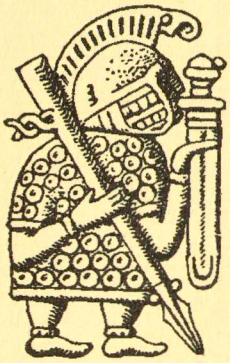

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The Finnish-Swedish debate on the Battle Axe Culture of the 1910s and 1920s

By Timo Salminen

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The paper deals with a debate during the 1910s and 1920s on the origins of the Finnish Battle Axe Culture of the 3rd millennium BC. In 1915 Aarne Europaeus (Äyräpää) suggested that the Battle Axe Culture would have reached Finland directly from Central Europe and not via Sweden, as previously assumed. This aroused opposition from Gunnar Ekholm in Sweden. Other researchers from both countries also took part in the discussion. At a concrete archaeological level, the different interpretations were based on different views of the typological relationship of Finnish Battle Axe and Corded Ware finds to those from Sweden and Central Europe. The discussion also had political implications regarding the question of the origins of today's Finland-Swedish population and its relationship to Sweden. The topic acquired new significance with the 1917 independence of Finland, when the identity of the new country had to be constructed. The debate died down, unresolved, at the end of the 1920s. Äyräpää's interpretation, however, became the predominant one in the international context.

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One of the research themes that aroused conflicting opinions in Nordic archaeology before World War II was the Battle Axe or Corded Ware Culture of the Middle Neolithic (henceforth, the BAC). In Finland the question was linked to the origins of the country's Swedish-speaking population, and therefore also had ideological or even political significance. What arguments were used in the debate? How did they intertwine with each other, and what impression does the debate give of the culture of discussion within this scholarly network? At whom did the participants aim their messages? Did the discussion result in consensus or could the participants influence each other's opinions in some other way? What ideological factors were involved, and can we judge to what extent they steered discussion? (More extensively in Finnish, see Salminen 2014, pp. 132–142, 158–160.

The start of the Battle Axe debate

The relationship between the BAC of Finland and that of Sweden had been a matter of dispute already in the 1890s when Oscar Montelius (1843–1921) and Hjalmar Appelgren (1853–1937, from 1906 Appelgren-Kivalo) debated whether it could be regarded as an indication of Swedish colonisation (Appelgren 1897; Montelius 1898). In 1911, Oscar Almgren (1869–1945) wrote to Aarne Michaël Tallgren (1885–1945) about the BAC as a new arrival that pushed the "settlement-site culture" (now known as the Pitted Ware Culture in Sweden and Åland) out of its way in both Sweden and Finland, maintaining that in Finland this specifically meant a stage of conquest (*besittningstagande*). He also suggested that the culture had gone on to spread into North-west Russia. Almgren repeated his interpretation of these matters in 1919 (NLF

Coll. 230 Almgren to Tallgren 8.1.1911; Almgren 1919, pp. 8–12, 63–65.) In agreement with Karl Bernhard Wiklund (1868–1934), he suggested that Finns and Swedes had lived as neighbours in Finland from no later than the Neolithic. These views were based on, among other things, material that he had collected in Finland on his way to the All-Russian Conference of Archaeologists in Novgorod in 1911, and on information that he had received from Julius Ailio (1872–1933) (Almgren 1919, pp. 1, 7–14, 23–35, 61–69, 73–78; Petersson 2005, pp. 118–119, 141–148).

In a 1915 presentation of new Stone Age finds acquired by the National Museum of Finland, Aarne Europaeus (1887–1971, from 1930 Äyräpää) instead suggested that the BAC had most likely come to Finland with a wave of immigrants directly from Central Europe and not via Sweden. In his opinion, the pottery of the Finnish BAC mainly resembled its Danish counterparts and differed completely from the "Linear Pottery" (a term that is no longer used) of Sweden in this period (Europaeus 1915, pp. 10–12). He also addressed this issue in an article in 1917 on the Indo-European question in Stone Age research. Here, Europaeus pointed to the eastern branches of the international Corded Ware culture, regarding it as a culture group independent of the megalith-building Funnel Beaker culture, with polemical comments against the views of Gustaf Kossinna (1858–1931) and Nils Åberg (1888–1957). He described Åberg as a "one-sided typologist and Kossinna's kindred spirit in his chauvinism". Europaeus based his views on the results of Sophus Müller's (1846–1934) work and considered the migrants to Finland to have been Indo-Europeans (Europaeus 1917, pp. 30–46. Cf. UUMG Lindqvist Johannes Brøndsted to Sune Lindqvist 4.3.1922.) He also referred briefly to the relationship of the BACs of Finland and Sweden in an article on Stone Age materials imported from Sweden to Finland in the journal *Rig* in 1920 (Europaeus 1920, p. 115).

Gunnar Ekholm (1884–1974) regarded the Finnish BAC to have been a derivative of its Swedish counterpart, but not based on immigration. According to him, Finland was inhabited by an Indo-European population, the same as Sweden, that had arrived immediately after the Ice Age and had now adopted the BAC from the west. This was made possible by Sweden's cultural supremacy compared with other countries around the Baltic Sea. Ekholm (1920) based his view on Wiklund's linguistic interpretations and the presence of what he saw as a uniform Mesolithic culture across the area.

1920: Ekholm's first visit to Finland

Ekholm visited Finland in the summer of 1920 and discussed the two BACs with Europaeus. Continuing the debate in the journal *Fornvännen* in 1921, he provocatively used the same wording as Montelius's paper from 1898: *När kommo svenskarne till Finland?* ("When did the Swedes come to Finland?"), claiming a Swedish origin for the BAC of Finland (ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus 20.7.1920, 29.8.1920).

Ekholm admitted that the Danish counterpart of the cultures in question, the Single-Grave Culture, was an offshoot of a Central European form of burial that was specifically of European origin. On the other hand, he felt it was a long way from this phenomenon to Europaeus's theories of migration. He regarded Europaeus's results as clearly in conflict with Scandinavian results, although Europaeus did have his supporters, "albeit doubting", among Nordic archaeologists. Here he was referring to Carl Axel Nordman (1892–1972) and Sophus Müller. The disagreement thus harkened back to a long-standing Swedish-Danish debate involving top-level scholars. Ekholm noted that cord-impressed pottery was also known from Sweden, contrary to what he believed was claimed by Europaeus, but agreed that the pottery in Swedish BAC graves was in fact as different from the corresponding Finnish pottery as Europaeus had suggested. The Swedish battle axes were an offshoot of early battle axes in Jutland and the pottery also had parallels in Jutland; according to Ekholm, the Swedish linear comb-stamped decoration had evolved from cord-impressed decoration. As an example, he referred to a grave find from Sösdala in Scania, which had recently been acquired by the Museum of Lund (Ekholm 1921, especially 51. ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus 20.7.1920, 29.8.1920.)

