

## M.I. Finley's Letters to Iza Bieźuńska–Małowist

Professor Iza Bieźuńska–Małowist's private archive, which is now the property of Włodzimierz Lengauer, abounds with correspondence with many scholars: Louis Robert, Charles Bradford Welles, Claire Préaux, and Herbert Youtie to name a few.<sup>1</sup> It also consists of 25 letters written to her by Moses Isaac Finley (1912–1986) in the years 1961–1986. Apart from the oldest one which was a postcard sent at the end of December 1961, Finley's letters were typewritten, carefully dated and had the author's handwritten signature. The correspondence was sent at the Iza Bieźuńska–Małowist and Marian Małowist's home address (unless otherwise stated).

Iza Bieźuńska–Małowist and Moses Finley met at the Eleventh International Historical Congress in Stockholm where she and André Aymard co-chaired a fiery session on the ancient slavery.<sup>2</sup> Iza Bieźuńska was in charge of the Organizing Committee of the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of Papyrologists which took place in Cracow and Warsaw in 3–9 September 1961. Moses Finley and his wife Mary came to Poland at that time by invitation of Iza Bieźuńska, though he did not present a paper at the Congress.<sup>3</sup> These events had planted a seed of academic collaboration and ties of friendship between the Finleys and the Małowists which blossomed until Moses Finley's passing away in 1986. The correspondence between Moses Finley and Iza Bieźuńska–Małowist is not only an important source of information on their biographies, but also an evidence on the scholarly life and intellectual movements of their time.

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<sup>1</sup> A selection of letters of these renown scholars to Iza Bieźuńska–Małowist was published in *Przegląd Historyczny* 87 (1996), pp. 451–467.

<sup>2</sup> See D. Tompkins, 'What Happened in Stockholm? Moses Finley, the Mainz Akademie, and East Bloc Historians', *Hyperboreus* 20 (2014), pp. 436–452. It seems that Iza Bieźuńska and Moses Finley might have met some time earlier, perhaps in 1959 in Paris: Iza Bieźuńska gave a lecture in Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres there.

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings of the Congress were published in 1964 as *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologues, Varsovie — Cracovie 3–9 Septembre 1961*, Wrocław–Varsovie–Cracovie 1964. One can find Finley's name on the list of participants.

## LETTER 1

25.xii.61

Many thanks for the offprint, the card, the photo from Pieniny.<sup>4</sup> I hope all is well with your plans to go to Paris early in the new year.

Y(ours)  
M.I.F.

## LETTER 2

10 November 1962

Dear Friends,

By good luck, Heffer's<sup>5</sup> had a copy of Bömer III in stock,<sup>6</sup> and I have had them send it to you immediately. As for the Brunt MS [manuscript],<sup>7</sup> it is unnecessary to return it to me at all, since he is now preparing a revised text for publication. We have secured a satisfactory arrangement about the publication as a separate volume in the Actes of the Congress,<sup>8</sup> and every effort is being made to get the volumes out quickly. In fact, we would be ready to send our material to the printer in about two weeks, except that Broughton has not replied to any letters and I am about to write to someone else in Bryn Mawr to inquire whether he is ill.<sup>9</sup>

I have made serious changes only in two sections of my own rapport: the numismatic section is now somewhat longer, and I have dropped the whole of the final section (which will not cause you any unhappiness). That is about all the productive work I have been able to accomplish since we returned, and during a sabbatical year at that (which soon comes to an end). I know exactly what you

<sup>4</sup> M.I. Finley and the other participants of the 10th Congress of Papyrologists (see the Introduction) went rafting down the Dunajec river.

<sup>5</sup> Heffers Bookshop in Cambridge.

<sup>6</sup> F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, vol. III, *Die wichtigsten Kulte der griechischen Welt*, Wiesbaden 1961.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Astbury Brunt (1917–2005), Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College in Oxford in 1951–1967. For the paper mentioned here, see the note below.

<sup>8</sup> Finley referred to the Second International Congress of Economic History which took place in 29 August–3 September 1962 in Aix-en-Provence. Two Polish scholars were present at the Congress: Iza Biežuńska and Aleksander Gieysztor. The proceedings were published in two volumes: *Deuxième conférence internationale d'histoire économique/Second International Congress of Economic History Aix-en-Provence 1962*, vol. I: *Trade and Politics in the Ancient World*; vol. II: *Middle Ages and Modern Times*, Paris–La Haye 1965; volume I included the paper of P.A. Brunt, 'The Equites in the Late Republic', pp. 117–149.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Robert Shannon Broughton (1900–1993) lectured in Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania in the years 1928–1965 after which he became a Professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill until his retirement in 1971. The article of Brunt (see the note above) was published with a commentary by Broughton (pp. 150–162).

complain about in regard to reading other people's MSS [manuscripts]. I seem to be doing nothing else, and now I have to start two new research students off their work. One is Walbank's daughter, whom you may remember from Aix.<sup>10</sup> She is very able, and, of all things, she wants to work on Hellenistic material, which means that I have to think about papyri for the first time in many years. (Fortunately, she has no interest in editing any.)

Under these circumstances it is a little unfair for me to burden you with still another MS, but I cannot resist the idea of a possible Polish translation of my new book, which would please me no end. The situation is as follows. The book is small (about 50, 000 words of text) and is written for the general (but not uneducated) reader. It is also illustrated, 24 plates, with quite detailed notes on the illustrations.<sup>11</sup>

The publisher is Chatto & Windus, Ltd., 40 William IV St., London, W.C.2. I have written to my editor, Peter Calvocoressi,<sup>12</sup> and he will send you the page proofs as soon as they are ready, which should be within a very few days since publication is planned for the early spring in February, and I have already read those proofs and prepared the index.

The book is controlled by the English publisher, and any negotiations about translations would have to be carried on with them. There are only two points I might make now, since you will be able to judge the work for yourself shortly. One is that, though we should not insist on retention of the illustrations, both the publisher and I feel that it would be a great pity to omit them. The second is about the bibliography, which is fairly long but restricted entirely to works in English. A completely new one would have to be prepared, and obviously that would have to be done by a Pole, not by me.<sup>13</sup>

It is a pity you will not be in Paris in April. One of the nicest habits that has developed in connection with meetings and lectures abroad is to be able to spend time with both of you (except in Stockholm),<sup>14</sup> However, I look forward to seeing

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the memorabilia of Dorothy J. Thompson, 'Iza Bieżyńska-Małowist and the Young Papyrologist', this issue of *Przegląd Historyczny*, p. 399: 'I first met Iza in the late summer of 1962 in Aix-en-Provence at the Second International Congress of Economic History, where she acted as a session chair.'

