the use of sortition (random selection) and two-stage election processes in the appointment to internal offices.⁴² These studies contained some characteristic Waleyan methods and conclusions: that repression of the *contado* is too general a judgement given the complexity of town–country relations and the state of the documentation; that there is value in looking outside Florence for more typical history ('the insularity of Florentine historians is amazing', he wrote to me in 1991); and that the purpose of the commune's grant of knighthood was military, to re-stock its cavalry force.

⁴²D. P. Waley, 'A commune and its subject territory in the thirteenth century: law and power in the Sienese contado', in *Diritto e potere nella storia europea: Atti in onore di Bruno Paradisi* (Florence, 1982), pp. 303–11; D. P. Waley, 'Guelphs and Ghibellines at San Gimignano, c.1260- c.1320: a political experiment', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 72 (1990), 199–212; D. P. Waley, 'Chivalry and cavalry at San Gimignano: knighthood in a small Italian commune', in C. Richmond and I. Harvey (eds.), *Recognitions: Essays Presented to Edmund Fryde* (Aberystwyth, 1996), pp. 39–54; D. P. Waley, 'The use of sortition in appointments in the Italian communes', in J. E. Law and B. Paton (eds.), *Communes and Despots in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 27–33. Also in this group of publications is D. P. Waley, 'Il commune di San Gimignano nel mondo comunale toscano', in D. Ciampoli (ed.), *Il Libro Bianco di San Gimignano*, vol. 1 (Siena, 1996), pp. 11–44.

These continuing studies of Tuscan cities were given more extended form in Daniel's last Italian book, *Siena and the Sieneese in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1991). This too ran on some familiar lines. First, the overall aim: 'to give an idea of how the city was run ... and what it was like to live there' (p. xiii). Second, the themes chosen for the individual chapters, starting with the physical setting, then the people (work and wealth) and, most extensively, the government, its institutions, its oligarchical personnel, its revenue and expenditure, its assumptions, and its actions in relation to the problems of disorder and control of territory. Third, cautions regarding methodology, aggregation and classification: to use tax payments as an index of wealth 'is to take a very short cut indeed' (p. 15), 'families cannot be regarded as units except in the loosest sense' (p. 37), and 'the medieval Sieneese would certainly not have accepted that part of their notions and activities could be contained within a discrete category bearing the label "religion"' (p. 127). Though in this book he eschewed engagement with recent research on other Tuscan cities, Daniel did take issue with William Bowsky's interpretation of the 'regime of the Nine', an allegedly new ruling group coming to power in 1287: Daniel stressed continuity between old and new ruling groups.⁴³ However, *Siena and the Sieneese* cannot count as one of his best works. A study that aims 'to give a realistic portrait of Sieneese society' (p. xiii) without giving much space or voice to women is laying itself open to obvious criticism.⁴⁴ The chapter on religion (a rare concession) is really about the church, with the occasional saintly biography. Finally, Daniel's suggestion, based on the lists of tax payments, that Siena lacked a numerically substantial middle class was one that he later revised, having been persuaded by a modern economic historian, as he explained to me in 2008, 'that comparable statistics about tax payments in 19th century England would give the same impression, but would be misleading [because] the middle element had their wealth in forms that escaped tax'.

In a small group of works, Daniel showed that he could also write modern history very effectively. In a book published in 1975 he assessed how and how successfully public opinion was mobilised in support of the campaign for international sanctions against Italy for its aggression against Abyssinia in 1935.⁴⁵ Memorable here is his forensic dismantling of the claim that it was a 'deluge' of letters to MPs that led to the campaign's one success, the resignation of the Foreign Secretary. One reviewer commented that this book 'should be prescribed reading for all operators in the media, all MPs, all who teach British politics, all organizers of pressure groups'.⁴⁶ Daniel's

⁴³ W. M. Bowsky, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287–1355* (Berkeley, CA, 1981).

⁴⁴ See the review by E. English in *Speculum*, 69 (1994), 1295–7.

⁴⁵ D. P. Waley, *British Public Opinion and the Abyssinian War 1935–6* (London, 1975).