In particular, Ekholm found certain finds from Piirtolankangas at Ilmajoki in Finland to be

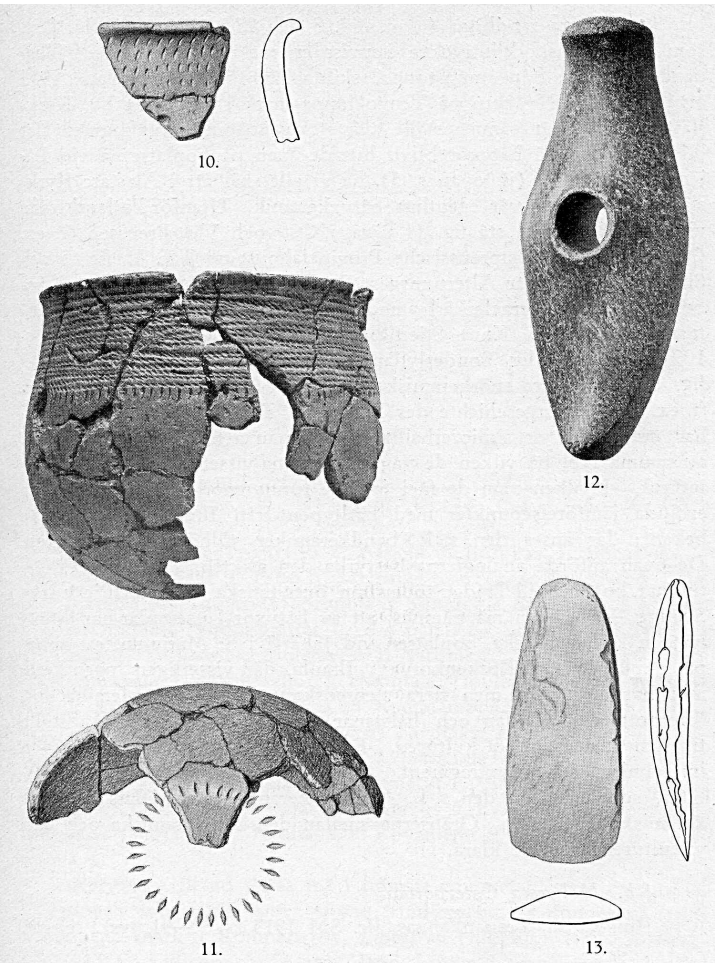

Fig. 1. Finds from Piirtolankangas in Ilmajoki. Europaeus 1915, figs 10–13.

highly similar to the material from Sösdala, with the exception that the decoration of the Finnish pot appeared to be "slightly more developed and younger". Ekholm also considered the battle axe from the Sösdala find to be typologically older. He found the finds from Ilmajoki and Sösdala to have more features in common than did Finnish and Jutish finds in general. Even a direct influence between the pottery of Jutland and Finland was, however, possible, as the vessel from Piirtolankangas had vertical impressions beneath the cord-impressed lines, "fringes" that were not known from Sweden. Since Europaeus regarded the Piirtolankangas grave as the oldest BAC grave in Finland, in Ekholm's opinion this proved that the oldest stage of the BAC of Finland had a connection with Sweden, while the later stages differed. This, however, did not make Finland a colony of Sweden. Instead, the origins of Stone Age settlement in Finland dated back to the Ancylus Lake period and could probably be derived from Estonia, where the finds from Kunda were from the same period. Since it was assumed in Sweden, on the basis of the continuity of settlement, that the earliest population to arrive there were the ancestors of the present-day Swedes – as concluded by Montelius – the first inhabitants of Finland were presumed to be of the same ethnic origin. The differences between the oldest Stone Age finds from Finland and Sweden respectively were, according

to Ekholm, hardly greater than between the various regions of Sweden. This point was followed by an interesting observation: "And for these to be due to differences of people or race are theories that have now been rejected."[1] Ekholm concluded that the Indo-Germanic ancestors of the Swedes had come to Finland around the same time as they had arrived in Sweden, i.e. during the Ancylus Lake period. The question of whether they were the ancestors of the present-day Finland Swedes was a problem of philology and linguistics (Ekholm 1921).

Around the same time, Ekholm wrote to Nordman about pottery with "fringes" found in Sweden. He noted that they now almost agreed on the issue of the Battle Axe people and that rest of the gap would be filled when Otto Frödin's (1881–1953) study on this topic appeared (NLF SLSA 652 Ekholm to Nordman s. d. in Dec. 1921).

In his article *L'âge du cuivre dans la Russie centrale* ("The Chalcolithic in Central Russia"), to which Ekholm had referred, Tallgren linked the Fatyanovo Culture to a broader entity together with Corded Ware, the Danish single graves and the Bernburg pottery of Germany. According to Tallgren, influences had passed from the northwest to the southeast and not in the opposite direction. He considered the population to have been Indo-European or Aryan (Tallgren 1920, pp. 16–22). Tallgren did not reply to Ekholm at this stage even though his interpretation of the issues was different. In a letter to Tallgren in 1921, Nordman observed: "That you didn't write anything to polemicise against Ekholm's rubbish was equivalent to stomping on a dead fly"[2] (NLF Coll. 230 Nordman to Tallgren s. d. 1921).

Ekholm revisited Finland in the early summer of 1921, and during the same summer he studied East Prussian Corded Ware in Königsberg (present-day Kaliningrad). After these visits he admitted the existence of some kind of Finnish-Central European relationship in a letter to Europaeus. Nonetheless, he still regarded Europaeus's view of a direct migration to be exaggerated. In Germany, Ekholm had paid particular attention to Neolithic finds, and nothing in this context either served to change his views of the roots of the BAC of Finland. He maintained that it had initially been mainly in contact with Sweden. Ekholm agreed with Europaeus that the relatively uniform character of the Single-Grave Culture in Denmark required an explanation. His opinion was that it involved related peoples in active contact with each other; if migration had taken place, uniformity would have been greater and the population practising agriculture could not have spread so quickly over such a large area. He went on to note that seeing a different people behind each culture would be the same as identifying different peoples behind different occupations in modern society (ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus 7.7.1921; ÄFA Ekholm to Euro-paeus 11.8.1921, 4.9.1921).

1922: Europaeus's first reply to Ekholm

Europaeus responded to Ekholm in his 1922 book *Fornfynd från Kyrkslätt och Esbo socknar*, in which he noted the existence of a distinct boundary between Comb Ware and the BAC's Corded Ware in Finland, interpreting the latter as signs of immigration. The closest parallels to the Corded Ware were to be found in the pottery of the Single-Grave Culture in Jutland, which Europaeus, in agreement with Müller and Nordman, was prepared to link to the spread of the Indo-Europeans into Scandinavia. He still denied any Swedish origins for the Finnish BAC, opining that Corded Ware and battle axes from Finland did not have any features that could prove they were related specifically to Swedish counterparts. In particular he discounted the evidential value of the vessel from Sösdala. Nor did Europaeus accept Åberg's and Kossinna's assumption that the two BACs, as a sign of Indo-European migrations, could be derived from the Funnel Beaker Culture ("the Megalith Culture"), which he definitely regarded as non-Indo-European (Europaeus 1922, pp. 136–140, 152–165; cf. Åberg 1918, pp. 199, 209– 210).

