Inez Gertrude Scott Ryberg (1901-80)

Inez Scott Ryberg, whose career as teacher and scholar spanned almost forty years, published major works that intersected the fields of literature, history and archaeology. As a woman in a scholarly world dominated by men, she pursued her goals encouraged by male mentors and a supportive husband, but she was spurred on by her own intelligence and drive. Her life seems to have been remarkably free of unfulfilled aspirations, tension or tragedy. In reviewing her career, a biographer can only be impressed by her steady scholarly achievements and the general serenity of her personal life. Always reticent about herself, she never left any memoirs.

Inez Scott, born on Nov. 2, 1901 in Grimes, Iowa, spent her early years in Aneta, North Dakota, where her father was a minister of the Presbyterian Church. Because of his vocation as a minister, his love of reading classical Latin authors

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and his influence over Inez, it is not surprising that Latin studies, particularly religion, became the major focus of her life. Her father encouraged her and her only sibling, a sister, to attend college and to pursue serious careers; clearly he believed in the intelligence of women. So, while her mother admonished her to marry and raise children, Inez, nonetheless, enrolled at the University of Minnesota for her B.A. in Latin (1921) and for her M.A the same year. She then transferred to the University of Wisconsin for her Ph.D. (1924). Her Professor of Latin at Wisconsin, George Converse Fiske (1872-1927), became her second major mentor. One of his scholarly interests was the influence of Greek rhetoric on Roman satire; reflecting his guidance, Inez chose as her thesis subject the Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal. His other interest was the religion of the ancient Romans, and thus he surely reinforced her own budding interest in Roman religion - an interest which was to reveal itself later in magisterial form in the Rites of the Roman State Religion. Moreover Fiske was instrumental in steering her in a direction critical to her future career, since he was on the Advisory Council for Classical Studies at the American Academy in Rome, and he must have urged her to apply for a fellowship. After she spent one year teaching Latin at Wilson College in Pennsylvania, and working on her Ph.D thesis, she received her doctoral degree and set off to study at the Academy. She deeply revered Fiske and dedicated her first publication (1929) at the Academy to his memory.

American Academy in Rome (1924-26)

To qualify for a fellowship at the Academy in 1924 one had to be a USA citizen, unmarried, and under thirty. Inez was one of three out of nine applicants who received a Rome Prize fellowship in 1924; she was awarded one for two years, with
an annual stipend of $1250. Tenney Frank of Johns Hopkins, the Professor-in-Charge of the School of Classical Studies during her first year, became one of her enthusiastic mentors. Charles Rufus Morey of Princeton succeeded Frank as Professor-in-Charge during her second year and likewise became a life long supporter.

The Academy in Rome, founded in 1894, had entered a new and vigorous period by the mid-1920's. After World War I, the Trustees had at last succeeded in making it financially stable. A new, distinguished, commodious, and even elegant building had been completed to house the young and aspiring American students. In certain academic circles the Academy was now recognized as a fashionable place to study. All major academic institutions in the USA were financial supporters, and their professors and students regularly stayed at the Academy, if not for a full or half year, then as visitors. George Fiske under whom Inez wrote her thesis at Wisconsin had been one of them.

Inez's two-year stay at the Academy was crucial for her future career and personal development. It provided an ideal environment for a young single woman from the mid-West living in a foreign country for the first time. The Academy was comfortable and safe, contained an excellent library, and the ruins of Rome were nearby. Here, under first-rate advisors, Inez got started in a field which she pursued successfully and happily all her life.

It was above all a structured environment with a well thought-out program of study, including frequent lectures by visiting scholars of international repute, and guided tours to archaeological sites in Italy and Greece. Sailing from Naples, Inez joined one of the trips to Greece in the spring of 1925. It was conducted by the Professor of Archaeology A.W. Van Buren to such sites as Corfu, Athens, Delphi,
Corinth, Mycenae and Eleusis. Katherine Saunders a professor of Latin at Vassar was also on the tour. Frequent lectures given by scholars from the Italian, German and British archaeological institutions in Rome, increased the richness of the learning environment at the Academy. In the summer of 1925 Inez travelled to France, Germany and England.