<sup>11</sup> In this and the next two paragraphs Finley referred to his book *The Ancient Greeks* which was published by Chatto & Windus in London in 1963; Polish translation came to light as part of the Omega series in 1965 as: M.I. Finley,  *Grecy*, trans. by A. Bogdański, Warszawa: PWN, pp. 180.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Calvocoressi (1912–2010), codebreaker (during the war he was the head of air intelligence at Bletchley Park), historian, publisher, author of 20 books on the Second World War and international affairs. From 1955 to 1966 he was a partner in Chatto & Windus.

<sup>13</sup> In the Polish edition of the book (see n. 11), the bibliography was collected by Jerzy Kolenko, pp. 177–179.

<sup>14</sup> Iza Bieżyńska chaired the session on the ancient slavery at the Congress in Stockholm in 1960, see her article 'Historia starożytna na Kongresie sztokholmskim', *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 68 (1961),

Kolendo<sup>15</sup> again, not as a surrogate but in his own right. He was kind enough to send me his dissertation, and the long French summary indicates that it is a first-rate piece of work.<sup>16</sup>

As for Klio,<sup>17</sup> I am afraid that in the future I shall have to work on the principle of ‘Once burned...’

With kind regards from both of us to both of you,<sup>18</sup>

Yours ever,

*Signature*

P.S. My optimism is a little firmer: I had only a bad two days, not a whole week.

### LETTER 3

24 October 1964

Dear Friends,<sup>19</sup>

I am writing in haste and very briefly (because I have only a few minutes to catch the post office before it closes for the weekend) to say that I have obtained the Negram<sup>20</sup> and am sending it by air. I was able to obtain it quickly (it is apparently rather scarce here too) thanks to a good friend, a doctor, who was insistent that I ask you to inform your own physician of its arrival.

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pp. 562–563; see also D. Tompkins, ‘What Happened in Stockholm?’ (see n. 2) as well as his article in this issue of *Przegląd Historyczny*, pp. 483–485.

<sup>15</sup> Jerzy Kolendo (1933–2014) was Iza Biezuńska’s student. He obtained his MA in the Institute of History at the University of Warsaw in 1955 with a thesis tutored by her on the uprisings in the I CE Gaul.

<sup>16</sup> J. Kolendo, *Kolonat w Afryce rzymskiej i jego geneza*, Warszawa 1962. The monograph was based on Kolendo’s PhD dissertation supervised by Iza Biezuńska and defended in 1961.

<sup>17</sup> Finley mentions his article ‘The Slave Trade in Antiquity: The Black Sea and Danubian Regions’ in *Klio: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (40 [1962], pp. 51–59), a journal published at that time by the Akademie Verlag (East Germany). By referring to the saying ‘once burned, twice shy...’, he alluded to his rather disappointing experience with the journal’s editors at that occasion. Iza Biezuńska was a member of its Editorial Committee since 1959.

<sup>18</sup> Finley added to his letters regards from his wife Mary Moscowitz whom he had met during his studies at the Columbia University and whom he had married in 1932. They were exceptionally devoted to one another and passed away almost simultaneously. On the day when his wife died, Finley suffered a cerebral haemorrhage and died on the next day, 23 June 1986.

<sup>19</sup> The letter was addressed to Iza Biezuńska–Małowist and her husband, Marian Małowist just as the Letters nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 24 and 25.

<sup>20</sup> Negram was a drug unavailable in Poland at that time.

We are sorry to hear of this latest bout of illness and can only hope that it will soon be remedied. Other news can keep for a few days.

Regards from both of us,  
Yours ever,  
*signature*

#### LETTER 4

30 July 1965

Dear Friends,

When we talked about next spring, while you were here,<sup>21</sup> I neglected to look at the diary, otherwise I should have realized that our summer term begins on April 19. I could get a few days leave, but would still have to return by April 25<sup>th</sup> at the latest, which does not seem to leave enough time for any lectures, much I should enjoy trying one or two (but in what language?). The timetable is further complicated by the fact that we do not fly, and therefore require more time for travel.<sup>22</sup>

We were glad to hear that you are comfortably reestablished and able to work. By now you should have received, in addition to the books you mentioned, the *Journal of African History*, Bancroft on the slave trade, and the history of Benin.<sup>23</sup>

I seem to have done nothing these past weeks besides encyclopaedia articles and books reviews, and now we are inundated, first with a week-long conference of classical schoolmasters, to whom I gave (with a colleague) three classes yesterday, and then with 350+ people at the triennial meetings of the various English classical associations. The latter involves me in no serious obligations other than social, and we shall flee halfway through, take the car across the channel and make our way slowly to Munich. Perhaps we shall find better weather than we have had here all summer.

Meantime, kindest regards from both of us,  
Yours ever,  
*signature*

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<sup>21</sup> Since 5 May 1965, Iza Biežuńska and Marian Małowist were in the UK for two weeks where they came from Paris (they stayed there from April to July 1965). Marian Małowist gave a series of lectures in Paris on that occasion.

<sup>22</sup> Moses Finley was invited to Warsaw by I. Biežuńska, but he eventually did not arrive. Cf. the correspondence touching upon it: Letters nos. 6 and 7.

<sup>23</sup> The books mentioned here were related to Marian Małowist's intellectual pursuits: F. B a n c r o f t, *Slave Trading in the Old South*, New York 1959 and in all probability J. U. E g h a r e v b a, *A Short History of Benin*, Ibadan 1960, 3rd edition.

## LETTER 5

14 June 1966

Dear Friends,

The three Cass<sup>24</sup> reprints are not yet available, but Heffer's will send them to you as soon as they come out. I have also taken care of the *Past & Present* offprints (and I should say that I read the article myself with great interest).<sup>25</sup> It is really no trouble for me to look after your occasional book needs and you need have no hesitation in asking whenever something arises.

We were very sorry to hear that Iza's health is causing some concern, and we hope to hear better news soon.

Please forgive me if I do not write at greater length, but I am in the midst of examinations, which are both time consuming and soul destroying.

With kind regards from house to house,

Yours,

*signature*

## LETTER 6

23 February 1967

Dear Friends,

I don't have to tell you how welcome your letter was. We were very worried about Iza's health<sup>26</sup> but did not want to trouble you with letters of inquiry. Now it remains to wish you a rapid and complete recovery, and to say again that the Munich material should not be a burden. When it is ready, it will be ready.<sup>27</sup>

What I have to say now will not, I fear, be so welcome to you.<sup>28</sup> Several months ago I had to make a decision to abandon all my elaborate plans for a 'grand tour' this spring and summer. The reason is simply that I can no longer postpone finishing several pieces of writing which are terribly overdue. This first is Sicily,

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<sup>24</sup> A London based publishing house Frank Cass Publishers which specialized in history, politics and international relations. 1966 witnessed several reprints of the monographs on the economics and Africa which Marian Małowist might have been very interested in.