⁴⁶ D. Watt in *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 October 1976, p. 1259.

smaller-scale study of men from Lewes who served in the South African ('Boer') War evocatively depicts the atmosphere of imperialistic patriotism in the town, including the flag-waving, the torchlit processions and the burning of effigies of Kruger, and the disproportionate local-press reporting of the quasi-heroic actions of individual Volunteers, rather than those of the regular soldiery: 'So full of enthusiasm and enterprise, so deficient in scepticism', Waley comments.⁴⁷

From the British Library, Daniel's essays on newly acquired manuscripts cover an interesting range of topics: some of Stanley Spencer's wartime letters from Salonika prompt the comment that 'the most memorable experience which twentieth-century British painting can provide is a visit to Stanley Spencer's masterpiece, the Sandham Memorial Chapel';⁴⁸ and Daniel's military interests were also evident in publishing a new account of the battle of Waterloo by one of the soldiers present ('must be rare indeed').⁴⁹ English literary and Italian interests were evident too: 'Not all great writers are great readers, but George Eliot was', is his introduction to a study of her 'blotter' or commonplace book, which he then analysed noting especially her love of Dante and the cosmopolitanism of her literary tastes.⁵⁰ He also showed his personal knowledge and appraisal of her novels in the introduction to a catalogue of a British Library exhibition marking the centenary of her death, which included her copy of Machiavelli's *Prince*.⁵¹ His post-retirement commitment to the records and history of his adopted county of Sussex come to the fore in his article on 'the fate of the papers of the ... earls of Sheffield of Sheffield Park, Sussex, ... one of the saddest cases of the dispersal of an important family archive', and on that part of the archive later acquired by the East Sussex Record Society, the letters of Lord Glenbervie and his wife 1808–15, which Daniel amusingly surveyed.⁵² He also calendared over fifty Italian medieval charters, brought back from the Grand Tour by one of the earls of Ashburnham.⁵³

In reviewing other scholars' works Daniel, true to his 'archive first' approach, was often most exercised by the quantity, quality and use of primary sources. He could be harsh on works that betrayed a lack of proficiency in reading or interpreting documents, and he could be superlative in his praise of works that were saturated with archive know-how: he lauded Peter Linehan's *The Spanish Church and the Papacy* (Cambridge, 1971), as 'the product of an extraordinary feat of persistence, a sort of

⁴⁷ D. P. Waley, 'Lewes in the Boer War, 1899-1902', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 132 (1994), 191.

⁴⁸ D. P. Waley, 'Two Stanley Spencer letters from Salonika', *British Library Journal*, 3 (1977), 167–8.

⁴⁹ D. P. Waley, 'A new account of Waterloo: a letter from Private George Hemingway of the Thirty-Third Regiment of Foot', *British Library Journal*, 6 (1980), 61–4.

⁵⁰ D. P. Waley, *George Eliot's Blotter: a Commonplace Book* (London, 1980), p. 3.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3–5.

⁵² D. P. Waley, "'My dearest cheaty meaty": papers of Lord Glenbervie at the East Sussex Record Office', *The Book Collector*, 60 (2011), 205.

⁵³ Christopher Whittick, personal communication.

prolonged one-man raid on the Spanish ecclesiastical archives'.⁵⁴ Some characteristic historiographical attitudes are also conveyed in these reviews. There is a concern about typicality and how to establish it, evident in his review of Philip Jones' 'powerful' essay on later medieval Italy in the Einaudi *Storia d'Italia*.⁵⁵ There is a hostility to religion and faithful church history, shown in his review of a study of a Tuscan monastery, where Daniel singles out the permeation of the monastery by the world and the monks' lack of zeal, or in his comment on Peter Partner's *Lands of St Peter* (London, 1972), that 'the viewpoint sometimes seems a strongly papalist one and papal officials tend to get the benefit of doubt'.⁵⁶ There is a preference for 'how things actually worked', shown in his criticism of Walter Ullmann's *Short History of the Papacy* (London, 1974), a vision of the papacy from the centre and from the pope's pronouncements without regard to the actual machinery of power or to the hostile local reception and limited implementation of papal policies.⁵⁷ Also, Daniel always kept his eyes open for titbits of military history: 'Notarial sources always yield the unexpected to a patient reader', he remarked, before noting some accounts of joustings in published Perugian notarial registers;⁵⁸ or, among the 'celebrated names' in a new volume of the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, he noticed 'the Socialist leader Leonida Bissolati (who, incidentally, joined the army as a sergeant in 1915 at the age of fifty-eight and was twice wounded)'.⁵⁹

From over six decades, Waley's written output inevitably includes items that escape classification. Among these are the twenty or so entries that he wrote for the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, all with surnames in the range A–C. They included a fair number of bishops, papal officials and Orvietani, and a couple of surprises: the Castilian military captain active in fourteenth-century Italy, whose epitaph (I can see Daniel's sceptical smile as I write) was 'belli maximus auctor'; and the figure Ugo Belciampolo, who turns out to be an English mercenary soldier, Hugh Beauchamp, who fought for Perugia in the 1320s.⁶⁰ Daniel also wrote biographies of fellow-historian Nicolai Rubinstein and of Sussex luminary Sydney Buxton, who served as governor-general

⁵⁴ *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 October 1971, p. 1268.