Each Academy Fellow was required to undertake a special research project under the supervision of the resident professor. Tenney Frank suggested that Inez study Livy's *Early History of Rome* in the light of recent archaeological findings in Rome. This methodology, which uses an historical or literary text to interpret artifacts, became the basis for most of Inez's subsequent research. In January of her last year she gave a lecture on her chosen topic, and shortly after the end of her stay in Rome her manuscript was published in the Academy's *Papers and Monographs*.

By the time Inez arrived there, the Academy consisted of the School of Classical Studies and the School of Fine Arts which included students of architecture, painting, sculpture and music. In the two schools combined there were about fifty students. In her second year, 1925-26, there were close to ninety in all, with the larger number - consisting of high school teachers, visiting undergraduates, doctoral candidates and post doctorates - enrolled in Classical Studies. The intellectual and social opportunities within this small American community were therefore considerable, and Inez apparently thrived in it.

Many of the students enrolled in the Classical School were women, often already with their doctorates. At the time of its founding, the School of Fine Arts had admitted only male students. The School of Classical Studies, however, from the very beginning in 1895, had always had strong female representation because the women's colleges - Vassar, Bryn
Mawr, Smith, Mount Holyoke and Wellesley—had been enthusiastic participants in its founding. Their professors had served on its committees each year and were sending a steady stream of students to Rome for study. Of the fifty-five classicists registered in 1925-26, forty-two were women. The three who were awarded Academy fellowships when Inez applied were all women. We do not know her own experience, but in view of this background it seems unlikely that she could have felt deeply isolated or that she suffered severe discrimination because of her gender. Moreover, an extremely distinguished predecessor, Lily Ross Taylor, at the time Professor of Latin at Vassar College, had been an early female Fellow who studied at the Academy in 1917 and again in 1919-20. While the officers of the Academy and Inez’s mentors were exclusively male, they were nevertheless friendly, accessible, and seem to have taken their women advisees seriously. Altogether then the Academy offered a congenial academic environment, a safe haven away from home for a young unmarried woman.

During her stay at the Academy Inez met several female students and professors from Vassar, Smith, Wellesley and Bryn Mawr. Over the years Inez became a part of this network of friends and scholars and she emerged as one of a generation of top women scholars whose main career locale was spent in the women’s colleges rather than in the universities.

Throughout Inez’s entire professional career the American Academy in Rome constituted a convenient resource and one of her keen interests. During her several leaves from Vassar, she worked in the library of the Academy and in the museums of the city. She also served on the Academy’s committees. In 1941 she served as secretary of the Classical Society of the Academy, in 1946 as the Chair of the Advisory Council, and in
1954 on the Classical Jury for the Award of Fellowships.

Marriage - 1930

There is no question that Inez's success as a scholar was highly dependent on the kind of man she married and the kind of marriage they mutually conducted. It is perhaps worth emphasizing that she cautiously delayed this commitment until five years after she left the Academy when she was firmly established in the Classics Department at Vassar College. She was then twenty-nine years old. Milton Emmanuel Ryberg and Inez probably met at the University of Minnesota in the 20's. He received his bachelor's degree in Chemistry in 1927, and he spent his professional career in applied chemistry connected with various government agencies. At the time of their marriage on June 11, 1930, he was working on plant research for the US Bureau of Entomology based in Yonkers, N.Y., which is close to Vassar College. World War II had taken him to North Africa, to Perth, Australia, and to the Phillipines. For two of the war years he had been an instructor in Chemistry and Physics at the US Naval Reserve in Annapolis, MD. However he always regarded himself as a military man rather than an academic, and over the years he rose from Lieutenant to the rank of Commander. For a few years he worked for the US Forest Service in Florida (1947-53), and he was briefly employed by laboratories in Madison, WI, and Chicago. His longest post-war work period was at the US Naval Supply Research and Development Facility in Bayonne, NJ. This began in 1955 and allowed the Rybergs to establish a home on Staten Island. They lived there until 1966 by which time Inez had left Vassar.

