
When the modern was too new: the permeable clusters of Hanna Rydh

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The production of knowledge – some theoretical considerations

The production of knowledge is a social process, linked to various premises. Exploring the emergence of scientific knowledge involves not only investigations of the research community and its diverse conditions but also studies of the individual researcher – a biographical perspective. Bonds of partnership, loyalties and shared scientific ideas, or their opposite, distrust and ideas called in question, can be mapped out as more or less formalised and stable webs or networks. As agents, the individuals or groups in such a network may operate in inter- or intra-relational affirmative negotiations. Such groupings have been studied by, among others, Bruno Latour, using the framework of actor-network theory (ANT) (e.g. Latour, 2005). Following the actor-network perspective of Latour, not just people are involved in such negotiating processes, but also material phenomena such as physical objects, and immaterial factors like virtual realities. Just as do the individual agents, these non-human features, which Latour calls actants, constitute an active power in the dynamics of negotiation.

For many archaeologists, the notion of a mutual, active, agential force between human agents and non-human (including animal) physical phenomena is not difficult to endorse, as varieties of this perspective have accompanied archaeological thinking for several decades (Gillberg and Jensen, 2007: 11), for example via the post-processual ideas regarding the mutual relationship between subject and object as formulated by Ian Hodder (e.g. Hodder, 1986), the notion of Arjun Appadurai's (1986) social life of things and Alfred Gell's secondary agency (1998), and more

recently the agential realism of Karen Barad (2003) and the material symmetry of Bjørnar Olsen (2010). Even if there are considerable theoretical differences between these perspectives, they share the idea that human agency and material phenomena's agential capacity connect in inter- and intra-relational dynamics in various ways, on various agential levels and with various force. However, one of the distinctive features of ANT is that such analyses are based on the assumption that the agential dynamics constitute systems, possible to study on various social scales, in which the agential subjects – the human agents and the material actants – are parts of one or several networks. Professional networking is crucial to the production of knowledge.

One fundamental element in knowledge-producing processes is spatial location; the geography or landscape of knowledge (Livingstone, 2003, 2010). The geographical approach can be understood in a literal sense, such as the spatial distribution of clusters and nodes where science is performed. This includes communication facilities and other factors that encourage networking. It can also be seen more figuratively, for example as the knowledge-producing room (Livingstone, 2010). From a historical perspective such explorative arenas can be identified as informal spaces such as market places, workshops and even kitchens. During the professionalisation process of various disciplines, like antiquarianism's path towards the discipline of archaeology, more formalised arenas emerged, such as museums, laboratories and field sites, all with their particular professional codes. They were all shaping situated landscapes of knowledge production through the dynamics of networking.

Against this background several questions may be posed. Who had access to the arenas of knowledge production? Were there professional borders that were open or closed to certain individuals and groups, for example based on wealth, gender or colour of the skin? In what way did such different circumstances affect a discipline in terms of research questions, economic support and the acceptance of scholarly results? Questions like these have been much debated within feminist scholarship. Many researchers (for example Harding, 1991; Haraway, 1992; from an archaeological perspective Conkey and Gero, 1997) conclude that scholarly research is situated. Individuals and groups are positioned at specific points on different axes of power, such as gender orders, economic structures, various bodily abilities, racial, ethnic or religious identities. For the individual subject these positions are intersections, possessing a dynamic status from a power perspective. Such situated positions also affect networking processes and thus knowledge production.

A biographical approach

In this chapter I will discuss a particular scientific contribution made by the archaeologist Hanna Rydh (1891–1964). As the first woman in Sweden to achieve an archaeological doctorate, she had to navigate within a male-oriented discipline, which was developing its professional identity. Striving to earn her place in the Swedish archaeological community, Hanna Rydh's professionalisation strategies were situated in various circles. In addition to the archaeological scientific cluster, Hanna also was affiliated to feminist groups striving for female emancipation both within the academy, and in society as a whole. Being an academic in the early-twentieth century, Hanna made the quite unusual life choice to marry a colleague and raise a family with children, while maintaining her archaeological activities. Throughout her academic life, her family constituted a supportive circle.

The theme of the present discussion is Hanna's encounter with some social and professional networks of the 1920s, namely a national and transnational circle promoting women's emancipation, a specific research milieu in the French archaeological national museum at Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Paris, and the scholarly cluster of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. The main result of her stay in Paris was a book about Palaeolithic cave art, favourably received by Swedish readers (Rydh, 1926a). A few years later she wrote two articles about ceramics and fertility rites that were dealt with somewhat cursorily by the Swedish archaeological research society (Rydh, 1929a, 1931). I here propose that Rydh, through her contacts with a specific French archaeological milieu, gained inspiration for these texts from up-to-date scientific theories of social arrangements, rooted in the sociological school of Émile Durkheim. Unfortunately, the contemporary Swedish scholarly world was unable to see the advantages of her approach.

The empirical evidence is looked at from a biographical perspective. Focus is on the biographic subject as an active agent. With this perspective, the tension between agency and structure is obvious (Berghahn and Lässig, 2008), including networking, networking's geography and knowledge-producing rooms.

Hanna Rydh, a short presentation

Born into a wealthy family, Hanna's childhood and youth seem to have allowed her to develop her natural gifts, which included an endowment for studying languages, cultural interests and sports. Her father was a successful engineer, managing a prosperous family business. Her mother had been a teacher before marriage, a fact that certainly

indicates a positive attitude towards women's education. The family, which included Hanna's older brother and sister, who was also a trained teacher, formed an intellectually stimulating and encouraging setting. Hanna's school records demonstrate that she was an interested and talented pupil. As early as her mid-teens, she was active in the local branch of a national youth association. There she gained a solid experience of club activities, such as suggesting issues for the agenda, and proposing motions from the rostrum before large audiences. These must have been useful lessons for her future work in the academic, cultural, social and political worlds (Arwill-Nordbladh, 1995, 1998, 2005a, 2005b).

The emancipation of women

A frequently debated question of those days, in the vocabulary of the time, was the women's issue. In Sweden, until 1922 a married woman was placed under her husband's guardianship. This meant that his was the privilege to determine his wife's economic business, speak for her in legal affairs and decide upon family matters like the way of living, children's upbringing and other issues of importance. Another urgent question was women's access to education. Having completed primary school, most girls and boys attended separate schools, following different curricula. This often meant that, after finishing school, students of different genders had different qualifications, and for girls many doors to future work or education were closed. However, a few schools or tutorial systems followed a curriculum that provided the qualifications necessary for university entry, and Hanna's school was among these. From 1873 women were allowed to attend some university disciplines, but nevertheless progress was very slow and not until ten years later did the first woman obtain a doctorate. When Hanna received her doctoral diploma, only twenty-three women in all had reached this goal in Sweden (Markusson Winkvist, 2003: 232). Still, the most important issue for the women's movement was the franchise. The demand for women's right to vote had been on the agenda since the last decades of the nineteenth century. In 1909 all Swedish men were given the right to vote, but not until a decade later was the same civil right extended to women, and in 1921 women could submit their votes for the first time.

