

CAERDROIA

THE JOURNAL OF
MAZES & LABYRINTHS



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The Journal of Mazes & Labyrinths

53rd Edition



*The Schwedenhieb turf labyrinth in Graitschen, Germany, following its recent restoration.
Photo: © M. Milbradt, Thuringian State Office for Heritage Management and Archaeology,
Weimar, with thanks to Dr. Anja Endrigkeit.*

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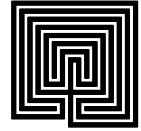
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Caerdroia 53 was produced during December 2024 by Jeff and Kimberly Saward at Labyrinthos HQ. Opinions stated by contributors are not always those of the editors, but *Caerdroia* welcomes open discussion to provide a forum for all who are lured by the labyrinth.

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Renaissance and Baroque Garden Mazes in Sweden



Rolf Johansson

In terms of time, the Renaissance ideals began to occur in the 1530s in Sweden, much later than in Florence.¹ The French *Le Nôtre* style in the art of gardening, on the other hand, was introduced without delay through the study tours of the Swedish architects. During the great power period from early 17th to early 18th century, enormous wealth was accumulated by the nobility and kings, who invested in building castles and laid out gardens. In many gardens from this time there were mazes for pleasure, sometimes unicursal, but usually with bewildering branches in their passageways. Of all these mazes, few remain today; most can only be experienced by re-enactment of past pleasures, through mind wandering, in drawings, or guided by narratives. This article aims to invite some such imagined walks.

Types of Garden Mazes

Garden mazes, formed from plant material for the purpose of pleasure or thought-provoking, may be unicursal, such as Serlio's (figure 3), or multicursal. Multicursal mazes can have forking paths with the challenge of finding a path to the goal in its centre, such as Lauremberg's (figure 4). They are puzzle mazes. These two kinds of mazes are typically landscaped as hedge or turf mazes. In Sweden, hedge mazes are the norm.

A different kind of multicursal garden maze is landscaped with paths running like corridors and cut-out "rooms" in blocks of dense vegetation. They are here called *bosquet* mazes. The dense and high vegetation may be framed by trellises. Bosquet mazes can have paths in an asymmetrical or symmetrical overall network pattern. An example of an asymmetrical bosquet maze is the one landscaped in 1664–77 in Versailles (figure 12). There is no goal in this maze. During the walk through, sculptures representing scenes from Aesop's fables are presented. The walk is guided by the fable's storyline. In Rosersberg Palace was landscaped a symmetrical version of the bosquet maze with Aesop's tales as a theme (figure 13). Another example of a symmetrical bosquet maze is "the Star," originally landscaped in the Château de Clagny and then copied in Swedish gardens, as in the garden at Drottningholm Palace (figure 10).² The earliest bosquets were established in French gardens during the 1630s and symmetrical designs were favoured because they can be integrated in the overall formal layout of the gardens.

A question I leave open is what exactly are the qualities which qualifies a bosquet to be categorized as a bosquet maze? Kern has a few examples in his book, and they are almost exclusively bosquets with paths in an asymmetrical fashion.³ What can we say about the symmetrical bosquet maze named "the Star?" It was called "labyrinth" or "irrgarten" by its designers; they regarded it as a kind of maze. This may be a reason for us to agree. Question is where to draw the line between symmetrical bosquets, which cannot be characterized as a kind of maze and those which can. Symmetrical bosquet garden mazes appear with paths, rooms and gazebos in different designs and degrees of complication. Some of them were

called “labyrinths” in written sources or oral tradition. And yet, they are integrated in the overall garden design and therefore difficult to discuss in isolation from that context. They cannot easily be placed in the context of the labyrinth’s 3000-year, or more, history. They occur locally from a worldwide perspective, and only for a short period of time. They are an odd phenomenon in the context of labyrinths and mazes. Labyrinth researchers haven’t taken much interest in them, but several of them are included here.

Early Garden Mazes

In 1545 the Dutch Hans Friese was engaged by King Gustav Vasa as a gardener with responsibility for the royal gardens in Stockholm, Linköping, Uppsala, Mariefred, Strängnäs and Svartsjö. [Karling 1931:78-79].