It is easy to see that Inez and Milton lived apart for most of their marriage. When he served during the war, and when he
was based in Florida he was an absent husband for much of the
time. This obviously freed Inez from maintaining a permanent
family home and afforded her ample uninterrupted time to
concentrate on her research and teaching. They never had
children. In 1955, when they took an apartment on Staten
Island, Inez rode the train every week-end to be with her
husband. Both were devout Presbyterians, but they were
reserved and private about their religious convictions. Their
marriage always seems to have been harmonious, even, perhaps,
romantic. They were a warm and affectionate couple whenever
they were seen together. While they sometimes lived far
apart, this did not prevent regular visits. Inez did most of
the traveling back and forth from their homes, and during a
few of her sabbaticals from Vassar she would join him after
spending a brief time for research in Rome. Occasionally he
was able to assist in the preparation of her publications.
For example, he assisted with the photographs and their
layout in the plates for her book Rites of the Roman State
Religion. Milton was very protective and proud of his wife,
and he was outspoken in his admiration. Their mutual
affection was made clear, for example, by her delighted
reaction when he would say humorously to her colleagues at
Vassar that he had helped his wife on her books, which he
labeled "Pots and Pans" (Archaeological Record), "Cows and
Bulls" (Rites of the Roman State Religion), and finally on
her volume "Fallen Arches" (The Panels of Marcus Aurelius).
Milton outlived his wife by twelve years; not long before he
died in 1992 he musingly described himself as a "disabled
veteran who had skippered a transport, and served on
destroyers, battle ships, and cruisers."

Vassar College 1927-1965

Returning from her sojourn at the Academy in Rome, Inez
spent one year as Instructor in Latin at Smith College. When Lily Rose Taylor left Vassar to accept a professorship in Latin at Bryn Mawr in 1927, Inez took her place, starting as Assistant Professor. She became chair of the Classics Department in 1942 when Elizabeth H. Haight, another devotee of the Academy, retired, and Inez held that position until 1949 when she went to Rome for a period of research. She resumed the chair in 1952 and retained it until her retirement in 1965.

Inez's attitude toward her department - its faculty and students - was strongly maternal. In a small department - a handful of faculty and majors - this naturally fostered a personal closeness and loyalty. As a teacher she impressed more by her learning, orderly presentation and clarity than by charisma, flair or imaginative presentation. If she was working at the time on a new book or article, she would share her ideas with her students. She allowed them an extraordinary intellectual freedom; she did not get between them and the text. She held some advanced classes in her small apartment on the college campus. Here she served coffee and the students considered themselves honored. At that time only women were enrolled at Vassar, and she offered practical advice and urged them to prepare for teaching careers.

Her interests in the field of Classics were more historical than literary, and this was reflected in her publications and in her teaching. Over the years the Classics Department had acquired an interesting collection of ancient objects including vases, shards, terracotta and marble sculptures, bronze utensils and especially coins. When she became chair she also became curator of this collection, and she frequently used its holdings in the classroom.

Vassar College was an ideal institution for Inez's ambitions, life style, and personality. The Classics
Department had a long and distinguished history, and maintained close connections and strong interests both with the American Academy in Rome, and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Inez maintained these connections and, reliving her own route as a student, she sent her Vassar pupils whenever appropriate to Rome or Athens. Of course the Academy always provided a research haven for herself as well. Vassar was also close to New York City which enabled her to be part of a wider community and to maintain a network of colleagues from the Academy who taught in the city's universities. Occasionally she persuaded these friends to come up to Poughkeepsie for seminars on classical subjects. The administration of Vassar early recognized Inez's scholarly ability and was generous throughout in funding some of her leaves of absence as well as providing subventions for her publications. From 1961 to 1965 she was honored with the Sarah Mills Raynor Chair in Latin.