Looking at Hanna Rydh against this background, she can be seen as a good representative of the pioneer group of young women who, with their own lives as example, strove towards women's emancipation in education and academic work, and their participation in social and political life. Informal groups in the academy and the national suffragette movement that constituted Hanna Rydh's female networks were

of great significance to her, and in a mutual interaction she also had an influence on them.

The significant clusters of Hanna Rydh's formative years

Of the documents that tell us of Hanna Rydh's life, her pocket diaries are of particular relevance (Gothenburg University Library, KvinnSam, National Resource Library for Gender Studies, Hanna Rydh Archive A 12). Here the calendars from the 1910s and 1920s record important events, sometimes on a day-to-day basis, showing her strategies and negotiations to gain a place in the discipline. The professional sphere of contacts ranged from a small group of antiquarians to a more organised arena with local, regional and national institutions. Discussions and debates in periodicals and other publications were frequent, and peers and colleagues guaranteed the quality. Hanna met and took part in an archaeology which was proceeding to find its shape as an academic profession (Arwill-Nordbladh, 2005a: 114–15).

In 1910 Hanna Rydh graduated from school, and soon she registered at Stockholms Högskola. This university college, later Stockholm University, was at that time a private educational institution, renowned for its modern ideas – reflected for example in the appointment of the Russian mathematician Sonia Kovalevsky to a professorship as early as 1884. Hanna signed up for studies in the Humanities, within the subjects of literature, history of art and archaeology, focusing on the latter. In 1914 she passed her *Laudator* in archaeology, and after finishing her studies in medieval art a year later she was one of the 435 Swedish women who had obtained their bachelor's degree. She was now ready to take a place in the archaeological world. Soon she was linked to The National Heritage Board for temporary excavation projects such as a research project connected to the emergence of the Kingdom of Sweden. The research questions were of significance for the national historical narrative, and at various intervals the project went on for almost a decade. Being given charge of the prehistoric section is a clear indication that Hanna was a respected and trusted colleague within the research community.

After graduating, Hanna registered as a senior member at the University College, starting her PhD project. As a member of the first generations of female university students, Hanna and her female co-students performed what can be labelled a double border crossing (Markusson Winkvist, 2003: 33). By diverging from the traditional female gender role and at the same time challenging the masculine academic role, they had to create their own identities and practices. Their life was a world of negotiations of gender positions. This, in the Swedish

context, often meant having to choose between adapting to the norm of the mainstream professional, or separating from the general model by embracing so-called feminine values. During Hanna's formative years of academic schooling we can see that she took both positions.

As archaeology was a rising discipline, its members were developing various ways to promote the scientific character and quality of the subject, in order to professionalise the field. For Hanna, as a young student, it was important to follow the academic route in the proper way. The pocket diaries tell us that attending lectures, examinations, excursions and minor field training expeditions were mixed with days of intense study at the library and the museum. This gave Hanna opportunities to create friendship-based networks with her fellow students, something that turned out to be useful in the years to come. Some of these groups, such as The Society for Students in the Humanities, The Association of the Students of Stockholm, the Society for Art History and the Archaeological Club, were gender-mixed. Within these circles, Hanna took an active part in discussion evenings and other social events, thus getting the opportunity to get familiar with academic customs. Nevertheless, she must have felt the need for a place which could highlight the conditions of female students, as after spending one year at the university college, she helped found The Women's Student Association in Stockholm. One of its aims was to serve as a club for 'discussion and support' in a friendly atmosphere (Hallind, 2004: 203). This female support was reinforced when Hanna, after receiving her bachelor's degree, joined the ABKF, an association to promote women with a university education (Fridh-Haneson and Haglund, 2004).

This dual-strategy position can be seen in Hanna's written work. In her explicit archaeological endeavour she, in tandem with her colleagues, was engaged in projects towards a modern, scientific and scholarly discipline. However, in her popular texts (e.g. Rydh, 1926b) she developed research that differed from mainstream scholarship and was more in line with her feminist interests – as early as in 1927 she used the word 'feminist' to characterise herself (Rydh, 1927: 11).

In Stockholm during this period it was not too difficult to get in contact with central figures regarding liberal progressive ideas. At the World Peace Conference in 1910, Hanna's pocket diary tells us that she listened to Oscar Montelius who gave the introductory keynote speech, and to the social reformist and author Ellen Key's speech about women and peace. That Montelius supported these issues is not surprising. He was well known for promoting the emancipation of women (Arwill-Nordbladh, 1987; and see chapter 6). For almost two decades his wife Agda was the president of Fredrika Bremerförbundet, in those days Sweden's foremost women's association. When Hanna had reached

the stage of finishing her dissertation, Montelius gave her vital support in the process of getting it printed in time (Arwill-Nordbladh, 1995: 80–81).

The active position of the women's issue is shown by the fact that the Landsföreningen för Kvinnans Politiska Rösträtt (the Swedish assembly for votes for women, LKPR) hosted the congress for international women's suffrage in 1911. Hanna participated as one of the student stewards in the festival procession on the final evening. In this way her female students' network was linked to the top international suffrage groups. Another example of how the networking campaigns for the emancipation of women connected the local with the national can be inferred from a note in Hanna's diary from April 1913, when she wrote: 'LKPR, name raising petition, Dj'. This suggests that the nationwide project organised by the LKPR to collect the names of supporters met in Djursholm, the garden city and Stockholm suburb where Hanna lived. The campaign resulted in a petition to the Swedish Parliament with more than 350,000 signatories (see Figure 8.1).

During her studies, Hanna found a kindred spirit in Bror Schittger (1884–1924), antiquarian and associate professor in archaeology at Stockholms Högskola. In 1919, after successfully gaining her doctorate, Hanna and Bror got married. Their collegial network had now turned to a family-based bond of loyalty. Here the professional and private spheres merged into one single entity, which in an encouraging and supportive way affected the production of knowledge for both of them.

Hanna's professional milieu, constituted by her archaeological colleagues such as the senior Montelius, her academic peers of the same age and the institutions employing them, was for the most part encouraging and inclusive. Maybe because of this, Hanna kept to the conventional research track. However, the women at the University College clearly reacted to the generally unequal social conditions between women and men by forming women-only groups for empowerment and support. In these circles, Hanna was encouraged to write her first popular texts about prehistoric women.