In the garden of Linköping Castle⁴ and close to the cathedral, there is a labyrinth depicted as an 8-wall angle-type labyrinth on an 18th century map. The question is if it was a pre-Christian ceremonial stone labyrinth, or a 16th century planted garden maze. The issue is complicated by the fact that it is drawn with a diameter of about 30 meters on a map from 1734⁵ and about 13 meters on a map from 1750⁶ [Kraft 2024:126-127].⁷ Sten Karling presumes it was a 16th century garden maze within the castle’s garden. The garden was re-designed by Hans Friese and the maze may be from his time [1931:114]; if so, we can presume it was a unicursal hedge maze, still there in 1734, as visualised on the map. If Friese is the designer, it may have been landscaped in connection with the castle being redesigned and equipped in the 1540s. The size in which it is depicted on the map from 1734 supports this interpretation.⁸ If the maze was landscaped after beginning of 1550s, it can be expected to have been adapted to Renaissance ideals, and it isn’t.

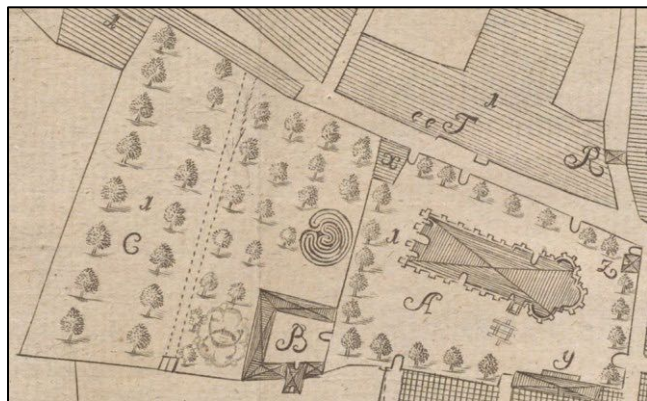


Figure 1 left: Linköping Castle, Cathedral and Labyrinth on Jonas Silfvering’s map from 1734. The labyrinth has a diameter of close to 30 meters. In front of the castle is a flower garden with a royal name cipher. Copperplate by Jonas Silfvering after Matthias Asp in Johannes Ryding’s Dissertation de Lincopia, Uppsala University 1735.



Figure 2 right: Linköping Castle and Labyrinth on the map from 1750. The labyrinth is illustrated as three circles, the biggest with a diameter of 13 meters. In the legend on the map, it is written: “The so called ‘Trojaborg.’” Lantmäteristylelsens arkiv (The Land Surveying Agency’s archives).

John Kraft, with reference to the map from 1750, discusses another assumption: since its size on this map complies with a stone labyrinth rather than a hedge labyrinth, it could be a pre-Christian “Trojeborg.” [2024:126].⁹ This argument is underpinned by the fact that the cathedral was preceded by an 11th century wooden church on the site, suggesting that this may also have been a pre-Christian place of worship. Nevertheless, Kraft also concludes that it was probably a 16th century garden maze. [Kraft 2024:232].¹⁰ If so, this may have been one of the earliest known garden mazes in Sweden.

Since both 18th century maps show a circular design for the maze, we can presume it was circular. By all accounts it was of the well-known angle-type labyrinth design but formed by hedges instead of stones, and therefore enlarged. On the younger map the maze is simply illustrated as three circles; it can be interpreted as the original design has been dissolved when the castle was renovated as a residence for the county governor around 1750. Garden mazes were often destroyed by this time to make way for new picturesque garden ideals. It may also be the case that the land surveyor simplified the appearance of the garden maze on the later map, which is in a less detailed scale; this assumption is supported by the circles being labelled “Trojeborg” in the legend on the map. By now nothing is left from the original design, and it has recently been recreated as a medieval church labyrinth in situ.¹¹