Upon receiving Europaeus's book, Ekholm observed that they did not agree on everything, "but such is the nature of science" (ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus 16.3.1922). He wrote a review here in *Fornvännen*, where he argued at length how and why Europaeus's interpretation could not be correct. Finally, Ekholm pointed to the potential influence of "current events", i.e. the Finnish Civil War of 1918 and German assistance for its winning side, on Europaeus's interpreta-

tion of the BAC of Finland. While regarding this as understandable, he felt it was regrettable for the objectivity of research. Ekholm also criticised Europaeus's dating of the earliest settlement of Finland on geological grounds and suggested that if the new results of geology contradicted earlier archaeological dates, geology should yield the issue (Ekholm 1922).

Europaeus immediately replied to Ekholm, who expressed his surprise and concern in a letter to Nordman: "Judging from his letter, Europaeus has taken this quite hard. In it he even accuses me of subjecting him to a diatribe in the political style of the same sort as Cicero's Quosque tandem (!). This is such exaggeration that I cannot take it seriously."[3]

Ekholm wrote that if he had known that Euro paeus was so sensitive to criticism he would have rephrased his remarks, and that he had therefore decided not to distribute any more of his offprints of the review, which was why he could not send one to Nordman, either. At the end of his letter, Ekholm asked Nordman to try to calm Europaeus and to convince him that he had an exaggerated view of the sharpness of the review. "You could also stress in an appropriate connection the warm words of recognition that I address to Finnish Stone Age research and especially his role in it."[4] (NLF SLSA 652 Ekholm to Nordman 15.10.1922).

Five days later Ekholm wrote to Europaeus regretting his own schoolmasterly tone in certain parts of his review and underlining his positive attitude. He assured Europaeus that he had never suspected him of any kind of chauvinism, but "as you admit it yourself, you may have one-sidedly brought certain opinions to extremes"[5]. Ekholm now emphasised to Europaeus that his conception of the roots of the Swedish population of Finland was not the same as Montelius's, but was essentially similar to Europaeus's views. He had even been accused in Uppsala of seeing too much (ethnic) Finnishness in the finds. "I've fought quite hard duels with our mutual friend [Birger] Nerman, who is a fanatical Montelian."[6] The philologist Professor Otto von Friesen (1870– 1942) had accused Ekholm of supporting Torsten Evert Karsten's (1870–1942) theory of a separate Finland-Swedish nationality in Finland. Ekholm sent Europaeus a copy of a letter from himself to von Friesen as proof that he "really fights on two fronts"; in this letter Ekholm notes, among other things, that he is still inclined to call the Stone Age inhabitants of Finland Swedes (ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus 20.10.1922, Ekholm to Otto von Friesen s. d. 1922).

Ekholm also wrote to Nordman to thank him for calming Europaeus down, as he assumed had happened. He referred also to his visit in Finland in 1920:

> "During my stay in Finland in the summer of 1920 I presented to E[uropaeus] my archaeological preterea censeo that immigration and similar matters played a considerably smaller role than peaceful cultural influences, trade and such. But Europaeus interrupted me and explained with real emotion that 'we who have experienced the past years in Finland believe in violent changes in cultural evolution, and we also believe in invasions.' I regard all this to be natural and it would be strange if such upheavals would pass without having some impact on scholarly research. … "The first time one receives criticism, one is naturally particularly sensitive. For me this was so long ago, I have ridden out so many storms that my hide is tough and numb, and I have forgotten how it feels when it smarts. This is the main reason that I was somewhat hard on Europaeus."[7]
>
> (NLF SLSA 652 Ekholm to Nordman 20.10.1922)

Ekholm said that he would publish a new article on the topic in order to emphasise the points on which he agreed with Europaeus. In his letter to Europaeus, he stressed that they were *at least* as important as their points of disagreement. An article along these lines, however, never seems to have appeared (ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus 28.12.1922).

In June of 1922 Sune Lindqvist (1887–1976) reviewed Europaeus's book in the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet*, suggesting the possibility that the Finnish BAC could have influenced Sweden. In a letter to Lindqvist, Europaeus admitted that he had also considered this possibility. He main-

tained, however, that the main current of influence had come to Sweden from the southeast and not via Finland (UUMG Lindqvist, Europaeus to Lindqvist s. d. 1922).

1922–23: The Third Nordic Meeting of Archaeologists and Nordman's entry into the discussion

Europaeus attended the third Nordic Meeting of Archaeologists in Stockholm in the summer of 1922. Ekholm reiterated in his conference presentation that Finland had received its first inhabitants at the same time as Sweden and that they were Indo-Europeans. In addition, he pointed out that it was maintained in Sweden that the BAC of Finland partly originated from Sweden and partly from Jutland. He noted, however, the views of the Finnish party, i.e. Europaeus. Ekholm stated that whether the Finland Swedes could be derived from the Indo-Europeans of the Ancylus Period was still a problem of linguistics, but since members of that discipline regarded it as possible he, too, tended to take this position (Ekholm 1923b, 42–44; Nordiska arkeologmötet 1922, p. 168.)

The organisers of the congress also wanted to hear a current Finnish view on the relationship between the Finnish and Swedish populations during the prehistory of Finland (NLF SLSA 652 T.J. Arne to Nordman 15.2.1922). C.A. Nordman responded to the request and gave a paper on the relationship between the East Swedish Settlement Site Culture (now called the Pitted Ware Culture) and the Finnish Stone Age. The paper was published in the series *Finskt Museum* the following year. Nordman maintained that it was proven on chronological grounds that the initial stages of Comb Ware in Finland had been independent of both Swedish Dwelling Place Culture pottery and the Linear Pottery of the Swedish BAC. In the debate concerning Corded Ware, he supported Ekholm's views that this culture had come to Finland via Sweden, but on different grounds than suggested by Ekholm. Nordman did not regard the Swedish pottery as the most important material to the issue. He was much more interested in the Finnish battle axes, which he found similar to the oldest Swedish types. Nonetheless, he did not feel it was self-evident that the Finnish BAC had origins in Sweden, and instead regarded it as above all a Continental European cultural phenomenon. According to him, the origins of Finnish Corded Ware in particular could be traced back to West Prussia. In this sense, Nordman took a mediating position between Europaeus and Ekholm. He had also deemed the Swedish route of influence as likely in a letter to Sune Lindqvist. This means that he had at least partly rejected an interpretation that he had published two years earlier (Nordman 1923; cf. Nordman 1920; UUMG Lindqvist, Nord- man to Lindqvist 6.6.1922).