The French experience

This gender-specific support was soon affecting the academic life of Hanna Rydh. In 1922 AKBF joined the International Federation of University Women, IFUW, an association supporting peace and women's access to higher education. The same year the IFUW funded an international scholarship to promote women's studies, for which the members of the Swedish branch could apply. In a letter to Schnittger, Hanna asked



8.1 This emblematic photo from 1913 shows the author Elin Wägner in front of the collection of names for the LKPR's petition for women's votes, handed over to the Swedish Parliament. Hanna Rydh's name is most probably one of the 351,454 signatures on the petition. Photo: KvinnSam, Gothenburg University Library. Copyright © Gothenburg University Library. All rights reserved and permission to use the figure must be obtained from the copyright holder.

Could you please write and tell me which institutions in France I should list, for studying the Stone Age? Last Wednesday I met Miss Sturtzenbecker [secretary of the ABKF], who asked me to apply [for the international scholarship]. There is no doubt that the Swedish committee will give me their recommendation, as they consider me to be the candidate with the best credentials. (Hanna Rydh to Bror Schnittgers, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm, Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet [ATA] vol. 4).

Hanna was awarded the scholarship, and it is significant that she was eager to reciprocate the support she had enjoyed. This can be inferred from two letters sent to Mrs Stina Rodenstam, National Instructor of Domestic arts and crafts. In these Hanna wrote:

The Association of Academically Educated Women is trying to collect products of Swedish art and Swedish handicraft to send as a gift to a grand bazaar, which will take place late this autumn. One purpose is to establish an international scholarship for studies, granted by The International Federation of University Women – such a scholarship, entirely collected in England, has for the first time been awarded this year, and to my own surprise I received it for studies in France – and the other purpose is to establish a club house in London for female students of various nations...

The call for funding support was sent to ‘all countries’, and Hanna and her friends were eager to compare favourably with the other fundraisers, so they approached the national network for Domestic handicraft for contributions ‘which will be received with greatest gratitude, however small they may be’. A few weeks later Hanna wrote:

Please accept my warmest thanks for the magnificent delivery! It was more than kind, and we are so grateful. All the objects were so beautiful and we really appreciate the chance to get our Swedish handicraft so comprehensively illustrated. Everyone has been so kind, and the fundraising drive has run so much better than we dared to hope at the beginning.

Our delivery, which will be shipped on Saturday, has a value of more than 2,000 crowns and in addition we can send 1,000 crowns in cash, so now we consider that we don’t have to feel ashamed. (Letters from Hanna Rydh to Stina Rodenstam, 2 October and 19 October 1922, my translation).

French archaeology had a good international reputation, notably in the fields of Palaeolithic stone technology and Palaeolithic cave art, and

archaeologists from many parts of Europe made study trips to France to acquire up-to-date knowledge of the most recent approaches. One central institution was the Musée des Antiquités nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Paris. The curator for the archaeological department was Henri Hubert (1872–1927), an archaeologist specialising in Asian religion as well as Celtic and Germanic prehistory and early history. Hubert also gave lectures in primitive European religion at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and in national archaeology at the École du Louvre. In the 1890s Hubert met Marcel Mauss, who introduced him to the ideas of Émile Durkheim, Mauss' uncle. Hubert and Mauss became close friends and joined in creative collaborations. They were both deeply engaged in Durkheim's project the periodical *L'Année Sociologique* (Mauss, 1983: 149; Isambert, 1983: 154; Schnapp, 1996: 59–60; Schlanger, 2006). Within the group around Durkheim, Mauss and Hubert were assigned the task of directing and developing Durkheim's sociological perspective on ethnography, the ethnography of religion, history, archaeology and prehistoric religion (see e.g. Besnard, 1983: 27). In these matters, it was important to chisel out the characteristics of myth as a social element.

From Hubert's Durkheimian perspective, religion, the sacred and, in particular, myth were in focus. Myth was understood in a broad sense. This included its attachment to religion, folk belief, collective representations – something that connected myth to a particular social context – all possessing specific functions within society and myth's creative capacity (Strenski, 1985: 360–61). One of the most important statements was that myth operates through ritual behaviour; the ritual articulated the myth. Strenski quotes Hubert's 'brilliant metaphor' from 1919: 'Myths are social products; it is in the rituals that society is visible, present or necessarily involved. The mythological imagination dances on the threshing floor trodden by rituals, and it is here that one might grasp it' (Strenski, 1985: 362).

According to Hubert's understanding, one fundamental aspect of the relation between myths and rituals was the latter's recurrent reiteration. Such repetitions demand a specific understanding of time, and Hubert developed a theory of mythical time, a concept that differed from the ordinary, mundane time (Isambert, 1983: 157–60; Strenski, 1985: 365–6). Between the rite and the myth is a temporal connection, and this relation presupposes a particular representation of time, a representation which creates a temporal milieu. This milieu, with its particular characteristics, structures the rite. Within the temporal milieu occur specific, crucial days that disrupt the continuity of time, like for example days of periodic, often seasonal festivity, thus 'entirely contaminating' the conventional time with its particular qualities (Isambert, 1983: 158). Among other things, Hubert propounded broad perspectives for

an understanding of seasonal festivities, something we will see was of importance for Hanna Rydh's articles (1929a, 1931).

The scholarship gave Hanna funding for six months' studies in France, with the formal position of *attachée* at the museum and Hubert as her supervisor. The decision about the scholarship was made in July. A few months earlier, Hanna's and Bror's oldest son was born. This caused some worries for the London-based scholarship committee, the British Federation of University Women, who sent a telegram asking if she intended to keep her grant. 'The committee clearly felt torn between anxiety over the child and concern for Mrs Rydh's research' (Arwill-Nordbladh, 2005a: 133).¹ Hanna's answer came promptly: '[m]y son's birth makes no difference'. 'This laconic wording caused great mirth in British circles, and became more or less an anecdote' (Bang, 1931, unnumbered). Hanna left for France in the autumn that same year, organising for Bror, the baby and a nanny to join her soon after. At the museum, Hubert signed Hanna's *carte de travail* which for six months gave her free admission to all the museum's exhibition rooms during the week's *jours d'étude*. She also received entry passes to other museums and Le Bibliothèque National and planned to follow lectures in archaeology and ethnography at the Sorbonne. We can see how Hanna's scholarly 'room' expanded considerably. However, these plans had to be altered. A few weeks after Hanna's arrival, she was urged to return home because of the illness, and soon after death, of her mother. In spring the following year Hanna returned to Paris for a few months. She was now expecting their second child, and in the summer another son was born. By this time it was obvious that Schnittger's health was frail, and eventually it became clear that he had an incurable disease. In June 1924 he passed away. At the age of 33 Hanna became a widow with two small children, 1 and 2 years old.