During the years when the Rybergs shared a home on Staten Island Inez took the two-hour train down to New York almost every Friday afternoon. She often slept on the way down and graded papers or prepared classes on the way back on Sunday night. The regularity of this weekly schedule suited her admirably; she could be a complete academic from Monday to Friday and a wife on the week-ends. With such a routine, and without children, it is not surprising that she could accomplish so much professionally. Milton came up to Vassar only on state occasions; but when he did he was generous and supportive, and he enjoyed meeting his wife's friends.

In addition to her teaching, chairmanship, and scholarly writing, Inez was steadily involved for thirty-eight years in wider college committees and administration. She was recognized for her objectivity, calmness and evenness. Her religious faith probably contributed to her unusual inner
strength. She was careful to avoid confrontation, and she never spoke ill of anyone. She was elected to every major faculty committee—deciding matters of college policy and tenure. She spoke in faculty meetings—never too often—in measured, deliberate terms; her voice was a moderating one in sometimes tense meetings. If she felt strongly, she might publish her opinions in the student newspaper. Inez was popular and highly respected by all members of the faculty. Although she was not an exuberant person, she had a directness that inspired trust and confidence. She liked to know new young members of the faculty; occasionally she gave cocktail parties for them. Tall and with her hair pulled back her appearance was rather severe, even formidable, though she was soft-spoken, her manner gentle and sometimes quietly humorous. She contributed even beyond the walls of the college by giving talks about her stays in Rome to regional Vassar clubs. She was a trusted adviser of Vassar’s presidents—especially in her later years, and it was while conferring with President Sarah Gibson Blanding in late May of 1963 that she suffered the stroke that virtually ended her active career.

Professional Societies

Inez maintained membership during her entire professional life in the APA and AIA. Periodically she delivered papers at their annual meetings, and she served frequently on their governing committees. She was appointed to the Board of Directors of APA in 1951, and elected president of APA in 1961-62. It is interesting to realize that she was the sixth woman to be elected as president, and that four of her predecessors had taught at Vassar. She was a member of the Executive Committee of AIA in 1951 and of the Program
Committee in 1953; she was honored by election as a fellow of the American Philosophical Society in 1963, and became vice-president of the Vergilian Society in 1964. She was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1960-61. As noted earlier, she was engaged off and on in committee work for the Academy in Rome.

Scholarly Contribution:

When Inez began her professional career in the early 1920's, Roman art had only recently begun to be considered a subject in its own right as distinct from Greek art. Scholars tried to define uniquely Roman features and to determine, if possible, its native origins in Italy. The impetus had been energized by the increase in archaeological discoveries in Rome of Etruscan and early Roman sites during the several years prior to her arrival at the Academy. There was then available to her new, exciting, and undigested evidence concerning the history of Rome. Tenney Frank, in charge of Classical Studies when Inez arrived, directed her to this new material. Her research led her to conclude that "recent archaeological discoveries have gone far to prove the essential correctness of the Romans' own tradition regarding their earliest history." (MAAR7,1929,2) Livy provided the primary source for this tradition. The subject of this early article which was the result of her fellowship years at the Academy was more completely surveyed in 1941 in An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B.C.in which she was to "describe the fragmentary remains from Roman burials, votive deposits, and sporadic finds of the centuries between the reigns of the Etruscan kings and the later republic to determine, if possible, what bearing these have upon the history of the city." (An Archaeological Record,1x) Reviewers of the later volume
responded with praise, noting the important pioneering nature of the book and Inez's remarkable ability to collect and sift a vast amount of material. Her characteristic energy and industry were already appreciated, and her conclusion that the literary and archaeological evidence were compatible has been confirmed by excavations on the Palatine. Inez covered six centuries of burials and votive deposits that included pottery, terracottas, and bronzes, in order to distinguish among Etruscan, Faliscan and Roman products, often working with uncatalogued artifacts in museums or at archaeological sites. The objects she dealt with were the archaeological materials from everyday life rather than grand monuments, and the majority had never been published. Her research, which considered stylistic features as well as chronology and trading patterns revealed by the archaeological finds, allowed her to contribute to the ongoing debate about the origins of Roman art. Her view was that the archaeological finds indicated that "Rome became a center of art in the real sense of the word only when, by virtue of her political position as mistress of Italy, Italic and Etruscan art merged into Roman." (Archaeological Record, 208). In her opinion this occurred in the Graeco-Roman period of the first century B.C.