In 1922 Nordman also published the article "Some Baltic Problems" in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, in response to an article by Harold Peake on the Finno-Ugrian problem in the prehistory of the Baltic region. Peake (1919, esp. p. 197) attempted to explain the arrival of the BAC in Finland in accordance with Almgren's 1919 paper. In his reply to Peake, Nordman expressed doubts about the possibility of ethnic interpretations of archaeological material as done by Kossinna. Here, he considered the BAC of Finland to be of Central European origin, but also saw similarities with the Swedish BAC. The routes by which the culture had come to Finland were uncertain. (Nordman 1922, esp. 36, 40; cf. Nordman 1920, p. 88.)

Since Nordman admitted that the Finnish battle axe could be interpreted as a variant of the Swedish battle axe, Ekholm asked him in a letter whether the same would not apply to the pottery. He also expressed his satisfaction that "at any rate invasion theories no longer figure in your article", and suggested that the two scholars' viewpoints were gradually approaching each other in this matter. Ekholm also thanked Nordman for taking a more moderate view of shoreline displacement than Europaeus. He found it amusing that he, a Swede, had at times in the debate had to represent the most nationalistically Finnish approach to the problem. "For it is no doubt more appealing to you over there on the other side to believe in 'independent Finnish development' than in a culture imposed through violence."[8] (NLF SLSA 652: Ekholm to Nordman 1.1.1923).

In the journal *Ymer* for 1923, Ekholm expanded his perspective and claimed, with reference to thin- and thick-butted flint axes, that the original home of the Germanic peoples had extended from

the Harz Mountains to the North Cape and included the whole Baltic Sea region. Even now Ekholm did not completely equate artefact types or even archaeological cultures with ethnic groups, pointing out that, for example, environmental conditions and trade contacts influenced the formation of cultures regardless of ethnicity. Ekholm's approach thus appears to have included two different types of archaeological thinking. On the one hand, he regarded artefact types as having the character of ethnic markers especially in indicating continuity, but not discontinuity in time or space. On the other hand he also wanted to underline the influence of other factors than ethnic ones on culture (Ekholm 1923a.) In this respect, his thinking reflected the state of change in archaeological interpretations of ethnicity especially during the 1920s.

After the article appeared, Europaeus wrote to Åberg, observing that Swedish archaeologists appeared to be debating enthusiastically and that Ekholm was a brute of the worst kind despite his assurances of a peaceful attitude. Europaeus sent his pre-polemic greetings via Åberg to Ekholm. He also mentioned to Åberg that he intended to publish a brief comment on Ekholm's polemic remarks (ATA Ensk/134: Europaeus to Åberg 25.4.1923).

Not even all of Ekholm's Swedish colleagues agreed with him, as shown by Åberg's reply to Europaeus. Åberg, who had been strongly associated with the study of Germanic prehistory, wrote:

> "I will bring your gauntlet to Ekholm. We will see if he continues the joust. The question of the battle axes is one thing, but he has now drawn the Germanic region from the North Cape to Magdeburg and including at least the whole of Finland to the east (Ymer 1923). Poor Finland! This is entirely the consequence of equating South Scandinavian flint with the Settlement Site culture. But I will not slander my colleagues further more."9
>
> (ANBA Äyräpää, Åberg to Europaeus 28.4.1923)

Europaeus's 1924 counter-polemic

Europaeus did not complete the polemical text that he had promised until the spring of 1924, when he mentions having again found new perspectives on the issue (UUMG Lindqvist, Europaeus to Lindqvist 13.3.1924). The text appeared as a large article in the journal *Finskt Museum* in that same year. With regard to archaeological and geological dating results, Europaeus noted that where they conflicted, the archaeological results should be reconsidered, but on the whole it would be necessary to wait for more results, especially concerning absolute dates.

Europaeus extensively discussed the main problem, the relationship of the BAC of Finland with Sweden, noting that all the decorative elements of Finnish Corded Ware also appeared in Central Europe. Unlike Ekholm, he did not feel that Åberg had succeeded in refuting Müller's and Nordman's results concerning the culture of Jutland. Europeus pointed out that Åberg himself did not completely reject the idea of additional people having come from Central Europe to Jutland at this stage (Åberg 1918, p. 135). Europaeus, however, regarded the Saale region in southeast Germany as the centre of this cultural sphere. This meant that he now took his assumption about the origin of the BAC of Finland one step further than in earlier publications. Europaeus criticised (p. 38) Åberg's method with an ideological point added to his remarks, when he considered Åberg to have transferred the leading position achieved by the Nordic countries and Sweden in modern archaeological science also to the prehistoric cultures themselves.

Elsewhere in his article, Europaeus noted that the importance of Scandinavia as a cultural influence had been overestimated and opined that this should be a past stage. Europaeus felt that Åberg's chronology was unduly based on typology and cartography and that he did not focus enough attention on Danish detailed studies that conflicted with his own results. Europaeus wanted to ascribe the Nordic BAC a considerably later date than had been done thus far. He, too, had previously placed it in the first half of the Passage Grave Period (in current parlance, the Middle Neolithic A) with reference to Danish studies. A more correct date would have been the second half of the

Fig. 2. Aarne Europaeus (Äyräpää), Elsbeth Markus (Parek), Aarne Michaël Tallgren and Aliise Karu (Moora) in Estonia in 1924. Private collection.

period (the MN B), for which Europaeus argued with reference to Finnish finds and their shoreline displacement chronology in particular.

Europaeus found Åberg's interpretations to be among the most valuable ones that had recently been presented concerning the Neolithic. Certain problems with them meant, in Europaeus's opinion, that Ekholm's suggestions could not be correct either. Europaeus went on to discuss the critique offered by Ekholm, considering, among other things, vessel design, pottery decoration and the shapes of battle axes, taking comparisons to quite a detailed typological level, especially in view of the fact that he had just criticised Ekholm for relying too heavily on typology.

Europaeus pointed out that despite Ekholm's articles and his own studies of museum collections in Stockholm in the summer of 1922, his conception of the Central European origin of the Finnish BAC had remained unchanged. In this connection he also criticised Nordman's assumption that the BAC had come to Finland from Central Europe via Sweden, with reference to pottery finds from Sweden. Europaeus did not regard them as corresponding to Finnish Corded Ware. According to him, the Central European influence and settlement had come to Finland via a route further to the east.