⁵⁵ *English Historical Review*, 95 (1980), 886–7.

⁵⁶ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 24 (1973), 73–4; and *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42 (1991), 512–13.

⁵⁷ *Times Literary Supplement*, 7 April 1972, p. 396.

⁵⁸ *English Historical Review*, 91 (1976), 630.

⁵⁹ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 85 (1970), 223.

⁶⁰ *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 7 (1965), p. 551; 8 (1966), pp. 87–9.

in South Africa, 1914–20.⁶¹ As a rare foray into intellectual history, an essay on Machiavelli, regarding nostalgia for an age of simplicity, argued that Machiavelli's views of the virtuous 'roughness' of the Germans came partly from Latin authors' praise of simple virtues, and partly from Machiavelli's observations in the Tyrol.⁶²

Though Daniel was, as he liked to say, 'entirely Jewish by descent', his paternal grandfather had 'given up the synagogue',⁶³ as had his mother, and Daniel's mentality was entirely secular. 'He once affected not to know what a bar-mitzvah was', according to Christopher Wright. Indeed, Daniel had, according to Peter Denley, a 'phobia of formal religion, and as a medieval historian was really not interested in religion at all'. Anti-Semitism appears, thankfully, to have passed him by. In a letter in 2012, he recalled 'the only totally overt anti-Semitic opinion that I have ever encountered': in 1943, panic at a suspected air-raid in London had caused scores of deaths in a crush at the entrance to Bethnal Green underground station; Daniel at this time was in Tunisia, on 'a brief (one-day) course on the use of explosives (how to blow up bridges, etc) ... During a break, I overheard an officer commenting to another officer: "Panic: East End Jews, no doubt"'.⁶⁴

Daniel's contribution to history had several rare qualities: his success in writing about both medieval and modern history; his skill in constructing durable, student-friendly syntheses broad in scope; his ability to combine deep archival research with knowledge of the wider scholarship. Over a lifetime, he created a body of work that displays consistent characteristics in its preference for investigating and showing the inner workings and actual experience of government and warfare, and for expressing scepticism about the gap between professed objectives and real achievements. He defended military history at a time when it fell out of scholarly favour. He was an admirer of Margaret Spufford and what one might call the 'resurrectionist' school of history, with which his hallmark aim to recover the 'real' experience of people is clearly allied (and open to the same criticism). He was exceptional for his personal generosity, for his interest in people and in cultivating and maintaining friendships, for a wealth of acquaintances and contacts, and for personal modesty and a strong sense of equality (he resigned from the MCC over its refusal to admit women as members). Fittingly, given Daniel's anti-religious views, his funeral in Brighton in June 2017 was a wholly

⁶¹D. P. Waley, 'Nicolai Rubinstein, 1911–2002', *Proceedings of the British Academy: Biographical Memoirs of Fellows III*, 124 (2004), pp. 313–32; D. P. Waley, 'Buxton, Sydney Charles, Earl Buxton (1853–1934)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32224> (accessed 18 February 2019); D. P. Waley, *A Liberal Life: Sydney, Earl Buxton, 1853–1934, Statesman, Governor-General of South Africa* (Hassocks, 1999).

⁶²D. P. Waley, 'The primitivist element in Machiavelli's thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 31 (1970), 91–8.

⁶³Private Collection, D. Waley to H. Jones, 9 May 2012.

⁶⁴Ibid. He also reported this incident, slightly differently, in Imperial War Museum, Document 21185.

secular, celebratory affair, not without its moment of unscripted humour, when it was discovered that the readings—from George Eliot and Philip Larkin—had been left behind. Daniel departed the field for the last time to the sound of ‘Soul Limbo’, the signature tune to BBC radio’s much-loved cricket commentary, Test Match Special.

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