In 1927 while teaching at Smith College Inez had published her doctoral thesis on the satires of Juvenal. Completed under Fiske this was a literary study which is still considered of enduring value. While primarily concerned with the poet's style, Juvenal's moralisms and invectives against corruption may have had special appeal for her. Written with authority, it is well organized, and extremely lucid qualities that Ryberg maintained consistently in all her later work. Yet it was not Latin Literature but rather the

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link between art monuments and history (evident in her first work at the Academy as a young woman) that was always to constitute Inez's main interest. Her work at the Academy had proved to her that archaeological remains and historical traditions and writing were mutually enriching. Also in her first archaeological monograph she showed the ease with which she could deal with large quantities of evidence, and she exhibited a thorough knowledge of history and its textual sources. Her study of Juvenal already evinced her solid grounding in Latin.

Her second book, Rites of the Roman State Religion in Roman Art, published in 1955, is the best known, still the most often cited, and has never been superseded. This pioneering study once again explored relationships between text and image. But unlike her earlier investigations with the "pots and pans" of archaeological rather than aesthetic interest, her visual material included some of the most famous and most beautiful examples of Roman art. Nevertheless, as the title makes clear, and as she acknowledges in her preface, her true interest lay more in religion than in art. Thus it is not surprising that she considered the ritual of sacrifice the defining theme around which Roman art coheres. Her acknowledgements in the preface also make clear at that time that her intellectual circle included her colleagues at Vassar, at the Academy in Rome, and her scholar-friends in New York, especially Karl Lehmann.

The book's historical sweep and her command of literary and archaeological evidence are remarkable. Once again she covered an astounding number of monuments over a long chronological period. At least 120 monuments are given major consideration, and many more are cited in footnotes. Her conclusions and dating are firmly stated, and they are still being discussed and argued. Her chronological analysis begins
in the Hellenistic period and concludes in the reign of Constantine in the fourth century A.D. She traces transformations in the rendering of the ceremony of sacrifice and a few related themes in Roman state reliefs. Public as well as private sculptural monuments - such as friezes and relief panels on arches, altars, sarcophagi, bronze cistae, columns and vases - are the material of her research. She supplements with numismatic evidence.

At the time Inez was writing, the elements thought to be important to Roman art were the depiction of illusionistic space - an idea derived from the writings of F. Wickhoff (1895), and a sense of reality which is expressed through naturalistically rendered detail and actual political or religious content (J. Sieveking, 1925). Throughout Ryberg's book close attention is paid to the details of style in a given work: lines, rhythm, composition, and depth of relief are carefully analysed. Ryberg accepted the depiction of three-dimensional space as a paramount interest of the Romans, although she also believed its beginnings could be found in late Hellenistic reliefs. Thus the quality of a Roman work is often assessed by the success or failure of the artist to render space in a realistic manner. In this sense the Borghese Altar of the Late Republic is "still crude" although it is the first indication of a Roman style (p.27). The Ara Pacis is the great seminal monument in which Roman ritual and decorative symbolism are harmoniously clothed in a hellenizing style. In that great work of Augustan art themes and modes of representation are synthesized, thereby establishing traditions for the future renderings of processions and altar scenes. While the rendering of three-dimensional space is not explicit in the Ara Pacis, it nevertheless "established the direction of the next major development in monumental relief, the illusionistic style." (p.48) The result, in which Greek timelessness gives way to a
specific historical moment, is quintessentially indicative of "Romanitas" and is the clue, she argued, to all subsequent imperial art. Romanitas vividly evident during the Julio-Claudian period of the first century A.D. in the descriptive renderings of actual events which culminate, for example, in the illusionistic processional reliefs in the passageway of the Arch of Titus.