<sup>25</sup> M. Małowist, 'The Social and Economic Stability of the Western Sudan in the Middle Ages', *Past and Present* 33 (1966), pp. 3–15.

<sup>26</sup> Iza Biezuńska was severely ill in the first semester of the academic year 1966/67. She did not give any classes at the University at that time and came back to teaching in February 1967.

<sup>27</sup> In August 1965, Iza Biezuńska took part in a conference in Munich on the economic history where she presented her commentary on a paper of Claire Préaux (1904–1979), a Belgian papyrologist who was interested in the Hellenistic period. The proceedings of this conference were only published in 1969, cf. the Letter no. 7, n. 38. Iza Biezuńska and Claire Préaux were long-time friends.

<sup>28</sup> On the invitation to Warsaw cf. the Letters nos. 4 and 7.

which has now become a 3-volume work.<sup>29</sup> My colleague has handed over his two volumes to the publisher and I am still not finished with my shorter volume. And there are others to follow.

I wrote Pečírka<sup>30</sup> and Berlin about this, but did not write to you simply because I did not want to trouble you when you were ill. I hope that my failure to write will not create embarrassment for you with the university authorities, since you say the formal invitation has already been agreed on. If so, perhaps it would help if we called it a postponement. I think I can safely promise now to come next year, though it would have to be later — middle of June — because of university commitments.<sup>31</sup>

This decision was not a happy one for me to make because we were both looking forward to the trip very much. But the situation has begun to verge on the scandalous, and I hope to get much done in the six months which I have free. (The one thing I could not call off was a visit to Strasbourg at the beginning of April, which has finally been fixed after something like three years of negotiations, full of comic opera elements. But when we return on 17 April, that will be the end of travelling for this year.)

Once again, best wishes and the usual warm greetings  
from both of us to both of you,

*signature*

#### LETTER 7

30 March 1967

Dear Friends,

I shall have to be brief because we are leaving on Sunday for two weeks in France, where I will participate for a part of a colloque on the *oikos* organized

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<sup>29</sup> M.I. Finley, *Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest*, London: Chatto & Windus 1968 (the first volume of the series *A History of Sicily*; two other volumes were published by the same house in the same year: D. Mack Smith, *Medieval Sicily 800–1713* and *idem, Modern Sicily after 1713*).

<sup>30</sup> Finley knew the Czech historian Jan Pečírka (1926–1993) since the Congress in Stockholm in 1960, they exchanged letters in the '70s and '80s. Iza Biežuńska was a member of the 'Eirene' Committee ('Eirene' — Committee for the Support of Development of the Classical Studies in the USSR and the People's Republics established in 1957); 'Eirene' organized congresses in different countries of the Eastern Bloc, events which gathered together scholars from the said countries and the guests from the West. Hence, she personally knew Jan Pečírka and Pavel Oliva who both worked closely with Finley. Biežuńska and Oliva were members of the Editorial Committee of the journal *Eirene* which was published in Prague (the first issue came to life in 1960, Iza Biežuńska was co-editor since 1964).

<sup>31</sup> Finley referred to his invitation to Poland, see n. 28.

jointly by Vernant and Van Effenterre<sup>32</sup> (sic) and then go on to lecture in Strasbourg and Nancy, and I have too much to finish (my paper for the colloque) before I can leave.

I have ordered the Davis<sup>33</sup> book through Bowes & Bowes,<sup>34</sup> and I hope it will reach you quickly. Probably Marian<sup>35</sup> would find as much interest in a recently published posthumous book by Karl Polanyi, *Dahomey and the Slave Trade*.<sup>36</sup> It is published by the Univ. of Washington Press for the American Ethnological Society. Would you like me to order a copy?

I am relieved that my unilateral decision to postpone a visit to Poland until 1968 will not cause any difficulties, only regrets.<sup>37</sup> Whether I get as much writing done as I must remain to be seen, but for the moment I seem to be working well and rapidly.

Your letter also suggests that your health is really improving, which is good news. But, alas, it compels me to ask whether you can now finish the comments on Mlle Préaux.<sup>38</sup> I have had no inquiry from the secretariat, and I shouldn't be surprised if they wouldn't be just as happy to forget the whole thing. However, I really feel obligated to the other authors (who have also been kindly silent) to try to get the volume out eventually.

With the usual warm greetings from house to house,  
Yours,  
*signature*

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<sup>32</sup> See M. Finley, 'The Alienability of Land in Ancient Greece: a Point of View', *Eirene* 7 (1968), pp. 25–32, n. 1: 'This paper is based on a communication to a "Colloque sur l'oikos", held in Paris in April 1967 under the joint sponsorship of the ancient history centres of the Sorbonne and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.' Jean-Pierre Vernant (1914–2007) was the director of studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in the years 1957–1975; Henri Van Effenterre (1912–2007) was a professor of Greek history at the Sorbonne from 1969. Iza Biezuńska personally knew both of them: Van Effenterre presided over the Association pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France and Iza Biezuńska thanks to Louis Robert's recommendation was a member of that Association since 1959.

<sup>33</sup> Finley probably referred to a book of D.B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, New York–Oxford 1996.

<sup>34</sup> The famous company Bowes and Bowes (such was their brand name in the years 1907–1986) were located in Cambridge at 1 Trinity Street. They were established either in 1843 or 1844 by Daniel and Alexander Macmillan who were joined in 1846 by their nephew Robert Bowes. He and his son George Brimley Bowes ran the bookshop together from 1899.

<sup>35</sup> Here and anywhere else: Marian Małowist.

<sup>36</sup> K. Polanyi, *Dahomey and the Slave Trade: An Analysis of an Archaic Economy*, Seattle–London: University of Washington Press, 1966.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the Letters nos. 4 and 6.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the Letter no. 6, n. 27; proceedings of the conference in Munich with Biezuńska's paper were published in 1969, see 'Commentaire', *Troisième Conférence Internationale d'Histoire Economique, Munich (23–27 août) 1965*, Paris 1969, pp. 75–80.



## LETTER 8

20.iii.70

Dear Iza,

This is a belated reply to your letter of 1 March.

I have just got over the grippe myself, and know exactly what you mean about the devastating effects of antibiotics.