Ekholm had criticised Europaeus's interpretation of the BAC of Finland as having been brought by a migratory population, also with reference to the notion of progress according to which farming cultures were by definition at a higher level than hunter-gatherers. Europaeus pointed out, however, that in Finland this cultural superiority had been temporary, which was best explained by immigration and the mixing of cultures that soon followed it. Europaeus did not accept Ekholm's suggestion of a large original Germanic *Urheimat*, for he maintained that everything that was known of the later movements of the Germanic peoples pointed instead to expansion, not to migration into smaller areas. With Ekholm's criteria, the Germanic *Urheimat* should be extended all the way to the Ural Mountains since no definite cultural boundaries could be seen.

At the end of his article, Europaeus denied the influence of the political pro-German orientation in Finnish politics in the late 1910s, noting that he had already presented the main features of his interpretation in 1915 and that Sophus Müller had arrived at similar views in 1898 and 1913

in Denmark, where attitudes to Germans were outright hostile (Europaeus 1924).

Ekholm did not immediately reply to Europaeus, either publicly or privately. Europaeus wrote to Nordman, mentioning that he had heard that Ekholm had been angry about his polemic. Paul Reinecke (1872–1958) of Munich expressed thanks to Nordman for Europaeus's criticism of Åberg and via the latter of Kossinna. He found Åberg's 1918 book *Nordische Kulturgebiet* to be *eine ganz verfehlte Sache,* "a completely mis- guided thing" (NLF SLSA 652, Reinecke to Nordman 2.4.1925).

1925: Ebert's Reallexikon and the Central European part of the debate

The Finnish-Swedish Battle Axe battle expanded onto to the Central European stage in 1925, with the publication of the second volume of Max Ebert's (1879–1929) *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. Here Europaeus had an article on the BAC of Finland and Ekholm a general article on Scandinavian battle axes. This gave the latter cause to write to Europaeus: "As you have probably noticed, my article Bootaxt in the Reallexikon does not address the issue of the typology of Finnish battle axes, noting only that 'Einigkeit noch nicht erzielt' ["Agreement is not yet reached"]. Re. your article I will ask Ebert for an alteration to your observation that I regard the Swe dish BAC as 'autochthonous'. It should read 'als eine Sonderentwicklung der jütländ[ischen] Einzelgräberkultur' [a separate development of the Jutish Single Grave Culture]."[10] (ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus 5.1.1925).

This refers to Europaeus observing in his own article that Ekholm regarded the BAC to be native to Sweden, whence it would have spread to Finland. Europaeus came to the conclusion that Ekholm "there overlooks the clearly visible differences between the BAC pottery in the two countries" (Ekholm 1925a; Europaeus 1925a, p. 114). In his articles on the Finnish Stone Age he repeated his views regarding a Central European origin for the BAC, without saying anything explicitly about the routes of influence (Europaeus 1925b, p. 331). Writing of the Finnish battle axes and Finnish-Swedish contacts during the Neolithic he noted a role separate from that of Sweden, mainly between the lines. According to Europaeus, communications between Finland and Sweden did not gain pace until Period IV, i.e. during the Kiukais Culture (during Sweden's Late Neolithic and thus after the BAC), although battle axes brought from Sweden were also known from Finland. He did not say anything else about the Swedish connections of the Finnish BAC (Europaeus 1925c; 1925d).

In May, Ernst Sprockhoff (1892–1967) of Frankfurt am Main wrote to Europaeus to say that he agreed with him about the spread of the BAC to Finland. According to Sprockhoff, there were strong cultural currents from Central Eu rope in Brandenburg and they had probably spread by land via Prussia and Russia to Finland. Sprockhoff dated this spread of influence to the end of the Neolithic, possibly to Montelius's third (MN) or fourth period (LN; ÄFA Ernst Sprockhoff to Europaeus 18.5.1925).

1923: Tallgren comments on the issue

Tallgren commented on the issue of nationalities in the Baltic Sea region in a paper delivered at an international congress of historians in Brussels in 1923. He sought to divide the region into smaller cultural spheres and to define their ethnic character. In practice, he, too, followed principles formulated by Kossinna. Tallgren regarded the Comb Ware Culture as Finno-Ugric and the BAC as Indo-European. He noted that there "may be the influence of Sweden" in the Finnish BAC, while regarding the Bronze Age population of Finland as "perhaps Germanic", since Western Finland appeared to mark the periphery of the South Scandinavian Bronze Age culture. While Tallgren did not automatically regard cultural regions as those of nationalities, he still felt at the time that they had a clear connection (Tallgren 1923).

The article provoked an immediate response in an article by Ekholm, questioning the automatically Finno-Ugric character of the Comb Ware culture and arguing that at least some of the tribes that used this pottery were Indo-European. In theoretical terms, Ekholm thus went further than Tallgren in denying the nature of material culture as an ethnic marker. I have demonstrated elsewhere that Tallgren's views on this issue were changing at this time (Salminen 2003, p. 151; 2006). On the other hand, Ekholm

argued that the whole Stone Age of the East Baltic region was ethnically Indo-European (Ekholm 1925b).

1925–26: Europaeus and Ekholm in agreement or still in conflict?

In the autumn of 1925 Europaeus visited Uppsala on his way to Central Europe. There he met with Ekholm, who welcomed him beforehand with a letter and hoped that he could give a presentation on Finnish Stone Age pottery. Europaeus was surprised to find that he and Ekholm agreed on most issues. According to what he wrote to his wife, Ekholm even admitted that the Finnish Stone Age dates were more solidly founded the Swedish ones (ANBA Äyräpää, Ekholm to Europaeus s. d. 1925; ÄFA Europaeus to Hanna Europaeus 18. 10.1925).

However, the following year Ekholm replied here in *Fornvännen* to Europaeus's polemical remarks from 1924. Firstly, he questioned the dating of the Mesolithic Suomusjärvi Culture to the beginning of the Litorina Period, because the finds of this culture included ground and polished stone artefacts, which are Neolithic traits. Ekholm regarded the finds from Võisiku in Estonia, which Europaeus had put forward as parallels, to be of uncertain date and most likely younger than this period. He particularly pointed out that dates based on shoreline displacement had been strongly criticised. Therefore, Europaeus's response had only strengthened his own criticism of the chronology suggested by Europaeus. Ekholm was outright bitter regarding the BAC. He referred to Europaeus's remarks on overestimating Scandinavian influence and went on to observe:

> "The referred-to words make it clear that Europaeus has taken as one his tasks in life to reduce to what he regards as its right proportions the conception of the cultural significance of the Nordic countries during the Stone Age. It is also easy to understand that a researcher who sets out with this purpose in mind, will a priori be extremely reluctant to derive from Scandinavia the foreign impulses that he is tracing in his material. Instead it must be his goal to find the sources of cultural currents practically anywhere else."[11]

While the risk to which Ekholm points was real, he had proven himself that Europaeus was not the only scholar subject to it. Ekholm then attempted to refute the arguments offered by Europaeus. He supported his view with Nils Niklasson's (1890–1966) recent study of Bernburg-Walternienburg pottery. Ekholm maintained that Europaeus had admitted the existence of similarities between Finnish and Swedish Corded Ware. The fact that Europaeus nonetheless did not regard the Swedish pottery as the model for its Finnish counterpart, but instead considered both to have come from the same source, was based on differences in the details of decoration, while Ekholm emphasised the similarity of the overall vessel shapes. Europaeus himself had admitted that his interpretation was based on a hypothetical general view of the European Bronze Age. Ekholm regarded this as a mere creed that had nothing to do with scholarly discussion. But since it was nonetheless such a core aspect of Europaeus's interpretation of the issue, he felt it was necessary to address a few words to it, too. In Ekholm's opinion, there was nothing to support Europaeus's idea of the insignificance of Scandinavia to Finland. Instead, the cultural centre of the Baltic Sea region in the Stone Age was to be found in the Danish islands, where impulses had met from Jutland on the one hand and the other side of the Baltic on the other hand (Ekholm 1926).

