

Heinrich Rudolf (Henry Rudolph) Immerwahr

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Heinrich Immerwahr graduated from the University of Florence with a degree in Classics in October 1938, that is, in the last exam session to which Jewish students of German nationality were admitted. He succeeded in attaining a scholarship and in emigrating first to Athens and then to the United States, where he continued his university career eventually becoming a full professor in 1963.

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Education and emigration to Florence

Heinrich was born in Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland), in the German Reich at the time, on 28 February 1916, to Kurt, a merchant, and Johanna Katalin Freund. The Immerwahr family was part of the professional and intellectual bourgeoisie of the city, which would be incorporated into the Polish State in 1945¹.

«Of Lutheran faith and Jewish heritage»,² he had attended elementary and high school in his hometown and had obtained a diploma at the «Johannes-Gymnasium». He had chosen to enroll in Classics and, due to the restrictions introduced since 1933 to limit Jewish students' access to German universities,³ he transferred to Florence in 1934. Here he was a student of the

¹ On the urban context and the Jewish component, see Friedrich Bretislav and Dieter Hoffmann, *Clara Immerwahr: A Life in the Shadow of Fritz Haber*, in Friedrich Bretislav, Dieter Hoffmann, Jürgen Renn, Florian Schmaltz and Martin Wolf (eds.), *One Hundred Years of Chemical Warfare: Research, Deployment, Consequences*, Berlin, Springer, 2017, pp. 45-67 <<https://doi.org>> (accessed 10 October 2020). Clara Immerwahr (1870-1915), the first woman in the world to receive a doctoral degree in chemistry and the wife of chemist Fritz Haber, was most likely a relative of Heinrich.

² NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 75, f. 34 «Immerwahr, Heinrich R. 1940-1942», undated curriculum vitae attached to the letter to Betty Drury, ECADFS, 19 November 1940. The consultation of the file, held at the New York Public Library, was made possible by Patrizia Guarnieri.

³ On the subject of and the law against German overcrowded schools and universities («Gesetz

great classical philologist Giorgio Pasquali, but, as he specified in the curriculum vitae that he presented to the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars, he had taken courses in «Ancient History (Professor Giannelli), Philosophy (Professor Lamanna), Archaeology (Professor Minto), Greek Epigraphy (Professor Oliverio), Paleography and Papyrology (Professor Norsa)»,⁴ passing the required exams successfully.

The Florentine degree program was in effect among the most prestigious in Italy, for it counted several scholars of international reputation, including classical philologists Ettore Bignone and Gennaro Perrotta, linguist Giacomo Devoto, Etruscologist Antonio Minto, and papyrologist Medea Norsa.

Immerwahr graduated on 25 October 1938 with a thesis on «Il concetto di Tyche in Platone» [The concept of Tyche (luck) in Plato], directed by Pasquali, receiving the grade of 107/110. The dispositions issued in September 1938 and clarified by the minister of National Education Bottai in the following weeks required the immediate expulsion of Jewish students coming from the Reich;⁵ since he maintained German nationality, Heinrich submitted his application for a degree in Classical Philology on 17 September 1938 and took the last four exams between the 12th and the 19th of October, so that he could graduate in the last session of the academic year 1937-38, that is, in fall 1938⁶.

gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen»), promulgated on 25 April 1933, see Béla Bodo, *The Role of Antisemitism in the Expulsion of non-Aryan Students, 1933-1945*, «Yad Vashem Studies», XXX, 2002, pp. 189-228 <<https://www.yadvashem.org>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

⁴ NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 75, f. 34 «Immerwahr, Heinrich R. 1940-1942», curriculum vitae, cit.

⁵ The memorandum of the Ministry of National Education of 6 October 1938, n. 6408, «Jewish students of foreign nationality», specified that the Jewish foreigners who were enrolled and caught up on their coursework and exams could continue their studies, with the exception of the students of German nationality, who could not be admitted to the academic year 1938-39. The provision thus readmitted foreign students in order to avoid any contention regarding pre-existing mutual agreements with other States, while, at the same time, adapting to current legislation in the German Reich.