I look forward to your manuscript. Have no fear about its being too late. Several are still missing, including those of Pečirka and Lepore,<sup>39</sup> who are central for the first part of the volume, and who cannot be effectively rushed.<sup>40</sup> But then, with my usual over-commitment, the longer I can postpone getting down to editing and writing and introduction, the easier life is for me.

You will be pleased to learn that I have been elected to Jones's chair when he retires on October 1, 1971 (sic).<sup>41</sup> I should be delighted to inaugurate my tenure with so a brilliant student as you describe in your letter.

We haven't had a pleasant winter: wet and cold, and some snow (though not anything to mention by your standards). The spring is just beginning to crawl in, rather reluctantly.

I look forward, as do many others, to your coming here for a longer period.<sup>42</sup> Meantime, Mary sends her warmest greetings to both of you.

Yours ever,  
*singature*

P.S. Our greeting to Bingen.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Ettore Lèpore (1924–1990), ancient historian from the University of Naples whom Iza Biežuńska met in France probably still in 1959. He was her close friend and collaborator in the Groupe International de Recherches sur l'Esclavage Antique (GIREA) founded by Pierre Lévêque (1921–2004), Mario Atilio Levi (1902–1998) and Ettore Lèpore himself.

<sup>40</sup> Finley presided over a conference 'Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne' which took place in Abbé de Royaumont in September 1969. A book to which Finley referred was only published in 1973, cf. *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce anciennes*, ed. M.I. Finley, Paris (Finley's 'Introduction' on pp. 9–12). Ettore Lèpore opened the first part of the book titled 'Monde Coloniale' with his article 'Problemi dell'organizzazione della chora coloniale' (pp. 15–47). Pečirka's article 'Homestead Farms in Classical and Hellenistic Hellas' (pp. 113–147) eventually found its place in the second part of the book titled 'Espace rural et cité'; Iza Biežuńska-Małowist's paper, 'La propriété foncière dans l'Égypte romaine et le rôle de l'élément romain' (pp. 253–265) was published in the fourth part: 'Les Grecs en Égypte hellénistique et romaine'.

<sup>41</sup> Moses Finley took the Chair of Ancient History succeeding A.H.M. Jones (1904–1970).

<sup>42</sup> From the Spring 1971 to February 1972, Iza Biežuńska was in Cambridge (along with her husband) as a visiting member at the Clare Hall college. In that period she participated in the Cambridge University Research Seminar in Ancient History which was run by Moses Finley with the topic of the Roman property. D. Thompson reminisces on Biežuńska's stay in Cambridge in her article in this issue of *Przegląd Historyczny*, see p. 401.

<sup>43</sup> Jean Bingen (1920–2012) was a Belgian papyrologist who met Iza Biežuńska at the 10th

## LETTER 9

1.vi.74

Dear Iza,

I am sorry you are annoyed that we did not go on from Berlin to Warsaw. The explanation is simple. I accepted the invitation chiefly because it gave us the opportunity to visit the DDR for the first time,<sup>44</sup> but I have learned that neither Mary nor I can any longer ‘go on the circuit’ without becoming too tired, and, in my case, without setting my work programme back considerably. That is why I declined an invitation from Oliva<sup>45</sup> and Pečirka (who knew about the Berlin meeting) to go on to Prague, which is, after all, much nearer to Berlin than Warsaw.

As for the meetings, my invitation from the Zentralinstitut<sup>46</sup> was for an ‘Arbeitsberatung’ in which my *Ancient Economy*<sup>47</sup> was to be discussed ‘among other things’. Only after my arrival did I learn that the book was in fact to be the sole subject of discussion. And of course I had nothing to do with the invitations or arrangements. As it turned out, only Pečirka and Hahn<sup>48</sup> had been invited from outside. It was very interesting, but, as I anticipated, wearying too.

I must leave the final decision about Włodek’s<sup>49</sup> dissertation in your hands. If you think it is worth all the trouble to have central chapters translated for the ‘examination’, I will cooperate, but I must say that it strikes me as a lot of unnecessary effort. If the real interest is in the final publication, would it not be more sensible and less time-wasting to translate the whole of it into either English or French at the end? I could then study and discuss it properly, and Włodek could make such revisions as he accepts from my comments and then proceed

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Congress of Papyrologists in Poland in 1960 (see the Introduction). He was the secretary of the l’Association internationale des Papyrologues from 1961 to 1992 and he was its honorary president in the years 1992–2012. Iza Biežuńska was a member of the International Committee of Papyrology between 1961 and 1989. Moses Finley referred in his letter to the stay of Bingen in Warsaw at that time.

<sup>44</sup> Moses Finley kept close contacts with the scholars from the German Democratic Republic. Among others, he exchanged letters with Heinz Kreißig (1921–1984), Detlev Lotze (b. 1930), and Liselotte Welskopf-Heinrich (1901–1979).

<sup>45</sup> Pavel Oliva (b. 1923) along with Jan Pečirka were the Czech friends of Moses Finley; cf. n. 30.

<sup>46</sup> Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie (Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR).

<sup>47</sup> M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy*, Berkeley 1973.

<sup>48</sup> István Hahn (1913–1984), Professor of ancient history at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, was a friend of Moses Finley since the Congress in Stockholm in 1960.

<sup>49</sup> Here and anywhere else: Włodzimierz Lengauer. The dissertation mentioned here was W. Lengauer’s PhD dissertation defended in 1975 and titled: *Greek commanders in the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.—Politics and Ideology: a Study of Militarism*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1979 (author’s thanks to Moses Finley on p. 5).

immediately to publish. Obviously something depends on the final decision about Princeton,<sup>50</sup> which, I assume, must be fairly near.

Please also let me know as soon as you can about your timetable for England in July.<sup>51</sup> We plan to stay in Cambridge all summer, but there will be days or week-ends when we may be away or otherwise tied up (the American invasion). Meantime, warm greetings from both of us to Marian and Wlodek,

*Signature*

#### LETTER 10

25.vi.74

Dear Iza,

You will have heard from Dorothy<sup>52</sup> by now that they would like you to stay with them while in Cambridge. I have also arranged with her to leave the evening of July 23 (the night before you go to Oxford) free, so that you can come here for dinner.

That will give us ample time to discuss all sorts of matters. Till then, with kind regards from both of us to Marian and Wlodek,

*Signature*

#### LETTER 11

13.ix.77

Dear Iza,

I trust that Wlodek will not be offended if I use this opportunity to report that his material arrived this morning, and that I shall write directly to the Hellenic Center in the next few days. Let's hope the application is successful.