While Inez is skillful in analyzing the formal nature of a relief, she is primarily interested in its iconographical content. Who, she asks, is performing these rituals, when and why? The answers pertain to the political and social world of Rome, and, while Inez was a keen observer of political realities, the solemnity of the events she described also appealed to her religious sensitivity.

The last two chapters of Rites of the Roman State Religion, entitled "Motifs and Designs" and "Modes of Thought and Expression", are particularly valuable, in that the monuments she covered in earlier chapters are now reviewed in an art-historical sequence which stresses continuity and evolution. Procession and altar scenes are successfully — that is illusionistically — represented on the Column of Trajan but decline thereafter. She sees an increasing tendency to clarify the narrative of the ritual event characteristic of popular art, rather than to describe it realistically. By the late second century figurative compositions evolve to the point where meaning is divorced from action, space is unrealistic and the human dimension is lost. Thus Marcus Aurelius in his Column in Rome is an isolated immobile figure, and Septimius Severus, a virtual icon as he woodenly sacrifices on the Arch at Lepcis.

A little more than ten years later Ryberg published her final book, The Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius. Whereas Rites was concerned with the whole development of Roman
artistic styles, this later book was not as ambitious in that it dealt only with a single monument. But it is characteristic of Ryberg's work in general in that she does not hesitate to tackle an important and long-standing problem in the history of Roman state art: what were the original placement and context of the eight Aurelian panels now on the Arch of Constantine and their three companions in the Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori? Her opening sentence in the Foreword is again characteristic of her methodology:

"Monumental sculptured relief is so closely bound up with the history of the Roman Empire that the study of either one demands a familiarity with the other." Ryberg was singularly equipped in her attempt to solve the puzzle of the panels. Her solution was reasonable, but it has not been widely accepted.

Following earlier scholars, Ryberg divided the panels into two distinct groups according to style and iconography. She argued that the three reliefs in the Conservatori belonged to a now-destroyed triumphal arch erected during the emperor's lifetime in A.D. 176. On the other hand the eight panels on the Arch of Constantine decorated a now-destroyed arch dating soon after his death in A.D. 180. Her belief that a classicizing versus a baroque style can be detected in the reliefs was one of the reasons for deciding the dates of the arches. Although some are missing, each set of panels can be arranged in an orderly iconographic program which follows both an actual sequence of events and also demonstrates the virtuous deeds of the emperor. Ryberg arranged all the panels on both arches by logical historical sequence and, additionally, by reading them from the point of view of the spectator approaching the arch. That there was a decisive "optimum view" was the most innovative aspect of her study, and it was received with much skepticism. Her argument relied
almost completely on visual demonstration, and the photographs were inadequate in convincing the skeptics of her point.

In between her major publications, Ryberg worked on shorter articles. One of the earliest (1929), already mentioned, concerned recent excavations in Rome. Another also in 1929 dealt with the same material and the value of excavations in revealing early Roman religious traditions. Only two articles can be said to be literary studies, but both of them— one on Tacitus, the other on Vergil—are substantial, indicate the breadth of her learning and they are still cited. The remaining articles, primarily iconographical studies, once again illustrate her willingness to enter and debate some of the major issues of Roman art. Perhaps the most outstanding example is the 1949 paper devoted to the Ara Pacis. It is concerned with the identity and interpretation of the figures in the processional reliefs and it supported her later and longer arguments about the altar contained in the Rites of the Roman State Religion.

Finally Ryberg wrote several book reviews beginning in 1958. They were, naturally, related to her own expertise in Roman and Etruscan archaeology which she maintained until late in her retirement.