⁶ See the minutes of the exam sessions, the application for admission to the degree exam and the minutes of the latter session in ASUFi, AC, SS, F. «Immerwahr Enrico».

Scholarship recipient in Athens

Following the promulgation of the racial laws, probably in February 1939 he decided to rejoin his parents, who were moving to Great Britain to stay with relatives; a few weeks later he departed for Greece, where he arrived on 28 March, as he had managed to get in contact with the International Student Service (ISS) when he was still in Florence and had obtained a scholarship in Archeology from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA)⁷. As Immerwahr himself remembered in a testimony given in 2009, a letter of introduction sent by Giorgio Pasquali to the ISS representation in Switzerland proved to be crucial for his career path; already in this phase his case was probably brought to the attention of Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, an important scholar who would play a role in the subsequent transfer of the young man to the USA⁸. Lehmann-Hartleben remained in Italy until 1935, since he had been expelled from the chair of Classical Archeology at the University of Münster while he was at Pompeii for an excavation campaign; he transferred to the USA and became a professor at the Institute of Fine Arts at the City University of New York⁹.

Although ASCSA had not been immune from antisemitic prejudices in the previous years, the school had developed, since the first world war, a series of assistance activities for Greek refugees – some of them Jewish – who were victims of conflicts and natural calamities¹⁰. The fellowship that Heinrich

⁷ See the autobiographical notes, dated 2009, in *Attic Vase Inscriptions, Who is Who? Former and Current Project Members*, Henry R. Immerwahr <<https://avi.unibas.ch/>> (accessed 10 October 2020); for the arrival date see Jack L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere Outside of National Boundaries*»: *Three Jewish Directors and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, «*Annuario della Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene*», LXXXVII, s. III, 9, t. I, 2009 [2010], pp. 133-145: 136. On ISS see Georgina Brewis, *Students in Action: Students and Antifascist Relief Efforts, 1933-1939*, in *A Social History of Student Volunteering. Historical Studies in Education*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 111-133.

⁸ J.L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere*», cit., p. 136.

⁹ On Lehmann-Hartleben, see Hans Peter Obermayer, «*A Man with a Host of Friends*» – *Karl Lehmann-Hartleben*, in *Deutsche Altertumswissenschaftler im amerikanischen Exil*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2012, pp. 108-132.

¹⁰ See the interesting observations by J.L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere*», cit., p. 134; Id., *A*

benefited from was instituted at the end of 1938 thanks to a donation meant to support the hosting of Jewish students fleeing the Reich. Edward Capps, notable scholar and Chairman of the Managing Committee of ASCSA from 1918 to 1939, personally considered the case, for it was not easy to obtain an entry permit to Greece. The young man was evaluated as highly qualified by the Committee on Fellowships. Capps believed that Immerwahr had attained a PhD, but this inaccuracy was probably a result of the difficulty in equating the Italian degree program with American degree levels¹¹. Jack Davis has underlined the role of a transnational network of scholars of classical antiquity that mobilized to ensure a satisfactory academic path for the recent graduate:

Immerwahr's success in reaching safety in the United States resulted from a series of international relationships, both inside and outside ASCSA. Lehmann-Hartleben's friendship with Pasquali was key in identifying him as a promising young scholar in the first place. But by 1938, Lehmann-Hartleben had become a figure respected by the American archaeological community in Athens. From his post at New York University, he had in 1938 organized an archaeological expedition to Samothrace under the auspices of ASCSA. In this role he was well-known to men such as Capps, while at the same time more familiar than most with the plight of Jewish academics in Europe¹².