Then, many thanks and congratulations on your second volume<sup>53</sup> (and thanks for the kind remarks about me, undeserved). I shall not pretend that I have already read the book, but you can be certain that I shall be studying it in the coming months, as I seem to [come] back to slavery again. I have agreed to give a course of lectures on ancient slavery at the Collège de France at the end of 1978.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The family of Małowists spent the academic year 1974/1975 in Princeton: Marian Małowist was there a Member of the Historical School in the Institute for Advanced Study at that time.

<sup>51</sup> In 1974, the University of Oxford organized the XIV Congress of Papyrologists where Iza Biežuńska presented a paper 'La traite d'esclaves en Egypte', see *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists, Oxford 24-31 July 1974*, London 1975, pp. 12-18.

<sup>52</sup> Dorothy Thompson (also in the Letters nos. 20 and 21).

<sup>53</sup> *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, vol. II, *Période romaine*, Archiwum Filologiczne 35, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1977.

<sup>54</sup> Invited by J.-P. Vernant, Finley gave a series of four lectures in the Collège de France on the

As for Mary, I suspect Dorothy has frightened you a bit excessively. She has had a poor year, the root of which has been extreme sensitivity to light following an otherwise fully successful operation for the removal of a cataract. The social consequence, if I can put it that way, is that she withdrew almost completely from all social engagements. No doubt that meant strain for both of us, but, as you have seen, it has not interfered with my work, nor in any significant way with my College duties. Anyway, a marked improvement has now begun, though Mary will, on medical advice, still not involve herself in large social gatherings.

*The Atlas of Classical Archaeology*<sup>55</sup> has finally been sent to you and I hope it arrives safely. As for the microfiche, I will deal with that promptly when I receive it. No problem at all.

With the usual warm greetings from both of us to Marian,

Yours ever,

*Signature*

#### LETTER 12

8.iii.78

Dear Iza,

I hope by the time this letter reaches you that you will have recovered, though that means loss of the pleasure of reading without taking notes. Mary's eyes continue to be troublesome. Although she is well otherwise, the sharp reduction in reading and the difficulty of going out are both most annoying. As for me, I still manage to do too much, though there are moments when I begin to feel my age.

If it were not that I am obligated, I should not myself go to Edinburgh.<sup>56</sup> As it is, I am planning to go only for the double afternoon session to which the Graeco-Roman historians were restricted despite our angry protests. The main consolation is that it appears probable that the papers (restricted in length and virtually without annotation) will be published very quickly, and ours will make a very interesting collection.

I am glad that the micro-fiche reader has arrived safely. The business side was accomplished easily and without difficulty.

I have heard nothing about the elections at the Center,<sup>57</sup> but I suspect you are right, given the date. Surely there is no reason why Wlodek should not apply again.

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slavery. They were published in 1980 as a book titled *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, see also the Letters nos. 12, 13 and 14.

<sup>55</sup> *Atlas of Classical Archaeology*, ed. by M.I. Finley, maps and plans by J. Fowler, London: Chatto & Windus, 1977.

<sup>56</sup> In August 1978, Moses Finley and Peter Garnsey co-organised the Seventh International Economic History Congress in Edinburgh.

<sup>57</sup> Center for Hellenic Studies, Washington D.C.

(Incidentally, all I am giving in Paris is four lectures,<sup>58</sup> one a week between mid-November and mid-December this year.)

It would be very nice if you could manage the Cambridge Triennial meeting, which begins on the evening of July 31<sup>st</sup>. Meanwhile warmest greetings from Mary and myself to the three of you.

*Signature*

### LETTER 13

29.viii.78

Dear Iza,

From one point of view the Cambridge Triennial meeting was a success. The attendance (400+) was the largest ever; because it rained all the time, meetings were well attended; and one evening there were very good parties in various colleges. On the other hand, the physical arrangements were unsatisfactory, so that it was not easy to meet people, and the papers, all in all, were not as good as might have been expected. I doubt if you missed too much, apart from the chance to be in Cambridge again.

I say all that at second hand because a week beforehand my health suddenly broke down: after years of high blood pressure, I had a sudden reversal, too low pressure. The doctors say that the cause was stress, which I must avoid — not a very helpful prescription. In consequence, I did not attend the meetings or see people (apart from giving the opening lecture to which I was committed.) I am in fairly good shape again, trying very hard to work less, which is extremely difficult. That also explains my failure to reply to Wlodek's letter saying that he would re-apply to Hellenic Center. I had hoped to talk with Bernard Knox<sup>59</sup> before replying, but, under the circumstances, I never saw him.

Another consequence was that I did not go to the Edinburgh meeting.<sup>60</sup> Claude Mossé, the Garlans and the Lepores<sup>61</sup> all came here afterward, separately, but on the whole we have not welcomed visitors much this summer, even at the

<sup>58</sup> Cf. n. 54.

<sup>59</sup> Bernard MacGregor Walker Knox (1914–2010) was the first director of the Center for Hellenic Studies (Washington, D.C.) in the years 1962–1985.

<sup>60</sup> See the Letter no. 12 and n. 56.

<sup>61</sup> On Ettore Lèpore see n. 39; both French scholars Claude Mossé (b. 1924) and Yvon Garland (b. 1933) were good acquaintances with Moses Finley and Iza Biežuńska. Claude Mossé did not present a paper in Edinburgh; see Y. Garland, 'Le travail libre en Grèce ancienne', *Proceedings of the Seventh International Economic History Congress*, ed. M.W. Finley, Edinburgh 1978, pp. 119–130; E. Lèpore, 'Grecia: il lavoro urbano', *ibidem*, pp. 135 ff. (= 'Grecia: il lavoro urbano', [in:] *Non-slave Labour in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. P. Garnsey, Cambridge 1980, pp. 26–29).

cost of appearing rude to some people. Neither of us is able to indulge in serious entertaining.

My main work at the present is also on slavery, hopefully for the last time. I cannot remember whether or not I wrote to you previously that I accepted an invitation from the Collège de France (via Vernant)<sup>62</sup> to give four lectures at the end of 1978 (one a week, which is something of a nuisance). I chose to talk on slavery, and, as the lectures have to be translated into French, I am compelled to have them ready well in advance. We shall see.

Finally, I hope you will permit me not to waste money and not to buy Arnheim's book on Greek aristocracy,<sup>63</sup> which Chester Starr<sup>64</sup> described to me, not inaccurately, as the worst book he ever read.