In the ninth volume of Ebert's *Reallexikon* Ekholm returned again to the old topic of debate in his article on the Stone and Bronze Ages of the "Northern region". Ekholm noted in conclusion that "there is no doubt that the BAC of Finland developed in the closest possible association with the Swedish BAC, which is not to say that it could not have received influences from other countries" (Ekholm 1927, s. 50).

In his book *De förhistoriska tiderna i Europa* ("The Prehistoric Era in Europe"), Nordman claim-ed that the BACs of Finland and Sweden had shar- ed roots but left open the question of whether the culture had come to Finland via Sweden or directly from the south. He assumed that the BACs of Europe had evolved in Central Europe under Nordic influences, while accepting the possibility that the whole cultural group could have been created by nomadic tribes that forced

their way in Europe from South Russia or Asia. He thus mostly kept to the assumption of an eastern origin which he had presented in 1924 (Nordman 1927, pp. 135–143.)

Archaeologically, the debate was also connected via the Fatyanovo Culture with discussion of the roots of the Russian Bronze Age. This exchange of opinions went on between Tallgren, V.A. Gorodcov (1860–1945), Gordon Childe (1892–1957) and Gero von Merhart (1886–1959), among others, from the beginning of the 1910s until about 1930 (Salminen 2010).

Different views of archaeology, ideological backgrounds and methodology

Having taken an overview of the discussion and seen how the different parties' responses and counter-responses intertwined, we can suggest answers to the further questions presented in the introduction.

As far as the concrete archaeological basis of the debate is concerned, Ekholm based his views on two definite finds, one from Ostrobothnia in Finland and the other from Scania in Sweden, on general similarities and on the assumption of a certain typological development of features in the pottery.

Methodologically speaking, Europaeus had sought to establish a chronology for the Finnish Stone Age specifically with reference to the geological dating of shoreline displacement. Since Julius Ailio had introduced geological dates into Finnish Stone Age research, they were becoming the predominant way of dating the cultural development of the period. Europaeus's book *Fornfynd från Esbo och Kyrkslätt socknar* was central in this sense (Nordman 1968, pp. 51–53, 57–58). Ekholm relied more on the Montelian comparative typological tradition, which caused one of the conflicts between the two debating parties.

In noting that differences of archaeological culture were not necessarily ethnic differences Ekholm was before his time, but at the same time however he did see cultural similarity as a sign of ethnic connections. Europaeus did not agree with Ekholm's suggestion that archaeological cultures should never be interpreted in ethnic terms. Europaeus maintained that peoples were not unchanging, but instead culture-historical and cultural-geographical phenomena, products of cultural connections. Nationality and language were cultural – not racial – units. As a result, archaeologically observable cultural groups partly reflected areas of nationalities and migrations.

No real discussion of ethnicity had as yet awoken in Finnish archaeology, but slightly different interpretations were published in those years. Nordman had expressed the opinion in 1915 that if every feature of an archaeological culture could be taken into account, then it could be seen as equal to an ethnic group, but because this is mostly impossible in archaeology, an archaeologist must reject any ethnic interpretation of his observations. A more cautious view of ethnicity than before can be also seen in Tallgren's publications (1919, p. 103; 1921a; 1921b; 1923, p. 132–133, 138). Except for his article of 1924, Europaeus never explicitly took part in the discussion of the principles of ethnic interpretations.

That Ekholm raised the question of the BAC at this particular time was partly also because of an ongoing debate among Finland-Swedish linguists concerning the origins of Swedish-speaking settlement in Finland. According to the established view, the modern Finland Swedes were descendants of colonists who had come from Sweden in the early 2nd millennium AD. Tor Evert Karsten, however, maintained that the Finland Swedes were a "fourth North Germanic nationality", separate from the Swedes, whose ancestors had come to Finland from the south. In archaeological matters, Karsten relied on Europaeus's interpretation of the origin of the Finnish BAC. By considering the Finland Swedes to be a separate nationality, Karsten underlined their independence from Sweden. Oskar Fredrik Hultman (1862–1929) argued against this view, and Carl Axel Nordman disputed the archaeological groundwork cited by Karsten (Hultman 1920; 1921; Karsten 1920; 1921; Nordman 1920.)

As we have seen, Ekholm proposed a third model. He was also interested in the question of race in the Finnish Stone Age. Consciously or not, he associated the question of the BAC with the broader problem of Swedish influence in Finland. From the Swedish point of view, a desirable explanation of the Neolithic of Finland would establish an early ethnic connection between Fin-

land and Sweden, thus strengthening Swedish influence east of the Gulf of Bothnia. In Finland, it suited the country's political climate to emphasise independence, especially from Sweden. But we cannot really say how much this influenced Europaeus, because from the Finnish point of view almost the whole Stone Age was interpreted in terms of something distinct and separate. Despite the assumption that the Comb Ware would have been brought to Finland by a Finno-Ugric population, this archaeological culture was considered to have no connection with the actual Finns of modern times. Since Johan Reinhold Aspelin's day, the generally accepted models for the settlement of Finland were based on an idea of discontinuity followed by Finnish colonisation in the Early or Middle Iron Age (Nordman 1968, pp. 36, 47–48). What Europaeus was putting forward, according to Ekholm, was an increased inclination to explain cultural change with invasions or migrations because of the events of 1918. Politically Europaeus represented a conservative ideology, which can be seen in the fact that he published newspaper articles – mostly on archaeological themes – in the newspaper *Uusi Suomi,* while e.g. Tallgren wrote in the liberal *Helsingin Sanomat.*

Håkan Petersson (2005, pp. 146, 166) has studied Ekholm's role in Swedish Neolithic research, describing his orientation as national but not nationalistic. According to Petersson, Ekholm's research does not show any tendency to bolster the legitimacy of the modern nation state through historical continuity. Ekholm also distanced himself from Kossinna's racial theories, and his studies were primarily of an empirical nature. Petersson reads Ekholm's 1921 article *När kommo svenskarne till Finland?* as a critique of Finland-Swedish nationalism, thus highlighting criticism of a distinct Finland Swedish nationality. Nonetheless, even according to Petersson's interpretation, the argumentation of the article has a nationalist aspect to it.