However, the work at the museum was not yet finished and some of the grant was still available. Hanna wanted to return, and in late June Hubert wrote to tell her that she was welcome back to finish her work. In Stockholm Hanna's father, Schnittger's two sisters and a nanny took care of the children. Before Hanna returned to Paris, Hubert informed her that he had prepared her material so it would be easy for her to recommence her work. In accordance with the French protocol there was also a sanction from the highest level: 'M. Reinach has no objections to your admission... Your key and your equipment wait for you at the office' (Letter from Henri Hubert to Hanna Rydh, 6 October 1924).² Quite obviously, Hanna encountered an attitude of warm welcome and she stayed for one-and-a-half months to finish her work. Through these French sojourns, even if they had occurred with intervals, she must have had the opportunity to follow Hubert's thinking for two years.

Returning home, Hanna used her experiences in French Palaeolithic scholarship to write a book about the archaeology of the Upper Palaeolithic, attributed to the genre of popular science. However, it was also read in professional circles, and for many decades it was the only book in Swedish about Palaeolithic cave art written by a professional scholar (Rydh, 1926a).

The East Asian connections

In the years following Schnittger's death, Hanna Rydh spent much of her time finishing some of his archaeological assignments (Rydh and Schnittger, 1927, 1928). She also developed her own archaeological projects, for example guided tours to heritage sites and accompanying books, thus opening out the sites as a gender-inclusive public space (Arwill-Nordbladh, 2005b). She also wrote a book on women in pre-history, travel books and children's tales (Rydh, 1926b, 1927, 1928, 1929b, 1930). All of these included historical and archaeological themes. Consequently, the 1920s was a productive time for Hanna, demonstrating her ability to master a variety of genres. Unexpectedly, in 1929 and 1931 two works appeared that differ from her previous and later production. In the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, a recently established journal from the new museum in Stockholm of that name, she discussed questions concerning the symbolic meaning of ornament design in Chinese and Scandinavian Neolithic pottery (Rydh, 1929a). The results led to further investigations of the mythical meanings of seasonal rituals in China and Scandinavia (Rydh, 1931). These texts are seldom referred to by Swedish archaeologists, and they do not seem to have left much impact on later research. Here I would like to propose the idea that in these writings Hanna made an initial attempt to apply thoughts and ideas that she had encountered in her contacts with Henri Hubert. Thus she tried to transfer some of the Durkheimian ethnological-sociological archaeology that Hubert and his colleagues had developed to the specific research milieu of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. Even though archaeology and ancient Oriental art was the main focus of this museum, scholarships in subjects as diverse as palaeontology and linguistics were also components of importance for its intellectual thinking.

The founder and director of the Museum (in Swedish: Östasiatiska museet) in Stockholm, Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874–1960), was a geologist, palaeontologist and archaeologist (Andersson, 1929a). As a young man he joined two expeditions to the Arctic – basing his doctoral thesis on those experiences – and one expedition to the Antarctic. Appointed director of the Geological Survey of Sweden, he focused on

surveying and mapping iron ores. This knowledge led to his invitation by the Chinese government to survey and investigate Chinese mineral resources, in particular to locate iron ore and coal. During his extensive travels, he noticed many locations of mammal fossils and archaeological artefacts. Some of the fossilised bones were collected, and later analysed by palaeontologists. Fossils from the site Chou K'ou Tien were identified as a specific species of *homo*, given the name *Sinanthropus*. By then, Andersson's interest had approached archaeology, with a focus on surveying and excavating. Particular attention was drawn to Neolithic painted pottery ware in the Gansu area in north-west China, bordering Inner Mongolia. In 1925, before Andersson's return to Sweden, an agreement was made to bring the archaeological material, mostly ceramics, to Sweden for investigation. Half of the material would be returned to the Geological Survey of China after finishing this scientific study and description (Andersson, 1929a: 23).

Back in Sweden, Andersson had the ambition to establish 'a research institute devoted principally to the study of prehistoric material from China' (Andersson, 1929a: 26). After successful fundraising campaigns, he reached his goal, backed by a supportive organisation, the China Research Committee, for which the Crown Prince was the chief patron. However, the core of the Museum was archaeological specimens and Oriental art objects rather than fossils. This gave Andersson a reason for establishing the museum's *Bulletin* with the ambition of maintaining a scientific quality comparable to esteemed periodicals like e.g. the *Palaeontologica Sinica* (Andersson, 1929a: 11). While investigating the painted design of the pottery, Andersson found it 'evident that many of the painted designs were magic symbols' (Andersson, 1929a: 26), linked to folk religion and similar perspectives. The range of these approaches urged Andersson to seek collaboration with other researchers, among them Hanna Rydh (Andersson, 1929a: 27).

The point of departure for Hanna's first article, 'On Symbolism in Mortuary Ceramics' (Rydh, 1929a), was Andersson's own observation that the particular ornamentation of Neolithic black-painted Gansu pottery was always connected with dwelling sites, whereas the ornaments painted in black and red, often serrated and with triangular form, were connected with mortuary sites (Andersson, 1929b: 66; Rydh, 1929a: 71). According to Hanna, these patterns showed strong similarities to incised ornaments on Scandinavian Neolithic pottery. To develop these comparative observations, as Andersson expressed it Hanna searched 'very extensively in European archaeological literature and accumulated a vast store of facts bearing upon the problem here in question' (Andersson, 1929b: 69). Hanna's conclusion was that this motif certainly represented a 'death pattern' but simultaneously had significant

connections to fertility and life's regeneration, with the ambition to help 'the deceased to a new life' (Rydh, 1931: 69). She thus extended Andersson's proposal geographically, and added the extra meaning of fertility and reincarnation to the symbolic significance. It can be noted that Andersson likewise hints at far-reaching geographic connections (Andersson, 1929b: 66), thus confirming the predominant paradigm of geographically widespread cultural-historic features. This view may also have been the basis for Hanna's study. Today, most likely, a more contextual critical understanding would have been required.

What seems clear is that Hanna and Andersson had discussed the issue when they were studying the material together. Furthermore, it seems that Andersson had agreed on Hanna's comparative observations (Rydh, 1929a: 71), and that he had no objections regarding her conclusions about the connection between death and fertility. Andersson's only demur to the conclusions was that Hanna did not pay attention to his own idea that the serrated design probably had a prophylactic meaning as well (Andersson, 1929b: 66). As we shall see, Hanna returned to this (in her opinion) not particularly significant dispute in her next article. Otherwise, the scholarly consensus was clear.