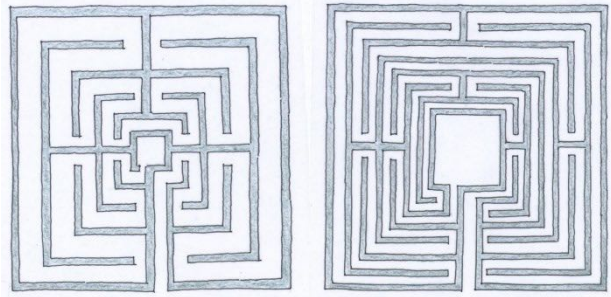
Renaissance Ideals Take Shape

If Friese landscaped a garden hedge maze in Linköping, it was not yet in a Renaissance fashion, but in his works in the 1560s new ideals begin to gain traction not only in the overall design of the gardens, but also in how garden mazes are designed. According to Karling, Friese can be credited with being the first to give the gardens an aesthetic design that develops them from medieval to renaissance gardens [1931:78-79].

At the royal castles in Uppsala and Svartsjö, Friese designed garden mazes on behalf of King Erik XIV in 1567. Karling claims that the two mazes were likely to be like each other and designed as detached elements in the garden. The design in plan is not known, but the materials used were posts and battens. They were probably built as trellises – *treillage* – with interlaced bushes, and quite big, because 615 posts were erected for each one of them. The maze in Uppsala was destroyed in a fire in 1574 but rebuilt in 1578 as a copy of the original. The one in Svartsjö is known to have existed at least until 1593. It is told that King Erik himself much enjoyed running in the mazes; according to his cupbearer he most often ordered beer afterwards. [1931:80, 85, 103]. The story of King Erik running in the mazes suggests that they were unicursal rather than multicursal puzzle mazes. Since they were built by straight wooden parts it is more likely that they were square than circular.

Using John Kraft’s distinction between a popular and a scholarly tradition of design for labyrinths and mazes [2024:35-36],¹² Friese’s late 16th century mazes belong to the last category. We can assume that before planting he designed them on paper, taking aesthetic aspects into consideration, referencing works of others and endowing them with style. Karling suggests that an inspiring model could be Serlio’s published garden mazes [1931:85]. Serlio’s mazes are square of both unicursal and multicursal design.

Figure 3: Serlio's mazes from his *Il Quarto Libro design book*, published in Venice 1537. Redrawn by the author.



Serlio's designs were first published in 1537 in Italian and appeared some five years later translated in North European languages. If Friese designed the maze in Linköping in the 1540s it is not likely that he had already become familiar with Serlio's writings and in case he had, his client had probably not. King Gustav's main interest in gardens was for utilitarian purposes. An influence from Serlio's pattern sheets on royal establishments is first noticeable from the 1550s [Lundberg 1957:326]. On the other hand, it is likely that the pre-Christian angle-type inland labyrinths, such as those north of Lake Mälaren, were known to King Gustav who was keen to confirm his national anchoring.¹³ It is reasonable to assume that the maze in Linköping was a garden hedge maze modelled after pre-Christian stone labyrinths and Friese's garden mazes from more than twenty years later in Uppsala and Svartsjö were designed in line with the renaissance fashion disseminated, among other things, through Serlio's writings. By then Gustav Vasa's son Erik XIV had inherited the royal crown. He was a relatively highly developed art dilettante, with Vitruvius and works by Dürer in his library [Upmark 1901:3]. In 1568 Erik's brother Johan took over the king's throne and a year later was crowned Johan III. He was even more well-read than Erik and from his letters we know he was familiar with Serlio's books and knew well the Renaissance ideals [Upmark 1901:9]. He was a passionate builder of castles and gardens [Lundberg 1957:326].