Petersson also maintains that in the 1921 article, Ekholm rejected theories of migration and immigration as explanations of prehistory. It seems to me, though, that Ekholm distanced himself only from the specific idea of a distinct Finland-Swedish ethnicity in Finland. He left open the question of whether immigration could explain all archaeological culture changes, and already in his own time Ekholm's interpretations were read in several different ways. We should particularly note his observation that the similarities between the earliest traces of settlement in Finland and Sweden indicated that they represented the same people or at the least related peoples (Ekholm 1921, p. 58.) Petersson (2005, pp. 190–194) also emphasises that Åberg rejected the migrationist model, at least in the 1930s. The letter from Åberg to Europaeus referred to above suggests that he was more willing than his compatriot Ekholm to reject the migrationist-ethnic explanation.

Petersson's (2005, p. 182) suggestion that Finland-Swedish archaeology became more Finland-focused especially from the 1920s onwards, with emphasis on a nation consisting of two language groups, applies to the archaeologists of the time. But it cannot be generalised widely, considering the increasing disputes over the relative positions of Finnish and Swedish in the interwar years. Petersson observes correctly that Finland-Swedish research sought to break its ties with Sweden and construct an identity focusing on Finland as a whole. The Swedish-speaking educated classes of Finland had worked actively for national independence from Russia, and were thus committed to building an independent state and identity.

The debate was also coloured by the fact that Finland and Sweden were in dispute over the sovereignty over the Åland Islands until 1921.

The culture of discussion

Concerning the culture of discussion, the debate can be summarised as follows. There were the actual opposing parties and their audiences, both of which can be divided further at least in two. The main dispute was between Europaeus and Ekholm; Nordman also took part, although he tried to keep some distance from the most heated exchanges. It is striking how Nordman phrased his interpretations with an eye to his readers: writing to the Swedes he placed more weight on the role of Sweden, while for Finnish and international readers he emphasised Central Europe, or at least factors of uncertainty. Tallgren can

also be glimpsed on the outskirts of the battlefield. Clearly outside the debate but at least to some extent conscious of how it progressed stood Sune Lindqvist in Sweden and Paul Reinecke and Ernst Sprockhoff in Germany. Nils Åberg's position is the most interesting one of them all. Ekholm based his main theses largely on Åberg's, and Europaeus attacked them both, but Åberg did not react in any way. The explanation for his silence must be left open here.

Both Ekholm and Europaeus tried to convince their readers about their own expertise on the issue by using certain selected expressions. According to Ekholm, the ideas of Europaeus were exaggerated, unfounded and a target of "the most severe criticism". They were in conflict with the results of research, or simply incorrect. Europaeus "completely ignores the most important results" and "pronounces it impossible to analyse at the moment" and therefore his conclusions are "greatly astounding", "not of great value", "a greatly modified truth" and represent an old dogma, although he presents them as "completely certain facts" and "with so much strength" or attempts "with such eagerness" to make the reader believe in them. "Anyone with real knowledge" about the material must disagree with Europaeus.[12] Ekholm characterised his own observations and interpretations as bearing weight, certain, very clear, important, doubtless and decisive. They had "gained strong support". Similarities noted by him were striking and "incomparably closer" than any differences.[13]

Europaeus, for his part, stated that Ekholm's summary of his results was not completely correct, noting that Ekholm had read his text inaccurately, and because of these mistakes his explanations lose any kind of meaning, and there is not the slightest reason to classify material in the way Ekholm does. Furthermore, Ekholm repeatedly notes his own opinions, claims [without reason], concludes "almost too much" about his material; his results are improbable or unjustified and are thus of no significance. Ekholm even wanted Europaeus to believe in hypotheses that he did not consider well-founded himself. In addition to Ekholm, Europaeus directed critical comments to Åberg as well. According to Europaeus, Åberg used a monistic typology and was not convincing, because he was predestined to achieve a given result.[14] Others than Europaeus would also disagree with Ekholm. Europaeus considered his geological dates to be based on the interpretations of professionals and his archaeological conclusions to be "well founded".[15] Both accused each other of letting other factors than scientific evidence influence the results that they achieved.

Culture is always a system of communication, in which every word is related to another person's word. When someone uses a word in a special context, s/he supplies it with meanings belonging to that particular context. Culture as a dialogue is also a system between a person and attendant social reality, as well as a collective memory that canonises some texts and meanings and excludes others. When using someone's word we can even change its original meaning to another, completely opposite one using it against the original opinion. A polemic with other, hostile ideo logies, belongs to a culture's self-definition (Lotman & Uspenskij 1984, pp. x–xi, 3–10; Lotman 1999, p. 62; Torop 1999, pp. 388–389; see also Danow 1991, pp. 25–40, 96, 102–104).

This perspective offers a key to the debate between Europaeus and Ekholm. Both men attempted to consolidate a system of meanings, in which only he would have been recognised an expert on BACs. The opponent represented another, hostile semiosphere. The competition made it necessary for them to question the opponent's capacity to judge the complex of problems. It was a particular characteristic of the situation that the scholars did not publish their debate entries in the same journal: Europaeus published his polemics in Finland and Ekholm in Sweden. Nordman also kept mostly to Finnish publications. Ekholm's message was mainly intended for someone else than Europaeus. One of his possible aims was the professorship of archaeology at the University of Uppsala that would become vacant after Oscar Almgren in the near future. This fact also made it possible for Ekholm to be much more conciliatory in his private letters to Europaeus and in private meetings with him than in his published polemics. On the other hand, it would explain why Ekholm was angry about Europaeus's article of 1924 – he had not aimed his attack against Europaeus. Therefore, it was impossible for either party to make a

public retreat. Although Ekholm conceded some minor details, both remained in their original foxholes from the beginning until the bitter end. There were no major changes in their interpretations.

The debate crystallised several differences of opinion: the different views of researchers concerning the evidential value of natural-scientific and artefact-based dating, the possibilities of ethnic conclusions from artefact typology, and views of the connections of archaeology with contemporary events. All this was also combined with ongoing political conflicts, both between Finland and Sweden and within Finland. In some cases the arguments went beyond the points considered and indeed beyond each other. Although no definite results were reached, the debate led to a new understanding of the problem of the Finnish and Swedish Battle Axe Cultures. In the main, Europaeus's opinion became predominant in the international context until the end of the 1920s.