It is evident that Hanna's article had its background in Andersson's invitation to participate in the *Bulletin*, but that might not have been the only factor. In a letter to Andersson signed 18 May 1929, Hanna's father, J.A. Rydh, offered a donation of 15,000 Swedish crowns to the China Research Committee, to be paid in instalments of 5,000 crowns in 1929, 1930 and 1931 respectively. '10,000 crowns of this sum are intended for purchases for the Museum's collections. The remaining 5,000 crowns is intended to support the archaeological research which my daughter Fil. Dr Hanna Rydh and professor J.G. Andersson plan together' (letter from J.A. Rydh to J.G. Andersson, 18 May [1929]). This letter can be interpreted in different ways. It may be the result of J.A. Rydh's genuine interest in East Asian prehistory and care for the Museum's collections. But it can also be understood as a father's concern about his daughter and her opportunities to develop her scholarly mission. In 1929, 15,000 Swedish crowns was a considerable sum of money, equivalent to more than 400,000 SEK today. Whatever the motivation, it seems to have been a win-win situation for all three of them.

However, this harmonious picture seems to have cracked. In 1931, a letter dated 10 March was written by Andersson to Professor Bernhard Karlgren regarding Hanna's second contribution to the *Bulletin*. Karlgren (1889–1978) was a well-known sinologist, Professor in East Asian language and culture, Vice-Chancellor of the University College of Gothenburg and one of the members of the Museum's Research Committee. The letter runs:

Dear Brother Karlgren,

Now I must bother you with Hanna Rydh's manuscript, which some time ago was sent back to her, informing her that she must do something to the East Asian part of the matter, in case it should be published in our *Bulletin*.

As you will see, on pages 33–50 she has made a rather passable journalistic combination of de Groot and little Granet, and it seems to me that the best compromise for us would be to swallow the pill, on the condition that we may change the title to something like 'Seasonal fertility rites and the death cult in Scandinavian [*sic*] and China'.

As you know, it is difficult to say no completely, as she among other things has provided us a donation of 15,000 crowns. So, if you please, could you look at it, in particular the new pages, and make whatever remarks you consider are needed?

Yours gratefully (letter from J.G. Andersson to B. Karlgren, 10 March 1931, my translation).

The letter states that Hanna's article was problematic from Andersson's perspective. The text should be seen as a journalistic piece of work, which did not come up to Andersson's scientific ambition for his *Bulletin*, which he was trying to position as comparable to one of the most prominent journals in the field. We understand that the manuscript had been sent back for corrections and that Hanna had rewritten some pages. It seems that Andersson was in a quandary over whether to reject the proposed article.

Fertility rites and death cult – two sides of the same coin

Compared with Hanna's preceding contribution in the *Bulletin*, which runs to some fifty pages and has more than ten plates, the thirty pages of 'Seasonal fertility rites and the death cult in Scandinavia and China' is quite short. Its composition is plain. After a short introduction, in which the aim of the work is presented, follow three sections on seasonal rites: 'Christmas as the festival of the living', 'Christmas as the festival of the dead' and 'Fertility rites, the cult of the dead and the life-promoting annual festivals in China'. The text ends with a section headed 'Christmas customs regarded as a means of protection'.

For an observer today, Andersson's complaints are rather difficult to understand. There are no objections regarding the structure of the text. The argumentation is logical and systematic. Hanna explains that the motive for her paper derives from the results of her previous article in the *Bulletin*. As summarised above, here her point in this was in line with Andersson's, that there was a difference between domestic and mortuary ceramics. Hanna extended this proposition not only to China

but also to Scandinavian Neolithic and other areas, for example the Mediterranean regions and further east. She also reached the conclusion that the ornamentation of mortuary pottery had a dual symbolic meaning: life and death. These may seem incompatible, and to explore that alleged contradiction Hanna wrote this new article, turning to 'the ethnographical sphere' (Rydh, 1931: 69), focusing on folk memories of old customs as well as other ethnological, ethnographical and historical evidence. Within this bulk of material 'the two factors of life and death, the fertility rites and the rites for the dead have hitherto appeared as two irreconcilable contrarities' (Rydh, 1931). From Hanna's perspective however, the ethnographic material contributed 'entirely new foundations' for the discussion, demonstrating 'the appropriation by the death cult of certain fertility rites' (Rydh, 1931).

The main point of the discussion was to explore the performative practices of various rites, and what meanings they conveyed regarding fertility and death. These meanings were based upon contemporary scholarship's notions of prehistoric, medieval and rural manners and the customs of 'the greatest festival of the North' (Rydh, 1931), the celebration of Christmas, or Yule – by using the latter term, the heathen origin of the festival was emphasised. This festival occurred on a seasonal basis every year, consisting of a series of events that followed a repeated, ritualistic pattern – reiterations in Hubert's sense – stretching over a specific period of time – Hubert's temporal milieu.

The pre-Christian Yule, according to Hanna's sources, was a festival connected to the return of the sun, the regeneration of fertility and the reassurance of prosperity. Ethnographic scholarship was presenting many proofs of such pre-Christian ideas and activities that, in a transformed or modified shape, had been integrated into the Christian celebration of the birth of Christ. Within the formalised sequence of the festivity weeks, Hanna highlighted many examples of performative events which she interpreted as belonging to the fertility cult. Examples were various practices that linked the harvest of the previous year to that of the coming year (Rydh, 1931: 73, 76–7), a preference for marriage within the period of the festival (Rydh, 1931: 75, 77, 81) and the pre-Christian toast to a prosperous and peaceful year (Rydh, 1931: 71) which was transformed into a toast to Christ and the Virgin Mary. The ethnographic evidence also indicated that there were close connections between some fertility metaphors of the Christmas festival and its solstice reverse, the annual festival at Midsummer, the festivity at which fecundity symbolism was supposed to be as most pronounced (Rydh, 1931: 72).

So far, the article provided arguments that the days of the Christmas festival were made up of a sequence of ritual events, aiming to promote

fertility and life's regeneration. However, the rites and popular beliefs would also provide indications of the Christmas festival as a celebration of the dead.

In ancient rural society there were substantial beliefs that, during Christmas time, and in particular the night of Christmas Eve, ghosts and spirits were abroad, seeking contact with the world of the living. So, for example, there was a widespread belief that on the night of Christmas Eve the spirits of the dead would return to the church to celebrate mass before the early Christmas service (Rydh, 1931: 79). Some of these were understood as spirits of family ancestors and relatives who had recently passed away, eager to visit their home. Accordingly, a table was laid with food, surrounded by the festival's attributes associated with regeneration and growth. Even beds were prepared, waiting for the dead (Rydh, 1931: 78–9). Hanna's conclusion regarding these customs was that '[t]he dead returned in order to take part in the life-giving fertility rites that were to maintain life or regenerate them' (Rydh, 1931: 81).