Immerwahr rapidly integrated, and with success, into the school. As Assistant Director Arthur W. Parsons wrote,

He seems to be making friends here with staff and students. He is very industrious and intelligent and a thorough gentleman. At present he is a bit perturbed as to what may happen to him if war comes [...] his German passport must soon be replaced by another German passport, which will bear the hateful mark of «Jew». He tells me that he registered last September in Italy for the purpose of migrating to America, but his turn will not come under the German quota for at least another year or

Preamble to the Nazi Holocaust in Greece: Two Micro-Histories from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, in *From the Archivist's Notebook. Essays Inspired by Archival Research in Athens Greece*, 1 November 2014 <<https://nataliavogeikoff.com>>. Davis has been Carl W. Blegen Professor of Greek Archaeology at the University of Cincinnati and former director of ASCSA (2007-2012).

¹¹ J.L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere*», cit., p. 135. On Capps see William M. Calder III, *Capps, Edward*, in Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, School of Arts and Sciences, *Database of Classical Scholars* <<https://dbcs.rutgers.edu>> (accessed 30 October 2020).

¹² J.L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere*», cit., p. 138.

two.

And by living in Loring Hall he has eaten wholesome food and has learned to speak English. He is really quite fluent now¹³.

The experience in Athens was for Heinrich particularly intense and fruitful; as he would write in an autobiographical note, the fellowship «profoundly affected my academic life in that it put me in touch with the actual life as lived in ancient Greece»¹⁴.

He had in fact the opportunity to pursue the course of study proposed by the American School, which included a course on the general arrangement of the Acropolis by Professor Gorham P. Stevens, an important archaeologist and director of the institution;¹⁵ a course on the Southwest wing of the Propylaea, taught by Bert Hodge Hill, another notable scholar who had been director of the School for 20 years (1906-1926);¹⁶ a course on the Athenian topography by Arthur Parsons. He also completed «three extensive trips to almost the entire Greek continent», attending different lectures in museums and archaeological sites; in his free time, he visited Crete, Macedonia and other relevant localities from the historical-artistic point of view. During his stay he developed a particular interest in Greek inscriptions and worked at the Epigraphic Museum of Athens; when a professor assigned him the study of two unpublished inscriptions from the Acropolis, Immerwahr scouted the area, identifying three more inscriptions; as he wrote to ECADFS in 1940, an article on the subject was being published in the scientific journal of the School, «Hesperia», while another article was in preparation «on an inscription about the sanctuaries of Athens and its surroundings and was of

¹³ Ibid., p. 136.

¹⁴ John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, *Fellows, Henry R. Immerwahr* <<https://www.gf.org>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

¹⁵ For a biography of Gorham P. Stevens see American School of Classical Studies at Athens, *Gorham P. Stevens Papers* <<https://www.ascsa.edu.gr>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

¹⁶ See American School of Classical Studies at Athens, *Bert H. Hill Papers* <<https://www.ascsa.edu.gr>> (accessed 10 October 2020); *ibid.*, *Arthur W. Parsons Papers*, <<https://www.ascsa.edu.gr>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

great importance for the topography of that city»¹⁷.

From Athens to the United States

The stay in Athens was characterized by financial difficulty, given that Heinrich could not arrange any more familial support to supplement his scholarship: his parents had suffered the confiscation of their assets, while the relatives who hosted them in Great Britain were not in any condition to help him. The School was willing to house him for another year, while he was waiting to obtain a visa for the United States. Lehmann-Hartleben's active involvement played a key role in this process, just as in Heinrich's subsequent admission to the doctoral program at Yale¹⁸.

Heinrich benefited from the renewal of the scholarship for the academic year 1940-41 but, following the outbreak of the conflict, the School closed; he was therefore permitted to use the scholarship to cover the expenses for his transfer to the United States, where he arrived on 13 October 1940 after a turbulent trip with a stopover in Lisbon¹⁹. On 19 November he wrote to Miss Betty Drury of the Emergency Committee of New York on recommendation from Paul Oskar Kristeller, who had arrived in the USA the year before and was a professor at Columbia University. Immerwahr had probably met Kristeller in Florence, since the historian of philosophy had been reader of German at the Scuola Normale of Pisa until 1938²⁰. The young classicist was aware that he did not have the qualifications to enter the ECADFS program, which tended to consider more advanced-career scholars, but he asked for an appointment for a consultation about possible arrangements as a teacher

¹⁷ NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 75, f. 34 «Immerwahr, Heinrich R. 1940-1942», curriculum vitae, cit.; H.R. Immerwahr, *Five Dedicatory Inscriptions from the North Wall of the Acropolis*, «Hesperia», 1942, pp. 338-348.