With the rebirth of classical antiquity came books on gardening, illustrating mazes inscribed in geometric forms which could be integrated in gardens in a Renaissance fashion. One such book on gardening is Thomas Hill's *The Gardener's Labyrinth*, published in 1577 and illustrated with two images of garden mazes.¹⁴ Another is Peter Lauremberg's *Horticultura* written in Rostock 1631.¹⁵

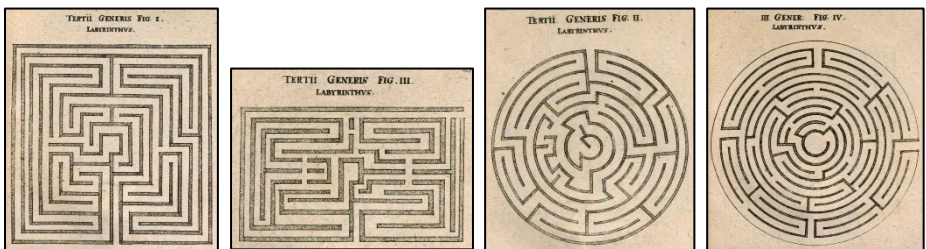


Figure 4: Four garden mazes published by Peter Lauremberg in his *Horticultura*, 1631. He was a Doctor of Medicine, born in Rostock, who wrote books on a variety of topics, including gardening.

The Royal Garden – Kungsträdgården – in Stockholm

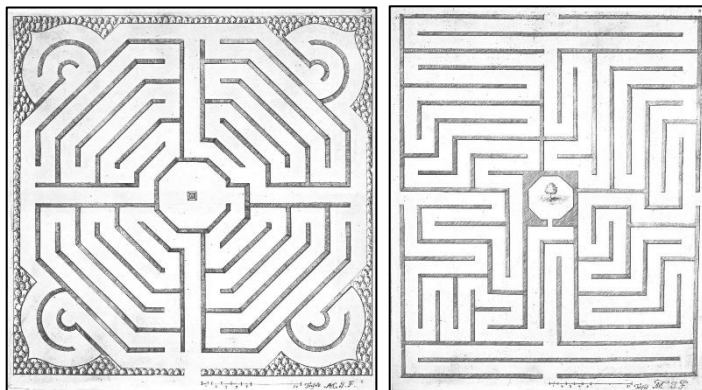
For the Royal Garden in Stockholm, Hans Friese carried out a new design with formal parterres for play and pastime. One of them, called the “Tröijenburgz Qwarteret,” was a maze. Contrary to the mazes in Uppsala and Svartsjö, this one was integrated in the overall garden design. Friese takes yet another step towards the new Renaissance ideals. The detailed planform of the maze is not known. It is known from an inventory made in 1648 that the maze contained fruit trees, berry bushes and five small gazebos. [Wollin 1923:75-76; Karling 1931:159]. We can assume it was a bosquet maze.

Erik XIV was imprisoned in 1568, Hans Friese retired in 1578 and Johan III reigned until 1592. After him three more kings served, and even more gardeners, before Queen Christina became regent in 1632 and recruited André Mollet to take charge of the royal gardens. André Mollet, a gardener who belonged to a family of prominent gardeners and experienced from working in France, Holland, and England, arrived in Stockholm 1648. He redesigned the Royal Garden – *Kungsträdgården* – with embroidery parterres, fruit trees, kitchen plants and quarters of dense vegetation (bosquets). Mollet was schooled in Le Nôtre’s garden design ideals. His design for the embroidery parterres is known in detail from images in his book on gardening. How the bosquets were laid out in detail is not known [Lindahl & Nisbeth 2007:1pp]. Presumably they were designed as bosquet mazes. Friese’s maze may have been reused by Mollet or replaced.¹⁶

Mollet stayed in Stockholm for about six years. During his stay he published a book on gardening and design of princely gardens: *Le Jardin de Plaisir*. His book was printed 1651 in three languages: French, Swedish, and German.¹⁷ It is illustrated with engravings of embroidery parterres, and in addition two garden hedge mazes.¹⁸ Their designs have a common feature: they share the property that there are no dead-end paths.

One of the mazes is designed as octagonal within a square. In four sides of the octagon are double entrances. Seven of the eight entrances lead you out of the maze and back to where you started, and only one path will allow you to reach the goal. There are no forking paths. The other maze is rectangular with an entrance on each side. It has forking paths. The paths lead out of the maze or to the goal which can be reached with varying degrees of difficulty from all four entrances. There are no known examples of Mollet’s mazes being built in Sweden.