*Handwriting:* with our warmest greetings from both of us,

*Signature*

#### LETTER 14

19.v.79

Dear Iza,

It was a pleasure to have your letter with so much relatively good news. Our congratulations to Włodek: where will he go?<sup>65</sup> And I know how much you enjoyed Princeton the last time.<sup>66</sup>

I continue to overwork, even though I am compelled to take it easier than I used to. My 67<sup>th</sup> birthday is tomorrow, and I have virtually completed my professorial duties, except for a small examining chore and two or three more meetings, though my formal retirement is on 30<sup>th</sup> September. (I remain at Darwin for three further years, and that occupies more and more time.) Mary is not feeling too badly, but she goes out very little and travels even less. Thus, I am going off in two weeks to receive an honorary degree in central Canada (and I cannot imagine why I accepted),<sup>67</sup> and she will remain at home.

<sup>62</sup> See the Letters nos. 11 (and n. 54) and 12.

<sup>63</sup> M.T.W. Arnheim, *Aristocracy in Greek Society*, London 1977.

<sup>64</sup> Chester Starr (1914–1999), an American historian, since 1970 Professor of ancient history at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

<sup>65</sup> Włodzimierz Lengauer won the Humboldt Research Fellowship and went to Trier where he was staying 1979–1981.

<sup>66</sup> Iza Biežuńska and Marian Małowist spent the academic year 1974/1975 in Princeton, cf. n. 50; they went to Princeton again in the first half of 1980, this time Iza Biežuńska became a Member of the Historical School in the Institute for Advanced Study.

<sup>67</sup> On 2 June 1979, Moses Finley became a Doctor of Literature at the University of Saskatchewan, see <https://library.usask.ca/archives/campus-history/honorary-degrees.php> [accessed on 22.06.2016].

Now that I have finally more or less completed, after seven years, editing a new *Legacy of Greece*,<sup>68</sup> my most pressing task is getting ready for publication my Paris lectures, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*.<sup>69</sup> Then, or rather at the same time, I have to start on the Willis [i.e. Wiles] Lectures in Belfast (!) for next May,<sup>70</sup> on ancient politics and political theory. Publication is mandatory, i.e. they withhold half the fee until the manuscript is delivered. That will obviously occupy much of next summer.

I could go on listing still more commitments, but I think I have indicated enough to explain why I cannot see myself taking on your colloquium in the autumn of 1980.<sup>71</sup> I am beginning to find that seminars and colloquia tire me, and that increasingly I must restrict myself to my writing and to College. Pity.

Mary joins me in affectionate greetings to Marian and Wlodek.

*Signature*

P.S. Transplantation of populations is an excellent subject.<sup>72</sup>

#### LETTER 15

3.ix.79

Dear Iza,

A hasty note of thanks for the Actes de Colloque 1975,<sup>73</sup> which arrived this morning. You will not, I trust, be offended if I comment that I was in despair to learn that Besançon have discovered the computer without having at the same time learned of two mistakes that have been made (and are now well understood) in more than 50 years of this kind of lexical analysis.

Greetings from both of us to all,

*Signature*

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<sup>68</sup> The book was published in 1981 in Oxford as *The Legacy of Greece. A New Appraisal*.

<sup>69</sup> See n. 54.

<sup>70</sup> As a part of the Wiles Lecture Series at the Queen's University in Belfast, Finley gave a number of lectures for the ancient and modern historians and political scientists in 1980. Basing on these lectures, he published a book *Politics in the Ancient World* in 1983.

<sup>71</sup> Congress of GIREA in Kazimierz.

<sup>72</sup> In her previous letter to Moses Finley, Iza Biežuńska must have mentioned the habilitation thesis of Ryszard Kulesza (published by this author in 1998, *Polis apolis: wysiedlenia, przesiedlenia i ucieczki ludności w świecie greckim w V i IV wieku p.n.e.*, Warszawa).

<sup>73</sup> *Actes du Colloque sur l'esclavage (Nieborów, 2-6 decembre 1975)*, eds. I. Biežuńska-Małowist, J. Kolendo, Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 10, Warszawa 1979.

## LETTER 16

10 July 1980<sup>74</sup>

Dear Iza,

I always knew that Wallerstein is very intelligent. That's a splendid idea and I look forward eventually to an interesting discussion from you.<sup>75</sup>

The problem of copies of the book is a bit complicated. It was published in this country the first week of June,<sup>76</sup> and I sent you a copy to Warsaw (as I was under impression that you were returning in June). American publication will not be until September. Wallerstein received an advance proof copy from Viking Press, but I doubt that he can get you a copy before you leave Princeton. Anyway, if you eventually end up with two copies, you will have no trouble in placing the duplicate in good hands. (French, German and Italian translations are already in process.)

The Wiles Lectures<sup>77</sup> were hard but interesting work because the arrangements, apart from four lectures on four successive days, included many hours of discussion, some formal, the rest informal. Now I am trying to convert the lectures into a book, and that is proving to be both slow and difficult. I don't know whether I can complete it by the end of 1980, as I have proposed.

Mary's health hasn't been too good for some months. It has improved in the past two weeks, sufficiently so that she is coming out to lunch today with Momigliano.<sup>78</sup> But she does not want to travel, and so we shall spend the summer here. My retirement from the chair seems not to have reduced the work load in the least.<sup>79</sup> Although I promise myself all the time to slow down, I find it temperamentally difficult. And the weather is an encouragement to stay at one's desk: the wettest, coldest summer so far on record — all the heat seems to be concentrated on the other side of the Atlantic.

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<sup>74</sup> The letter was addressed at the School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, see n. 66.

<sup>75</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein (b. 1930), a renowned American historian and sociologist, from 1976 director of The Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations at the State University of New York at Binghamton. In 1977, the Center began to issue a journal *Review* and Wallerstein was its founder. The Małowists met Wallerstein in February 1975 in Montreal where Marian Małowist gave a lecture (they spent the academic year 1974/1975 in Princeton, cf. n. 66). From that moment on, Marian Małowist stayed in contact with Wallerstein, hence it is possible they met again in 1980. Iza Biežuńska wrote Finley about her idea of publishing a review of Finley's book in the *Review*. See also n. 88.

<sup>76</sup> The book in question was Finley's *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, see n. 54.

<sup>77</sup> See n. 70.

<sup>78</sup> Arnaldo Momigliano (1908–1987) and Moses Finley were close friends (they knew one another since 1934), Momigliano also knew Iza Biežuńska very well.

<sup>79</sup> Finley officially retired and left the Chair of Ancient History, though he continued as Master of Darwin until 1982.



The Barclay account<sup>80</sup> is pretty healthy (£ 250), but I shall wait to buy the Garnsey–Whittaker<sup>81</sup> volume until a friend returns from holiday in about ten days because he can purchase it at half–price.