English translation by Jüri Kokkonen

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Summary

The relationship of the 3rd millennium BC Finnish Battle Axe Culture with Sweden, and its significance to the genesis of Finland's modern Swedish-speaking population, have been matters of debate since the 1890s. At that time, Oscar Montelius stated in a public lecture in Helsinki that the Finland Swedes were descendants of the Battle Axe population. In 1915, Aarne Europaeus (Äyräpää), instead suggested that the BAC would have reached Finland directly from Central Europe and not via Sweden. This aroused opposition from Gunnar Ekholm in Sweden. Also, C.A. Nordman and A.M. Tallgren from Finland and to some extent Nils Åberg from Sweden took part in the discussion.

On a concrete archaeological level the interpretations were based on different views of the typological relationship between Battle Axe and Corded Ware finds from Finland to those of Sweden, Denmark and Central Europe. Particular attention was paid to the finds regarded as typologically oldest. In terms of archaeological theory, Ekholm was situated between ethnic-migrationist explanation models and views emphasising the internal development of culture. Äyräpää stated that a "people" is a culture-historical, continuously changing phenomenon but avoided any strongly worded statements on the issue. No unambiguous juxtaposition between Finnish and Swedish archaeologists can be observed, but instead a continuum of interpretations. Sometimes different aspects were emphasised, depending on a publication's target audience. Notably, the main participants in the debate published their debate pieces in different journals, Äyräpää in Finland and Ekholm in Sweden, and some of their claims extended beyond each other's.

The debate had political implications for the time's discussion about the origins of the Finland Swedes. The question of whether they were descendants of immigrants from Sweden or an independent nationality had gained new significance after the independence of Finland, when the country's national identity was being constructed. The Battle Axe debate did not lead to any consensus, but died down unresolved at the end of the 1920s. Äyräpää's views, however, went on to predominate in the international context.

Noter

1 »Och att dessa skola vara betingade av folk- eller rasmotsättningar är numera övergivna teorier.»
2 »Att du skref ingenting för att polemisera mot Ekholms smörja var detsamma som att trampa på en död fluga.»
3 »Det där har nu Europaeus tagit mycket hårdt att bedöma af hans bref. Han anklagar mig där rent af för att ha slungit mot honom ett brandtal i politisk stil af samma art som Ciceros Quosque tandem (!). Det där är ju sådana öfverdrifter, att jag inte kan taga dem på allvar.»
4 »De varma erkännanden, som jag skänker åt den finländska stenåldersforskningen och särskildt hans egen andel däri, kan Du ju också lämpligen poängtera.»
5 »[…] som Du själf medger, ha Du väl ensidigt drifvit vissa åsikter till deras spets».
6 »Med vår gemensamma vän Nerman, som är fanatisk Montelian, har jag utkämpat ganska hårda dueller.»
7 »Under min Finlandsvistelse sommaren 1920 framlade jag för E. min arkeologiska preterea censeo, att invandringen och dylikt spelat en långt mindre roll än fredliga kulturpåverkningar, handelsförbindelser och dylikt. Men då afbröt mig Europaeus och förklarade med verkligt patos att ›vi, som upplefvat de sista åren i Finland, vi tro på våldsamma växlingar i kulturutvecklingen, och vi tro också på *invasioner*›. Detta finner jag i allo naturligt, och det vore egendomligt, om dylika skakningar gått förbi utan att i någon mån påverka äfven den vetenskapliga forskningen.» [–] Första gången man får kritik på sig, är man naturligtvis särskildt känslig. För mig är det så längesedan, jag har redan ridit ut så många stormar, att min hud är råbarkad och okänslig, och jag har glömt hur svedan känns. Det är den främsta orsaken till att jag mot Europaeus kommit att gå fram något hårdt.»
8 »Ty det är väl dock mer tilltalande för eder där på andra sidan att tro på en ›självständig finländsk utveckling› än på en med våld påtvingad kultur›.»
9 »Din stridshandske skall jag öfverbringa till Ekholm. Får se om han fortsätter turneringen. Det om båtyxorna är en sak, men nu har han bragt germanområdet mellan Nordkap och Magdeburg och minst hela Finland öster ut (Ymer 1923). Arma Finland! Det är den renodlade konsekvensen af att sätta likhetstecken mellan den sydskandin. flintan och boplatskulturen. Men nu skall jag icke förtala mina kolleger längre.»
10 »Såsom Du väl själv sett, ingår jag i min artikel Bootaxt i Reallexikon ej på frågan om typologien för den finländska båtyxan utan säger endast att däri är ›Einigkeit noch nicht erzielt›. Betr. Din artikel kommer jag att hos Ebert yrka ändring i vad Du säger om att jag anser den sv. båtyxkulturen ›autokton›. Där bör i stället stå ‚als eine Sonderentwicklung der jütländ. Einzelgräberkultur.»
11 »De anförda orden göra det tydligt, att Europaeus såsom en av sina livsuppgifter föresatt sig att till sina enligt hans mening riktiga proportioner reducera uppfattningen av de nordiska ländernas kulturella betydelse under stenåldern. Det är också lätt att förstå, att en forskare som går till sitt arbete med dessa föresatser, skall a priori vara ytterst obenägen att från Skandinavien härleda de främmande impulser, som han spårar i sitt material. I stället måste det ligga honom om hjärtat att finna kulturströmningarnas källor snart sagt var som helst annorstädes.»
12 Ekholm 1921: i uppenbar strid mot resultaten, visserligen sant […] Men […]. Ekholm 1922: misstänkt, den starkaste kritik, i motsägelse till redan vunna arkeologiska resultat, en viss oklarhet, dessa långtgående uttalanden, ohållbar, på det högsta förvåna, fullständigt bortser […] de viktigaste resultaten, med fullständig tystnad, den gamla dogmen, kan icke […] tillerkännas större värde, så mycket mera överdrivet, oriktig, en mycket stor överdrift, var och en som äger verklig kännedom, med så mycken styrka gör gällande, ett övervunnet stadium, en sanning med mycket stor modifikation, med sådan iver.
13 Ekholm 1921: ett kraftigt stöd, den slående överensstämmelsen, berättigar otvivelaktigt. Ekholm 1922: av vikt, ännu bestämdare, med stor tydlighet, starkt framträdande, så betydande […] som, ojämförligt mycket närmare, utan tvivel, avgjort, onekligen måste anses, det utförligaste motiverat.
14 Europaeus 1924: icke fullt riktigt, ej ringaste orsak, det kan ej vara okänt för Ekholm, mer än en gång anmärker, Ekholm påstår, Ekholms påståenden, förlora […] sin betydelse, alldeles orätt läsning, väl nästan för mycket sagt, redan oberättigat; Ekholm vill, att jag skall tro på sådant, som han själv alldeles icke anser hålla streck; [Åbergs] monistiska typologi, icke övertygande, predestinerad.
15 Europaeus 1924: från fackmannahåll, väl grundade.