Figure 5: Hedge mazes from André Mollet’s 1651 garden treatise Le Jardin de Plaisir.



The Royal Garden was once again redesigned in 1689-91 by Nicodemus Tessin the younger and his co-worker Johan Hårleman. In the middle they designed eight embroidery parterres and, in the south and the north ends of the garden there are bosquets mazes. The bosquets can be described as a development of embroidery parterres with vegetation that rise above eye level, often supported by trellises forming paths in a network pattern and sometimes with gazebos inside. The embroidery parterres can be experienced by seeing them, the bosquets by walking in them. The bosquets are normally in the far end of the gardens where they constitute a tamed version of the wild nature that extends beyond them. The baroque garden ideals have taken off.

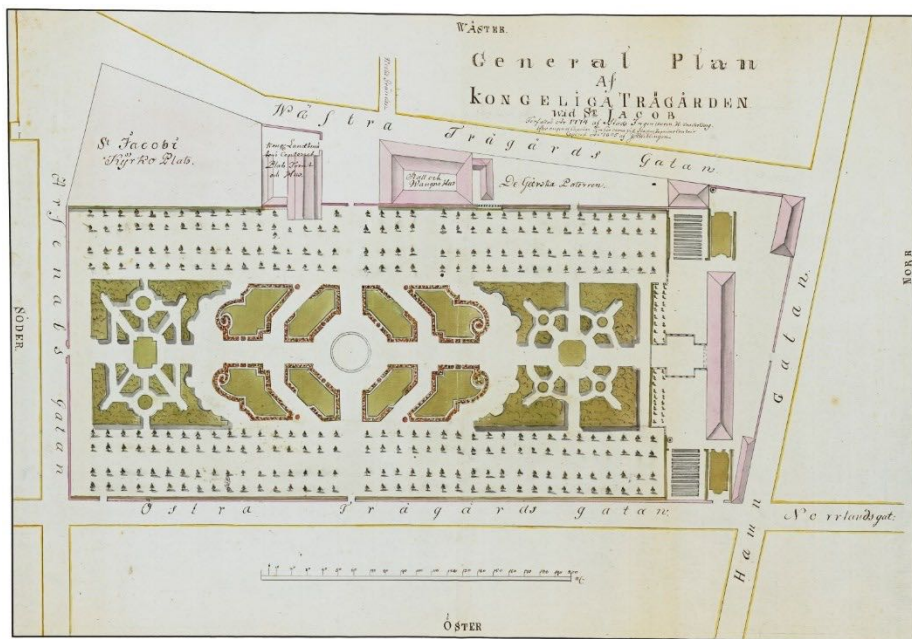


Figure 6: A plan of the Royal Garden in 1774 with the eight low growing embroidery parterres in the middle and bosquets in the north and south ends of the garden. All that remains today are the garden avenues and Queen Christina's gazebo which stands out in the avenue. The plan was drawn up by the city engineer H. von der Burg. Uppsala University Library.

In Erik Dahlberg's *Suecia antiqua et hodierna* the Royal Garden is shown in two perspectives, one from the south and one from the north.¹⁹ Both prints have the bosquets shaped by dense vegetation framed by trellises in the forefront. Walking in them, preferably in conversation with others, can give a vague sense of disorientation, even though the risk of getting lost is minimal. Since this garden is not situated in direct connection to the Royal Palace, one can assume that the idea is that a walk in the garden starts by the embroidery parterres in its centre, which are reached directly from Queen Christina's gazebo. Tessin-Hårleman's garden design remained until 1796 when The Royal Garden was redesigned in the English picturesque spirit without any bosquet mazes. They were no longer part of the garden ideals of the time.