¹⁸ J.L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere*», cit., pp. 137-138.

¹⁹ Ibid.; NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 75, f. 34 «Immerwahr, Heinrich R. 1940-1942», curriculum vitae, cit.

²⁰ On Kristeller see Anthony Molho, *Besuch in Deutschland: Paul Oskar Kristeller in America*, «I Tatti Studies», 19, 2, 2016, pp. 427-467.

or a fellow. If he could continue his studies, he intended to complete his epigraphical investigations initiated in Athens and work on the publication of his thesis; alternatively, he proposed himself as a «teacher» of Greek or Latin, ancient history and philosophy, or also German, Italian and elementary French. He spoke modern Greek and had worked for five months as a librarian at the archaeological School; he finally added that he had taken piano lessons for more than 12 years²¹.

He indicated as his residence the house of Stephen Zand, at 82 Tennis Place, Forest Hills, Long Island (NY)²². Stefan Joseph (later Stephen) Zand (Łódź 1898-1963), from a Jewish Polish family, was an aeronautical engineer who transferred to the USA in 1925; recipient in 1931 of the Wright Brothers Medal for an invention that reduced vibrations during flight, he worked for the Sperry Corporation and later became vice president of the engineering division of the Lord Corporation²³. It is not clear how Heinrich met Zand, even though one could hypothesize a linkage with the family, since Johanna Freund, the mother of the young scholar, was also from Łódź²⁴.

Immerwahr did not obtain direct support from ECADFS, but Miss Drury's intercession proved to be decisive in the search for an accommodation and relative arrangements. On 6 January 1941, he was already on a list sent by Hertha Kraus of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); this was a guest list from the Collective College Workshop situated in Haverford, Philadelphia, at 824 Buck Lane, one of the accommodation facilities designated for refugees²⁵. Immerwahr also benefited from a funded

²¹ NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 75, f. 34 «Immerwahr, Heinrich R. 1940-1942», letter to Betty Drury, ECADFS, 19 November 1940, and attached curriculum vitae.

²² Ibid.

²³ See *Stefan Zand (inżynier)* <<https://pl.wikipedia.org>> (accessed 10 October 2020). That he is the same Zand and not a namesake is evinced from *Index of Patents Issued from the United States Patent Office. 1941*, Washington, US Government Printing Office, 1942, p. 782.

²⁴ See the certificate of marriage between Heinrich's parents, in Landesarchiv Berlin, *Personenstandsregister 1876-1945*, n. 7416, accessible online at <<https://www.ancestry.com>> (accessed upon registration 10 October 2020).

²⁵ NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 75, f. 34 «Immerwahr, Heinrich R. 1940-1942». On

scholarship to Yale for the following semester, thanks to added support from AFSC; during the summer he worked at the Sterling Library of this university. On 1 October 1941, he appears to have been the recipient of a tuition scholarship and a \$1,000 grant offered by the American School of Classical Studies²⁶. In 1943, Heinrich successfully completed a doctorate at Yale, under the supervision of the great Russian historian Michael Rostovtzeff, who had emigrated to the United States in 1918. His dissertation («Records of Entertainers from Dura»)²⁷ analyzed some recent discoveries in the archaeological site of Dura Europos in Syria, which had been the object of the excavation campaigns directed by Rostovtzeff himself in the 1930s²⁸. Hazel Barnes, a philosopher who was instrumental to the introduction of existential thought in the United States, recalls in her memoirs that she met Immerwahr at Yale, when she was also a student of Classics. Barnes effectively underlines not only the impact that the European refugees had on their young colleagues, but also their daily interactions:

One thing which did have an impact on us was the sudden influx of refugee scholars from Europe, and students, too. Among the latter were two bright young men who went on to distinguish themselves in the world of Classics, Heinrich Immerwahr and Heinrich Hoenigswalt [*sic*] («Henry» each became later). [...] others and I concentrated on making the newcomers feel at home with us. Among other trifling memories, I recall introducing the two to the process of popping corn in a fireplace; I watched with pleasure the expressions of pleased amazement on their

Hertha Kraus, a social scientist who emigrated from Germany in 1933, and on the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization that played a key role in assisting persecuted Christians on account of their «Jewish race», see Ursula Langkau-Alex, *Hertha Kraus, die Flüchtlingshilfe der Quäker und die Perzeption von Verfolgten/Geretteten*, in Adriane Feustel, Inge Hansen-Schaberg and Gabriele Knapp (eds.), *Die Vertreibung des Sozialen*, Munich, Ed. Text + Kritik, 2009, pp. 115-129; *Quakers*, in United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *Holocaust Encyclopedia* <<https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

²⁶ NYPL, MAD, ECADFS, I.B. Non grantees, b. 75, f. 34 «Immerwahr, Heinrich R. 1940-1942», «Report on Members of Co-operative College Workshop, First Session», n.d. but 1941.

²⁷ See Philip A. Stadter, *Immerwahr, Heinrich Rudolf (later Henry Rudolph)*, in Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, School of Arts and Sciences, *Database of Classical Scholars* <<https://dbcs.rutgers.edu>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

²⁸ See William M. Calder III, *Rostovtzeff, Michael (Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovcev)*, in *ibid.*, <<https://dbcs.rutgers.edu>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

faces as they exclaimed, «It opens!»²⁹

Also Hoenigswald, who would later become professor of linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, had taken refuge in Italy and had followed his professor, Giacomo Devoto, from Padua to Florence, graduating in 1936; one year older than Immerwahr, he was also born in Breslau, where he had attended the same city gymnasium and then moved to Munich; it is therefore probable that the two knew each other already from adolescence or that they became friends during their time at college; Immerwahr remembered that it had been Hoenigswald in the 1940s who suggested that he work on an update of Paul Kretschmer's repertoire on Greek vase inscriptions, a project to which he would effectively dedicate himself for the rest of his life³⁰.

An academic and American citizen

Immerwahr obtained naturalization in 1943 and anglicized his name to Henry Rudolph³¹. He enlisted in the American army on 13 January 1943 and remained in the army for about three years³². In March 1944 he married Sara Anderson, whom he had met in Athens in 1939; Sara in fact had been a scholar of the archaeological School and had returned to the United States in 1940; she too had obtained a doctorate in archaeology in 1943, defending, at Bryn Mawr College, a dissertation on the Mycenaean style in the vase painting of the 13th century B.C. In the academic year 1946-47, Immerwahr

²⁹ Hazel E. Barnes, *The Story I Tell Myself. A Venture in Existentialist Autobiography*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 73. I find this bibliographical reference in J.L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere*», cit., p. 138.

³⁰ See H.R. Immerwahr, *History*, in *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions*, a history of the project written by Immerwahr in 2009 <<https://dc.lib.unc.edu>> (accessed 10 October 2020). On Hoenigswald, see George Cardona, *Henry M. Hoenigswald 1915-2003. A Biographical Memoir*, Washington, DC, National Academy of Sciences, 2006 <<http://www.nasonline.org>> (accessed 30 October 2020). The text of reference was Paul Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht*, Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1894.

³¹ The application for naturalization, dated 2 August 1943, is found in National Archives at Boston, MA, *Petitions and Records of Naturalization*, n. 5871425, accessible online at <<https://www.ancestry.com>> (accessed upon registration 10 October 2020).

³² *Ibid.*; *Attic Vase Inscriptions, Who is Who? Former and Current Project Members*, Henry R. Immerwahr, cit.

obtained a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation, which allowed him to work at Harvard on the inscriptions of Athenian vases. He then became instructor in Classics (1947-52) and later assistant professor at Yale (1952-57) and at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1957-59); he was promoted to associate professor in 1959, and to full professor in 1963. In the three years from 1975-77, he obtained the prestigious appointment as Alumni Distinguished Professor. At Chapel Hill he contributed, among other things, to reorganizing the program of studies in philology and classical archaeology and played a central role in the reactivation of the major in Greek³³.