In Hanna's opinion, a way to verify the hypothesis that 'Christmas which undoubtedly was a fertility feast at the same time was a feast for the dead' was to compare this dual notion and its attributes with another major festival to the dead: the feast of All Saints, immediately followed by the feast of All Souls. The latter was 'consecrated to the memory of the dead'. This festival, which was introduced by the church in the Middle Ages, occurs in the autumn, and according to Hanna would coincide with the existing, traditional harvest feasts of rural communities. She argued that there was a 'logical consistency in coupling the fertility feast with the feast of all souls' (Rydh, 1931: 84), thus finding evidence for the close and mutual connection between death rituals and fertility rites. It was in the interest of the Church to 'move' the souls of the ancestors and its pagan reminiscences (Rydh, 1931: 80) from the celebration of the Holy Birth, to the fertility feast in the autumn. By this, the connection between the souls of ancestors and harvest, fertility and regeneration was kept.

Bearing Hubert's theoretical perspective in mind, a close reading of 'Seasonal fertility' indicates that Hanna's approach to cult, myth, folk ethnography and folklore was of a similar kind as Hubert's, something of which the choice of seasonal festivities as the subject for analysis bears evidence. Within this theme, the recurring seasonal – and thereby temporal – performative practices, sequenced in ritual events, are in focus. The various examples of such events emphasise the temporal connection between rite and myth, linking to Hubert's analytical concept of temporal milieu. In line with Hubert's opinion, Hanna shows how a social constitutive principle – in her case the dual bond between death / ancestor cult and fertility cult – was permeating

the period with its myths and rites in its entirety. As worldly time differs from mythical time, the temporal connection between myths and rites could also be spread out – this may be the reason for Hanna's proposition that, in spite of the temporal difference, there was a constituting unity between the death and fertility cult of the festivals of All Souls and Christmas.

However, as she makes no explicit references to Hubert, it cannot be proved that Hanna actually adopted his ideas from her meetings with him in person or from reading his work. But the assumption is highly probable, as Hubert's main ideas were formulated prior to Hanna's stay at St Germaine, thus being accessible in the intellectual milieu. Many of the foundations of the Durkheimian school were explored as notes and reviews under various disciplinary sections or headings in the *Année Sociologique* and, as early as 1903 in volume 6, Hubert and Mauss jointly published an introduction and conclusion to the section of Myth. In this they outlined the main principles of the Durkheimian understanding of myths. Over the years Hubert wrote more texts about myth, and several important ones were published before Hanna's first visit (e.g. Hubert, 1905, 1919; Strenski, 1985).

As for many other European scholars, Hubert's academic work was interrupted by the war. This might have been one reason why, at his death, he 'left several unfinished works' (Isambert, 1983: 156), among them his life-long work on the prehistory and early history of the Celts and the Germans. As these studies were integrated into his lectures in archaeology and prehistoric religion at the École du Louvre and the École Pratique des Hautes Études, the result of his research was saved as drafts and notes. They were later compiled and edited by some of his colleagues, among them Mauss (Isambert, 1983: 156). The book about the Celts was published seven years after his death, with an English translation published the same year (Hubert, 1987 [1934]). The book about the Germans was delayed for another two decades (Isambert, 1983: 156). Thus Hanna could not have read them; however, at least some of the content had most likely existed as drafts when Hanna was in Paris – the book about the Germans is based on lectures given at the École du Louvre between 1924 and 1925, lectures that Hanna had planned to follow if her first visit had not been interrupted. Hanna most likely had the chance to discuss such matters with Hubert during her various stays.

The influence of Hubert's thinking is particularly visible in part three of *The Greatness and Decline of the Celts* (Hubert, 1987 [1934]). Here, the topic 'The civilization of the Celts' is introduced with the passage 'Objects and method of a sociological study of the Celts' (Hubert, 1987 [1934]: 185). This heading sets the agenda regarding Hubert's

sociological perspective of prehistory and early history. It is conspicuous that this sociological perspective on the ancient Celts demonstrates many similarities with significant features of Hanna Rydh's study of Scandinavian seasonal festivities. One such similarity is that Celtic society, like the Scandinavian, demonstrates the basic relation of fertility rites and death cult. Hubert proves with many examples that Celtic religion and mythology were expressed through rites, and these myths and rituals were connected both to their beliefs in fruitfulness and life, and in soul, death and origin, i.e. ancestry (Hubert, 1987 [1934]: 235–6). Thus, one important feature was the death cult's connection to ancestor worship and ancestor regeneration. Just as in Hanna's text, the rituals were crucial for maintaining the religion and its constitutive myths. In particular the 'great seasonal feasts of agricultural life marked a momentary concentration' (Hubert, 1987 [1934]: 239) when 'the spirits got loose and wonders were expected and normally happened' (Hubert, 1987 [1934]: 240).

So even if we cannot prove a connection through explicit referencing in the text, we can see that some of the essential features in Hanna's discussion of religious folk life in the Scandinavia of earlier times coincide with fundamental elements in Hubert's understanding of Celtic religious life.

However, one very obvious connection to the Durkheimian historical ethnography as an explanatory device (Strenski, 1987: 360) is Hanna's use of the work of Marcel Granet as an authority. The scholarship of Marcel Granet plays an important role in the section 'Fertility rites, the cult of the dead and the life-promoting annual festivals in China' (Rydh, 1931: 86–96). Hanna explains this 'excursion to Chinese ground' with her view that it 'still further emphasises the important part played by the fertility rites in the cult of the dead' (Rydh, 1931: 96). This 'Chinese excursion' was based on J.J.M. de Groot's *The Religious Systems of China*, vol. I from 1892, but it relied even more on Marcel Granet's *La religion des Chinois* from 1922. From the turn of the nineteenth century and onwards de Groot (1854–1922), a Dutch scholar, Professor in Leiden and later Berlin had published major works on Chinese religion. As a young student Marcel Granet (1884–1940) came into contact with Mauss and the Durkheimian circle. While specialising in Chinese language, history and civilisation, he included the anthropological and sociological perspective, in which religion and myth were important parts. He was much appreciated by Mauss, and when Mauss in his biographical notes grieved over Hubert's untimely death, he wrote: '[b]ut we still have one mythologist, and that is Granet. There was one other, no less brilliant, and that was Hubert. I am trying to make up for the loss of Hubert and help Granet' (Isambert, 1983: 155, n. 11).