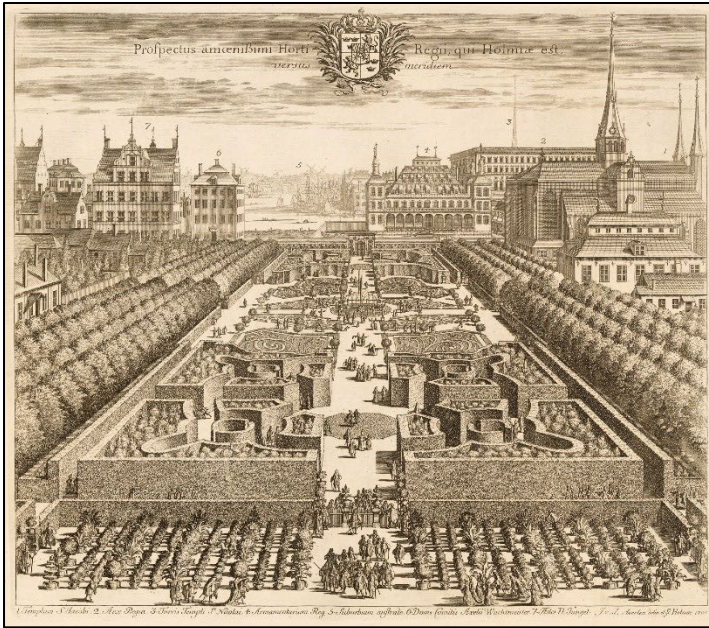


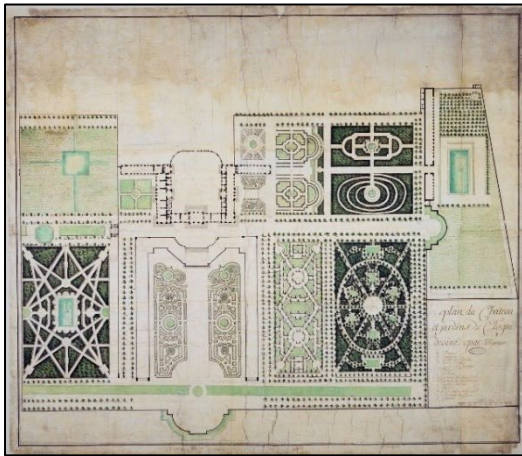
Figure 7:
Kungsträdgården
from the north in
1700 with bosquets
in the foreground.
On the right by the
middle of the park,
is Queen Christina's
gazebo. Engraving
by Johannes van
den Aveelen from
Erik Dahlberg's
Suecia antiqua et
hodierna. National
Library of Sweden,
Stockholm.



Figure 8:
Kungsträdgården
from the south in
1700. Queen
Kristina's gazebo to
the middle left.
Engraving by
Johannes van den
Aveelen from Erik
Dahlberg's Suecia
antiqua et
hodierna. National
Library of Sweden,
Stockholm.

The Baroque Garden at Drottningholm Palace

The park was originally planned by Nicodemus Tessin the elder from 1662 onwards. His son Nicodemus Tessin the younger took over management of the construction of the baroque garden from 1680. Probably only the embroidery parterres closest to the palace landscaped when the younger Tessin took charge. In contrast to those low-growing and decorative parterres, Tessin the younger concluded the baroque garden with five quarters as room-creating bosquets. The first two, as seen from the palace, were modelled after the *Trois Fontaines* and *Théâtre d'Eau* at the Versailles Palace. The next three were influenced by the garden at the Château de Clagny and designed as bosquet mazes. [Olausson 1990:51-52].²⁰ Only the biggest, “the Star,” by the far end of the formal garden, was realised according to Tessin the younger’s plan from around 1700, two neighbouring bosquets were landscaped in the 1780s, but not in line with Tessin’s proposal. One of them is designed as a theatre and the other as a bosquet maze. They are both still preserved, “the Star” is not. [Johansson 2022:41]. “The Star” was repeated in other baroque gardens such as by Jean De la Vallée in his plan for the garden at Ekolsund Palace. [Karling 1931:435]. Tessin describes “the Star” as a maze designed with many crossing paths, like a labyrinth or an irrgarten, and which finally leads to a square place in the middle. [Wollin 1927:333, Johansson 2022:41-42].²¹



Above: Figure 9: Plan of the garden at the Château de Clagny. The bosquet maze called “the Star” to the left was many times repeated in Swedish 17th century gardens. The bosquet to the right of the embroidery parterre in front of the castle, was copied by Tessin for the garden at Drottningholm. Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain.