Since 1965 he had been Senior Fellow of the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC, and since 1968, a member of the advisory board of the international journal «Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies». He was also a member of the American Philological Association, of the Archaeological Institute of America, and a corresponding member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut and of the Association of Friends of the Gennadius Library in Greece³⁴.

His relationship with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens had all the while continued: he served as a member of the managing committee from 1965 to 1982 and was visiting professor in the academic year 1970-71; he then became the director of the School after retirement, from 1977 to 1982. His wife Sara had also pursued an academic career, although with greater difficulties: after teaching at Wellesley and Bryn Mawr College, she moved with her husband to New Haven, but Yale at that time was still a predominantly male institution; from 1964 she held a part-time teaching

³³ Philip A. Stadter, *Immerwahr, Heinrich Rudolf*, cit.; The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of Classics, *About Us, Departmental History, Henry Rudolf Immerwahr* <<https://classics.unc.edu>> (accessed 10 October 2020). On Immerwahr's contributions to the field of classical studies in the United States, see J.L. Davis, «*That Special Atmosphere*», cit., p. 142.

³⁴ Philip A. Stadter, *Immerwahr, Heinrich Rudolf*, cit.; *Attic Vase Inscriptions, Who is Who? Former and Current Project Members, Henry R. Immerwahr*, cit.

position at the Department of Classics in Chapel Hill, then became associate professor in the Department of Arts and, in 1971, full professor; she later followed Henry in the five years of his direction at the Archaeological School in Athens. The couple had only one daughter, Mary Elizabeth³⁵.

Henry Immerwahr died in Chapel Hill at 97 years old, on 15 September 2013, five years after his wife.

Among his main contributions are the important monograph *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, which offered an innovative reading of the figure and opus of Herodotus, and numerous publications on epigraphy and attic vase inscriptions. We owe to him the «Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions», an imposing cataloging work that was conceived back in the 1940s and of which he himself edited a digital version³⁶. This latter version has merged into the «Attic Vase Inscriptions / Attische Vaseninschriften», an ongoing project of the University of Basel, with which he collaborated in the last years of his life³⁷.

Major publications

- *Five Dedicatory Inscriptions from the North Wall of the Acropolis*, «Hesperia», 1942, pp. 338-348.
- *Choes and Chytroi*, «Transactions of the American Philological Association», 77, 1946, pp. 245-260.
- *Historical Action in Herodotus*, «Transactions of the American Philological Association», 85, 1954, pp. 14-65.
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- *Ergon, History as a Monument in Herodotus and Thucydides*, «American Journal of Philology», 81, 1960, pp. 261-290.

³⁵ Richard F. Liebhart, *Biography of Sara A. Immerwahr*, in Anne P. Chapin (ed.), *XAPIΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, «Hesperia Supplements», 33, 2004, pp. XIII-XVI.

³⁶ See *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions* <<https://dc.lib.unc.edu>>; H.R. Immerwahr, *History*, 2009, *ibid.* <<https://dc.lib.unc.edu>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

³⁷ See the presentation of the project in <<https://avi.unibas.ch>> (accessed 10 October 2020).

- *Book Rolls on Attic Vases*, in Charles Henderson Jr. (ed.), *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, vol. I, Rome, Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1964, pp. 17-48.
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- *Attic Script. A Survey*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990.
- *New Wine in Ancient Wineskins: The Evidence from Attic Vases*, «Hesperia», 61, 1992, pp. 121-132.
- *Nonsense Inscriptions and Literacy*, «Kadmos», 45, 2006, pp. 136-172.
- *Aspects of Literacy in the Athenian Ceramicus*, «Kadmos», 46, 2007, pp. 153-198.
- *Hipponax and the Swallow Vase*, «American Journal of Philology», 131, 4, 2010, pp. 573-587.

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