With the usual affectionate greetings from both,

*Signature*

#### LETTER 17

10.iv.81

Dear Iza,

I didn't reply immediately to your letter of 11 March because I assumed that the typescript of the review would follow rather quickly.<sup>82</sup> The latter has not yet arrived and it would be rude to postpone writing any longer. I look forward to reading the review with considerable interest.

Retirement is a strange business. I responded to my retirement from the chair without the slightest twinge, rather to the surprise of Mary and others. That is perhaps not the best test, as I remained at the College and also still retained a considerable number of research students, who are now disappearing one by one (as I have refused to take any new ones). My guess is that retirement from the College in eighteen months will be less easy.

As for work, the 'Parkinson's law' applies exactly: work increases to fill available time. I am simply too busy. Last year's (or was it the year before) trip to Canada was merely to give a lecture and receive an honorary degree from the Univ. of Saskatchewan. It lasted four days and I returned exhausted. So early in May I shall go to Syracuse, N.Y., for three days for an honorary degree from my Alma Mater.<sup>83</sup> And at the beginning of June another short journey, this time to Rome

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<sup>80</sup> Finley referred to a bank account which belonged to the Małowists and was not closed after their stay at the Clare Hall. Finley was given the power of attorney over it and used it to buy books for the Małowists.

<sup>81</sup> *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, eds. P.D.A. Garnsey, C.R. Whittaker, Cambridge 1978.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. the next Letter.

<sup>83</sup> Finley received a BA at the Syracuse University in 1927, he got a *honoris causa* Doctorate from that University in May 1981. At the same time the US Secretary of State Alexander Haig was awarded an honorary doctorate of public service degree. Finley refused to listen to Haig's speech in a protest of Haig's policy. On 11 July 1986, The New York Times published Finley's obituary written by E. MacDowell which wrongly informed that Finley got his honorary doctorate at the Syracuse University in 1982: 'While at Syracuse University to receive an honorary degree in 1982, he boycotted the commencement address by then-Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. because, he said, his presence would suggest support for Mr. Haig's foreign policy.' (<http://www.nytimes.com/1986/07/11/obituaries/sir-moses-i-finley-a-scholar-in-the-classics.html>); see the press reports of these proceedings in, e.g. Daytona Beach Morning, May 9, 1981 (<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1873&dat=19810509&id=PvswAAAIBAJ&sjid=nuAFAAAAIBAJ&pg=1217,4743496&hl=pl>) or The Cornell

where Italian friends have organized a one-day seminar at the French School on the publication of the Italian translation of my slavery book.<sup>84</sup> In between I still try to do some work.

Do you really want MacDowell's book on Athenian law?<sup>85</sup> It's not much good and is surely no advance on Harrison's two volumes,<sup>86</sup> despite the gaps in the latter. *Lyra Graeca*<sup>87</sup> is still not available.

Mary joins me in warmest greetings to Marian, Wlodek and of course yourself.

*Signature*

#### LETTER 18

11.vi.81

Dear Iza,

We both enjoyed your long and interesting letter. I can appreciate that there [are] neither enough hours of the day nor enough hands in one body for what one wants to do, but is it not better to have too much to do, especially when it is mostly interesting and worthwhile activity? For my part, I have to stop from time to time to remind myself that I am supposed to be retired.

I have read the review with pleasure — naturally — and there is not a sentence that is either incomprehensible or unjust.<sup>88</sup> Linguistically there is room for improvement, but any competent editor can make the necessary changes in an hour or so, and I have not bothered. There is just one technical point: the review should refer to American edition, Viking Press 1980.<sup>89</sup> The pagination is identical, so nothing need be changed except the heading. Many thanks for all the time and trouble.

At the moment I wish I could forget the whole subject for a while. The Italian translation was published at the beginning of this week, and for the occasion two

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Daily Sun, Volume 97, Number 139, 11 May 1981 (<http://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell?a=d&d=CDS19810511.2.1.1>).

<sup>84</sup> M. Finley, *Schiavitù antica e ideologie moderne*, Roma-Bari 1981.

<sup>85</sup> D. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, London 1978.

<sup>86</sup> A.R.W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: vol 1, The Family and Property*, Oxford 1968, vol. II, *Procedure*, Oxford 1971.

<sup>87</sup> See n. 101.

<sup>88</sup> Finley referred to Iza Biezuńska's review of his book *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, published in *Review* 4 (1982), pp. 111–126; see also n. 75.

<sup>89</sup> Finley's book was first published in London in 1980 by the Chatto & Windus, then in New York in the same year by the Viking Press. Iza Biezuńska had both printed editions, but the published review referred to the English edition.

young Italian friends, Ampolo<sup>90</sup> and Pucci,<sup>91</sup> organized a 'seminar' at the École française de Rome last Friday. There were up to 200 people, including of course Carandini<sup>92</sup> and some of our French friends (Vidal-Naquet, Mossé, *etc.*),<sup>93</sup> and we talked for eleven hours, apart from a two-hour lunch break. The proceedings will be published as the first issue of a new journal, called *Opus*, which Ampolo and Pucci are launching.<sup>94</sup> The German translation was published last month, and I am expecting fireworks from that quarter eventually.

A semester in Hamburg should be very interesting, despite the language difficulties.<sup>95</sup> There are some very good people there. I will be interested to hear your reactions in due course, if you can find a moment to write.

Life here seems to go unchanged, except for the inevitable daily aging process. And so, from Mary and myself, very warm and affectionate greetings to all three of you.

*Signature*

#### LETTER 19

28 July 1982<sup>96</sup>

Dear Isa,<sup>97</sup>

It is no good my pretending your letter is filled with good news. We are very glad to learn that your own illness was not serious but that is not the case with Marian<sup>98</sup> and I can think of nothing useful that I can say. It is particularly unfortunate that you cannot take advantage of the opportunity to spend more time in Europe. Anyway please give Marian and Wlodek our warmest greetings when you return home in September.

<sup>90</sup> Carmine Ampolo (b. 1947), historian of ancient Greece, Professor in Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa since 2000.

<sup>91</sup> Giuseppe Pucci (b. 1947), now a Professor Emeritus, since 1971 he worked at the faculty of Archeologia e Storia dell'arte Greca e Romana at the University of Siena.

<sup>92</sup> Andrea Carrandini (b. 1937), Professor of archaeology who specializes in the ancient Rome.

<sup>93</sup> Pierre Vidal-Naquet (1930–2006) was a close friend of Moses Finley since the '50s. Finley's book *The World of Odysseus* from 1954 caught the attention of Vidal-Naquet and made Finley famous among the French historians.