Right: Figure 10: Drottningholm Palace Garden. Left: Detail from Nicodemus Tessin the youngers general plan 1681. From below: the palace, the embroidery parterres, parterres and fountains, and Tessin’s five bosquets with “the Star” at the top. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Right: The baroque garden as it appeared in the 1920s. [Lundberg 1930-31: fig.59].

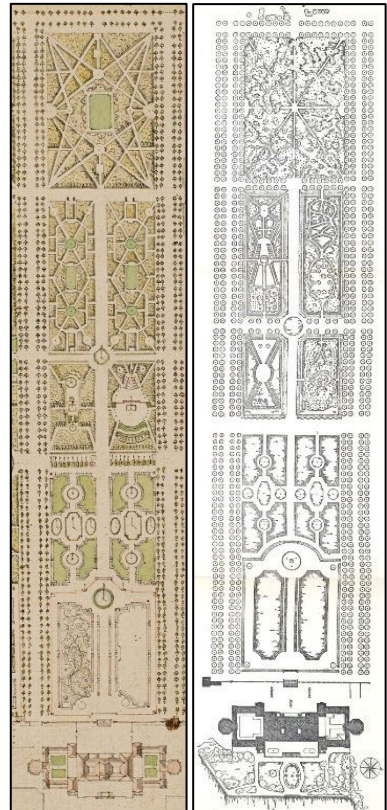




Figure 11: Drottningholm. *The baroque garden seen from the palace. In the foreground, mainly outside of the image are the embroidery parterres, then parterres and fountains, and behind are the five bosquets designed by Nicodemus Tessin the younger with “the Star” at the far end. Tessin’s plan is visualized, but it did not come completely to fruition; only “the Star” was landscaped in accordance with Tessin’s plan. Erik Dahlberg and Willem Swidde from Suecia antiqua, 1694. National Library of Sweden.*

The Baroque Garden at the Rosersberg Palace

In the garden at Rosersberg Count Bengt Oxenstierna landscaped a bosquet with trellises copied from Versailles as he explains in a letter from 1696 [Wollin 1930: 36; Lindahl 1975: 29, 32]. He refers to the so-called Versailles Labyrinth from 1670s, which here would rather be called a bosquet maze. A challenge of this maze is to follow the storyline of Aesop’s fables, see the sculptures and fountains in the right sequence, and never walk the same path twice. It was well known by Swedish art connoisseurs and several images of this asymmetric bosquet maze are in the collections at *Nationalmuseum* in Stockholm. What Oxenstierna copied was the sculpture program based on Aesop’s fables and the execution with trellises, rather than the layout of paths. In Rosersberg the bosquet maze is arranged within the overall symmetry typical for the baroque garden, while in Versailles it is characterized by an unusual asymmetry. Forming the paths in bosquet mazes by high trellises became a fashion by this time, with the bosquet maze in Versailles as a model. One more bosquet maze was planted in the 1690s in Rosersberg’s baroque garden. It was again a version of “the Star” emulating a design at the Château de Clagny [Wollin 1930:40].

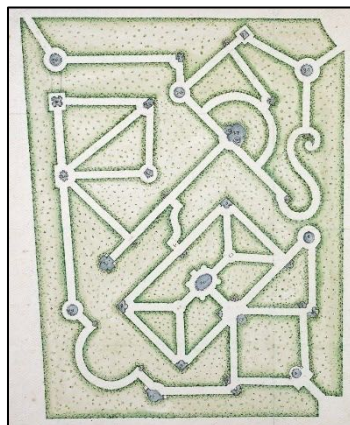


Figure 12: The asymmetrical bosquet maze in the garden of Versailles with Aesop’s fables as the theme of the sculptures. *Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.*