Conclusion:

I think it would be correct to conclude that Inez lived a charmed life and an atypical one for women of her era. For a female academic, who was teaching in a women's college in those days, it was perhaps more common to remain unmarried. Today, because of the women's movement, she would have been pressured to set her sights on a life-style that combined both professional and family endeavours. For the most part
she controlled her own life, and her religious beliefs strengthened her self-sufficiency. In view of her ambitions and talents, her personal circumstances were ideal. From her very birth she had intellectual support from her father, she was educated in the very best schools; she had a loving and cooperative husband; she was childless and not domestically burdened. She was free therefore to travel and to pursue her scholarly interests. A succession of male mentors advanced her career. She was, moreover, physically strong and had no major health problems until her stroke at sixty-two years; the stroke compelled her to reduce her teaching load for the three last years at Vassar before her formal retirement. This undoubtedly deeply disturbed and disappointed her. In 1965 she went to live in Gainesville, Florida, with her husband. He cared for her until her death on September 15, 1980.

Not only was her personal world in balanced order, but throughout her professional life she also enjoyed institutional support. Her path was smoothed at the University of Wisconsin, at the Academy in Rome, and above all at Vassar College. Vassar, like the other top women's colleges, was protective of and nourishing toward its female faculty and students. In those days teaching at a women's college, especially at one of the Seven Sisters, was considered highly prestigious. Today, positions for women at major universities are more common, and their more diverse and competitive setting might be preferred by some women scholars. Inez enjoyed a well-balanced life in the sense that her private circumstances were in harmony with her public career as a teacher and internationally known scholar. She was unusually industrious, ambitious, and efficient in every one of her undertakings. She was not a field archaeologist; thus she escaped the problems of that profession which demand more in terms of team effort and funding than the one she
Yet she understood archaeologists and relied upon their discoveries and expertise to reconstruct a large historical picture. Inez's work concentrated on official Roman art, and the written record conveniently provided the foundation on which to interpret its political and religious significance. In current research, Roman art in the private sphere—which has less documentary underpinning—is more in favor. Her efforts to distinguish the components of style in a given work (descriptive or illusionistic as opposed to an allegorical style), her brief mention of a "popular art" as narrative—are also characteristic of the research premises under which she studied and worked. Today we are more skeptical that the recipe of formal properties in Roman art can be so deconstructed. Style in itself is no longer a preoccupying concern, although it is still examined as a possible carrier of moral or socio-political values. In the *Rites of the Roman State Religion* Inez analyzed the various monuments though a single lens and thus she was able to present a huge evolutionary development. She was also interested in identifying particular persons depicted in Roman reliefs, and in relating them to religious practices, historical events and imperial policy. Approaches to Roman art today are more categorically diverse, and narrower in scope. Rather than concentrating on the monument as a discrete entity, present day scholars tend to be more concerned with viewer response. Finally, were she alive today Inez would have welcomed the resurgence of interest in Roman religion, and even if it is seen from a perspective different from her own, her pioneering contribution is acknowledged and remains intact.

3 By way of contrast, see the lives of Harriet Boyd Rawes and Edith Hall in *Women in Archaeology* ed. C. Claeson (Philadelphia 1995) Ch.3.
4 See, for example, the contrasting approach to a subject also treated by Ryberg: J. Elsnar, "Cult and Sculpture: Sacrifice in the Ara Pacis."
Publications:

Books:
The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal (Northampton MA 1927).
Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B.C. (London and Philadelphia 1940).
Rites of the Roman State Religion in Roman Art, MAAR 22 (Rome 1955).
Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius (New York 1967).

Articles:
"Early Roman Traditions in the Light of Archaeology," MAAR 7 (1929) 77-118.
"Evidence from Early Roman Religion Concerning the Growth of the City," TAPA 60 (1929) 221-8.
"Was the Capitoline Triad Etruscan or Italic?" AJP 52 (1931) 145-56.

Reviews:
Le Culte Impérial dans la Péninsule, Ibérique d'Auguste A Diocletien by Robert Étienne, AJA 24 (1960) 214-16.
The Etruscans, Their Art and Civilization, by Emeline Hill Richardson, Archaeology 18 (1965) 235.
Gesture and Rank in Roman Art, by Richard Brilliant, AB 47 (1965) 139-40.