<sup>94</sup> The first issue of *Opus. Rivista internazionale per la storia economica e sociale dell'antichità* was published in Rome in 1982.

<sup>95</sup> In the academic year 1981/1982, Iza Biežuńska was a Gastprofessor in the Seminar für Alte Geschichte at the University of Hamburg and gave lectures and conducted seminars in lieu of Jürgen Deininger.

<sup>96</sup> The letter was addressed at the Seminar für Alte Geschichte in Hamburg.

<sup>97</sup> Spelling as in the Letter.

<sup>98</sup> In May 1982, Marian Małowist suffered his first heart attack and from that moment on his health was only deteriorating.

At this end things are moving fairly well although I will not pretend that I am really working hard.

Mary sends her love,  
Yours ever,

*Signature*  
Moses Finley

#### LETTER 20

1 March 1983

Dear Iza,

We were very unhappy to learn about Marian's illness in December, but trust that he has now fully recovered. I'm afraid we have reached an age when one recovers slowly.

Dorothy reported accurately about us: we are both in fairly good shape, Mary better than she has been in a long time, I more or less normal again. I had to cancel a lecture I was scheduled to give at the Deutscher Historikertag last October<sup>99</sup> and postpone the J.H. Gray Lectures in Cambridge<sup>100</sup> from this month until next October, but I am now working quite steadily though not as intensely as in the past. But then I am retired and free from other obligations.

The Loeb Library is replacing *Lyra Graeca* by a new edition. Volume 1<sup>101</sup> is out and I shall be able to send you a copy in a few days.

Mary joins me in affectionate greetings to all of you.

*Signature*

#### LETTER 21

13.vi.83

Dear Iza,

It was nice to receive your letter, and especially to learn that Marian's health has improved so much that he is preparing to resume work. As Dorothy reported, we are both quite well, and I have been working for perhaps eight months, though not as intensively as in the past. My immediate concern is with the J.H. Gray Lectures

<sup>99</sup> Finley referred to the 34th congress of the German historians (Deutscher Historikertag) which took place on 6–10 October 1982 in Münster.

<sup>100</sup> After his retirement, Moses Finley was invited to give a yearlong series of lectures in a seminar named J.H. Gray Lectures at the Faculty of Classics at the University of Cambridge. They were later published as a book: *Ancient History. Evidence and Models*, London 1985.

<sup>101</sup> *Greek Lyric*, vol. 1, ed. D.A. Campbell, Harvard University Press, Cambridge M.A. 1982, Loeb Classical Library.

in Cambridge, originally scheduled for March but postponed to early November. Then we shall see.

Mary joins me in affectionate greetings to all three of you.

*Signature*

P.S. I have sent you a few books and should be glad to know when you receive them.

#### LETTER 22

1.ii.84

Dear Iza,

Your New Year's card did not arrive until this morning, and I hope you have not been puzzled or worried about my failure to reply. I will attend to the Family Link Club immediately, and you should be able to take advantage of it by the time this letter reaches you.

We were both surprisingly well. In fact, the week before last we spent in Basel and Munich, where I lectured. It was my first journey abroad in two years, Mary's in five. Despite my retirement and my long illness, I seem now to be almost as busy as ever, which is an excellent way to cope with increasing age.

I, too, express the hope that 1984 will be better for you than 1983, but it is frankly not easy to know what one can hope these days. But one can at least think about and keep in touch with friends, and so best regards from both of us to Marian and Wlodek.

*Signature*

#### LETTER 23

17.iv.85

Dear Iza,

I am very sorry indeed that you do not think you can manage Stuttgart,<sup>102</sup> but I fear that the time has come when we all find voyages increasingly difficult. It is true that in the past year and a half I have travelled more than usual, largely because Mary felt able to come with me for the first time in five years, but each journey takes longer to recover from. So the Stuttgart trip will be restricted to five days<sup>103</sup> and will be a pure aller-et-retour affair.

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<sup>102</sup> The Sixteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Stuttgart, August 1985.

<sup>103</sup> The International Economic History Association organized five half-day sessions.

The one thing I have learned about retirement is that one becomes busier than ever. I can explain that only by the view that everyone assumes that one now has free time and requests one to read manuscripts, write short pieces for encyclopedias, give a lecture, etc. But then, I suppose the alternative is much worse: to have nothing to do would be desperate and fatal. It's a great pity that Marian is not well; otherwise you would enjoy your retirement even more.<sup>104</sup> But at least it is a great consolation that the academic succession is in such good hands.

Mary joins me in warmest greeting to all of you, and in expressing the hope, no matter how thin, that you may be able to manage Stuttgart after all.

*Signature*

#### LETTER 24

13 August 1985

Dear Friends,

Thank you for Isa's letter of 20 July, which confirmed that she will not be going to the Stuttgart congress. Now it is uncertain whether I shall be going either. Mary has not been well for nearly two months, and the worst of it is that all tests have failed to provide an explanation. In consequence she has become understandably nervous as the doctors admittedly work in the dark. I have already changed my plans so that I shall attend only for the first two days (Sunday and Monday), and I may in the end decide not to go at all. I'm afraid we have reached the age when personal news is constantly coloured by morbidity.

There was considerable talk in Italy, when I was there in April, about the possibility of Bravo's<sup>105</sup> going to Turin. But then no one knew whether his wife<sup>106</sup> would accompany him or not, and the electoral committee was trying to get assurance from him that he would accept if elected. (The danger is that if he in the end failed to accept, the post would be permanently lost.)

Otherwise I have no important news to offer in return for yours. I need hardly say that we are most unhappy that the prospects of our meeting are rather poor at present. You are often in our thoughts, and we send most affectionate greetings.

*Signature*

<sup>104</sup> Marian Małowist retired in 1980, Iza Biezuńska-Małowist in 1987.

<sup>105</sup> Benedetto Bravo, ancient historian, professor emeritus of the University of Warsaw.

<sup>106</sup> Ewa Wipszycka-Bravo, ancient historian, professor emerita of the University of Warsaw.

## LETTER 25

24.xii.85

Dear Friends,

That's wonderful news about Marian's seminar. It gave us much pleasure. But I am unhappy that you heard nothing from us since August, since we certainly sent you at least a greeting card in November. Our situation is that, although Mary is considerably better, she is still not well enough to go out, except very occasionally, or ever to do the routine household chores. So I have taken charge of the *oikonomia*, and I need not tell you how time-consuming that is even under our economic conditions. Let's all hope for a better 1986.

Affectionately

*Signature*