In the parts of the book Andersson refers to in his letter to Karlgren, Granet (1922) discusses the religious life of rural peasant communities during the feudal era in the first millennium BCE. Here are many examples of fundamental ideas that Hanna adopted while comparing Chinese conditions with the Scandinavian geographical and cultural area. Moreover, seasonal festivities in spring and autumn demonstrated the dual unity of the rites of worship linked to the cult of the ancestral spirits and the cult of fertility (Rydh, 1931: 64). Rituals connected to birth and burial linked the dead ancestor to the soil and the tilth in a 'manner that is of peculiar interest to us' (Rydh, 1931: 86), demonstrating – in Rydh's way of understanding – the constitutive unity between ancestral cult, regeneration and fertility.

Local critique

The critical letter from Andersson to Karlgren tells us that Hanna Rydh's first draft was met with a rebuff. As this version is not preserved, we cannot know what was changed. However, we can conclude that some alterations were made. For example, the title follows Andersson's suggestion. Hanna might also have shortened the text, as Andersson specifies her use of de Groot and Granet for seventeen pages, while in the finished article, the section on fertility rituals in China reached ten pages. Andersson further states that Hanna wrote a 'rather passable journalistic combination' of the two scholars. It is difficult to interpret the exact meaning of these words. Maybe the characterisation of the text as a journalistic piece of work indicates that Andersson felt it did not have a sufficiently scientific approach. As Granet's work does not provide a note apparatus – not needed in the series he wrote for – this lack may have affected Andersson's opinion. If the scientific quality of Hanna's first draft was questioned, we can see that measures must have been taken: in the printed version the structure is logical and well explained; she provides an account of the background to the work (Rydh, 1931: 69), a clarification of the research questions (Rydh, 1931: 69) and a formulation of hypothesis (Rydh, 1931: 70). Further the partial results (Rydh, 1931: 84) and main results are well concluded (Rydh, 1931: 86). This said, it does not mean that the text achieves all of today's *desiderata* for a scholarly product. For example, a more explicit awareness of the theoretical approach and a critical discussion of the explanatory value of the empirical evidence, which obviously derive from various cultural contexts, would have contributed to a more consistent product.

Another aspect of Andersson's slightly scornful journalistic attribution could have been the language. Maybe the first draft did not fit into the norms of a conventional scientific text, if it relied too heavily on the

sources as regards language. Hanna Rydh herself characterises Marcel Granet's writing as a 'brief and highly interesting, popularly written presentation ... [in an] animated style' (Rydh, 1931: 86). Checking the text in Granet (1977), it seems that she uses many of his words (Rydh, 1931: 86–7) and two full pages are direct quotations from his book (Rydh, 1931: 87–9), obviously in her own translation from French to English. In this connection it might be interesting to note that regarding the English translation of Granet (1922) made by the esteemed anthropologist Marcel Freedman (Granet, 1975; here 1977), some reviewers have pointed out Granet's poetic sensibility (Wright, 1977: 696). In his translator's opinion, while using his prose he performed an act of almost 'scholarly prestidigitation' (Fried, 1977: 159), making this reviewer – Fried – regard Granet as a scholar, making 'airy leaps from poetic shard to greater than life sized reconstructions' thus being a 'weaver of gossamer webs' (Fried, 1977: 160). With this in mind, it is not difficult to see why Hanna was captured by such scholarship.

A bit peculiar is Andersson's disparaging description of Granet as 'little Granet'. Both Andersson, Karlgren and Granet were highly competent in Chinese language, culture, and history. The authority in Chinese studies at the time, Edouard Chavanne, was Granet's teacher and more or less his mentor. Karlgren, who studied in Paris for two years before the war, had also been a student of Chavanne. In the early 1920s Granet was one of the founders of the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises in Paris, and when Andersson made his comment to Karlgren, Granet had for many years been professor and administrative leader of this research centre. So Granet was definitely Andersson's and Karlgren's peer regarding scholarship and social rank. It remains an open question why Andersson and Karlgren show this negative attitude towards him. Maybe the answer is as simple as that Karlgren and Granet sometimes had different views in scholarly matters. Some comments in Freedman's edited English translation of Granet (1922) hint at such circumstances (Granet, 1977 [1975]: 160, n. 11). Did Hanna involuntarily place herself at a point where two competing research networks intersected?

Whatever the reason for the letter, it criticises Hanna's article for scholarly quality, possibly for its textual character and probably for its theoretical, implicitly Durkheimian approach. As editor of the series, Andersson was within his rights to approve or disapprove of the contributions. Nevertheless, we can see that he uses tactics that we now recognise as techniques of dominance, an analytical tool that the Norwegian sociologist Berit Ås (1978) has developed to study processes of inequality. Within this male, homosocial arena, Hanna's professional competence was made invisible, ridiculed and belittled. However, with adjustments Hanna's paper could not be rejected – even if it was hard

to 'swallow the pill'. To his colleague and fellow academic Andersson straightforwardly points at the decisive factor for accepting the paper: money.

We can see how Hanna accepted the compromises, but in her negotiating process she also applied a counterstrategy to stay true to her own scientific scholarship.³ In her 1929 article for the *Bulletin*, she had stated that the protective significance of some rites was of secondary importance to the fertility notions. Andersson raised the objection that she had not acknowledged his view of the prophylactic importance of certain rituals during the seasonal festivals. In the article of 1931, Hanna came back to this issue (Rydh, 1931: 96–8), once again questioning Andersson's notion of the prophylactic primacy. She saw it as 'a problem subsidiary to the Christmas customs' even if by others it were 'considered as a problem of the first importance' (Rydh, 1931: 96). Presenting a number of pieces of empirical evidence that in her opinion were persuasive, she acknowledged the relation between fertility and protective significance; however, 'I will only repeat that I am convinced that the protective significance is secondary' (Rydh, 1931: 96). By developing a different opinion, Hanna thereby placed herself in the position of a professional equal.

Discussion and conclusion

By following the genesis and content of Hanna Rydh's articles we can see how specific formal and informal networks were crucial in the process of producing the knowledge in them.

The surrounding Swedish professional community supported Hanna in completing her doctorate. An advantage was that her own husband was part of this encouraging group, being a partner in discussions and bringing access to specialist knowledge. Having passed the threshold of graduation, parts of her research followed the general line of research, something of which her male colleagues generally approved. The professional archaeological network also accepted her popular texts with female focus which were mainly addressed to women. However, when Hanna diverged from the conventional scholarly track by introducing new scientific research questions, as she did with her second article in the *Bulletin*, the professional community was less supportive, even resorting to what we now understand as techniques of dominance. Obviously, Hanna's attempts to get access to the circle around the East Asian Museum were conditional. The circle around the East Asian Museum seems to have been a very masculine, hierarchical and homosexual milieu; when the fourth volume of the *Bulletin* was dedicated to the Crown Prince as a token of gratitude for his 'careful studies' and

‘dedicated interest... [in] the old art of the Far East’ sponsors could sign a tribute. Of the ninety-one persons who signed this list, only five were women (*Bulletin* no. 4, 1932: V–VIII).⁴

The academic female network played a most significant role. Female academics informed Hanna about the international scholarship, encouraged her to apply and sponsored her international studies financially. This financial support made it possible for Hanna to get access to a scholarly arena which, in the early 1920s, she considered most likely to bear fruit for her professional development.

We can see that Hanna embraced the feminist movement’s international network with a dual approach: both as a receiver of support for knowledge-producing purposes and as a supporter of the expanding women’s educational ‘room’. This underlines that within the feminist circles of the 1920s education was seen to be of vital importance for female emancipation. It is also significant that the means for the fundraising campaign demonstrated in this chapter was domestic handicraft, i.e. primarily textile objects that were made – and controlled – by women.

Returning to Berit Ås’ observations on techniques of dominance, these analyses have resulted in the articulation of several counterstrategies, such as the spreading of information, supportive encouragement and providing venues in which the underprivileged subject can be visible and get a place in the social ‘room’. All these traits can be observed in the strategies used by the IFUW network.

It is also possible to regard the particular objects that constituted the gift of domestic handicraft as secondary agents or actants. In accordance with ANT they can even be understood as constituting a particular space-related network in their own right. They were produced in various homes in Swedish rural areas, gathered at local museums and forwarded to a collecting place in Stockholm. After being valued and given a price they were shipped to London, ending up at a bazaar and eventually transformed to economic means for creating a room for the production of knowledge. Infrastructural means for these movements were private bicycles and local bus lines, national railways and international, North Sea, shipping lines, thereby giving a sample card of the geographic technology of the time.

The archaeological research milieu at St-Germaine-en-Laye where Hubert was the central figure was welcoming and encouraging to Hanna. Her gender does not seem to have posed any problem. In spite of several interruptions, she was given both physical and affectional room to finish her research and develop her studies. It is also evident that she met a research milieu, the Durkheimian social historical approach, which had not yet arrived in Sweden, in which the cultural history approach was dominant (Baudou, 2004). Even though the Durkheimian school

constituted an established intellectual domain (Besnard, 1983), for Hanna it was a loose network, related to personal communication, possibilities to attend lectures and get access to libraries and archaeological collections. The archival documents do not reveal the nature and extent of the French connections; however, a close reading of Hanna's work in which she explains her reasoning and scientific inspiration, indicates that she was influenced by the Durkheimian ethno-historical sociological approach. It is also interesting to see that in spite of being inspired by Granet, she chose to write her text in English, even though the *Bulletin* also welcomed articles in French and German, both languages that in the Swedish academy were more conventional for scholarship.

Hanna Rydh's family constituted a fundamental supportive network. Bror Schnittger shared his knowledge of the scholarly community so Hanna could get access to a type of knowledge which was an asset while planning her scientific development. Schnittger also supported Hanna's wish to combine a professional career with raising a family. Regarding Hanna's father's support to the Museum of Far Eastern Studies on 'condition' that Hanna could participate in the Museum's research, this was a far from unique model. The historiography of archaeology shows several examples of how families of fortune supported cultural or scientific projects, where their daughters were appointed to perform a specific task, giving them access to a profession (Arwill-Nordbladh, 2008: 160). As a conclusion concerning the importance of the familial network in these instances, the conventional divide between private and public seems to be more complex than generally assumed.

The geography of knowledge production and the knowledge-producing 'rooms' in Hanna Rydh's networks varied. The desk in an office at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the sorting table for pottery at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities designate the museum as an important site for knowledge production. Auxiliary institutions like archives, libraries and lecture rooms were also such arenas. Here Hanna, being a female archaeologist in an all-male context, could relate to and navigate within the conventional social structure, occasionally aided by members of her family circle.

The newly established study house for female university students is an example of how a determined group of feminists were stretching the normative gender structures, promoting women's access to scientific education and thus creating new scholarly 'rooms'. In the long term, this affected the conditions for producing knowledge, challenging the conventional masculine approach of academia.

It is noteworthy that Hanna Rydh's knowledge-producing clusters – including their material and literary character – were geographically and temporally widespread. London, Paris, Stockholm, rural China,

Celtic Gaul and the network of Swedish countryside homes in which domestic handicraft was manufactured, were some of the nodes that converged in Hanna Rydh's practices. Creative milieus for international feminist emancipation, a Durkheimian theoretical hub and a museum with a touch of male supremacy based on collections of exquisite ancient art, constituted intellectual clusters and structured sites. While moving between them as an agential subject with a vision and a goal, Hanna Rydh shaped her scholarly products.

As to whether structure or individual agency has priority in the shaping of life, Hanna Rydh's achievements show that her integrity, determination and visions for the future guided her lines of conduct and helped her to seek and choose while manoeuvring within and between various structured networks.

Epilogue

As mentioned earlier, Hanna's two articles in the *Bulletin* do not seem to have had much influence upon the contemporary Swedish archaeological research community. Few, if any, references can be noticed in other scholarly works. It is possible that Hanna's approach was not in line with the conventional strand. Nor did Hanna herself continue down this newly trodden path. In August 1929 she wrote to her friend the Danish runologist Lis Jacobsen that her life was going to take 'an unexpected turn' (letter from Hanna Rydh to Lis Jacobsen, 6 August 1929, The Royal Library, Copenhagen). While the first article was going to print, she married her second husband, Morimer Munch af Rosenschöld (1873–1942), undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, who in 1931 was appointed county governor of Jämtland and Härjedalen. Her professional task had to adjust to her obligations as the wife of a county governor (Lundström, 2005; Arwill-Nordbladh, 2013). The articles about death cults and fertility and the Durkheimian inspiration to a historical-social approach to prehistory can be seen as solitaires with little impact on Swedish archaeology. However, they can also be seen as pieces of scholarly work made by an intellectual and in many ways original mind which was open for negotiating within and between different networks. These processes illuminate the contested nature of the production of scientific knowledge.

Notes

- 1 Sondheimer, J.H. 1958. *History of the British Federation of University Women, 1907–1957*. London: BFUW: 39, in Arwill-Nordbladh, 2005a: 133.

- 2 Gothenburg University Library, Kvinnohistoriska samlingarna A 12, Hanna Rydhs samling I: 15.
- 3 See for example, *Bekräftartekniker och motstrategier* (affirmative techniques and counterstrategies): www.jamstallt.se/docs/ENSU%20bekraftartekniker.pdf.
- 4 When a signature only includes initials and surname, I have placed it in the male group. It may be interesting to note that both Hanna Rydh and her brother C.L. Rydh were among the signers. Hanna's father had by this time passed away.