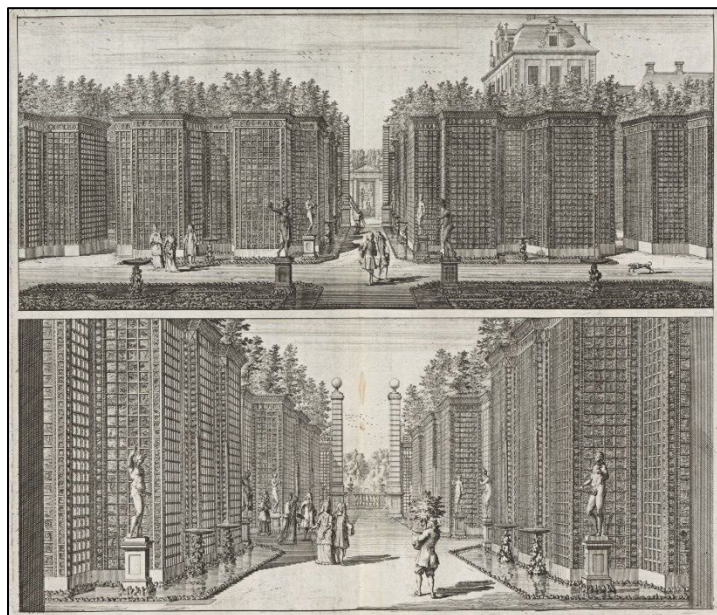


Figure 13: The eastern part of the baroque garden at Rosersberg Palace with trellises and antiquing statues in lead with motifs from Aesop's fables. Copperplates for Suecia antiqua by Wilhelm Swidde around 1695. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

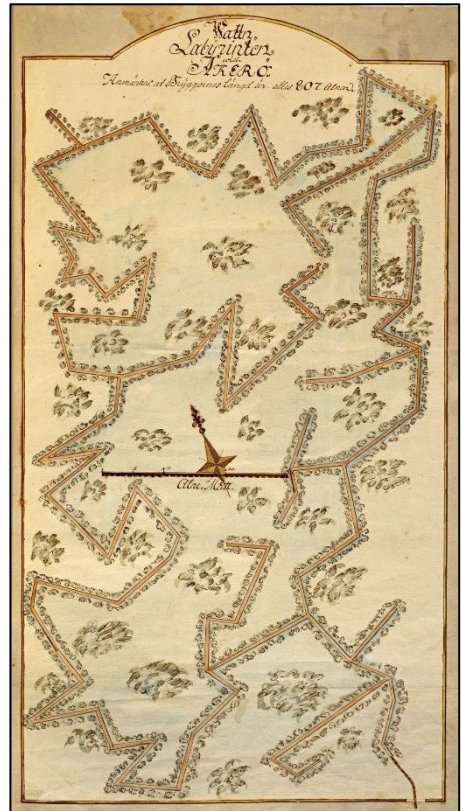
Figure 14: Same views as in figure 13. Washed drawings by Johan Litheim showing the height of trellises in a more realistic scale. The final illustrations for Suecia antiqua (fig 13) are somewhat exaggerated in scale and monumental appearance because the intention of the work was to impress, not least to other countries. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.



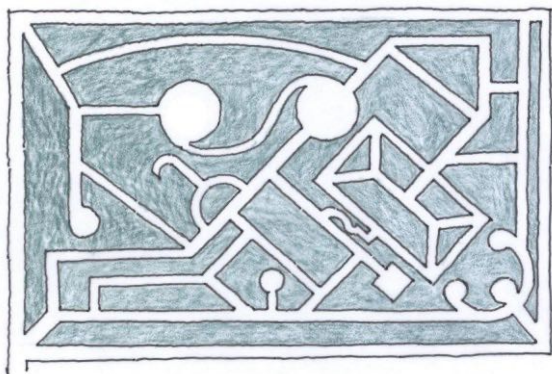
Late 18th Century Mazes

Tessin the younger's son Carl Gustaf Tessin was an art connoisseur and politician. In 1754 he withdraws from these assignments and devoted his time to his Åkerö Castle. He writes in his diary in 1762, that he built a maze in an alder marsh with wooden plank walkways in a total length of 807 cubits (479.2 meters). The walkways had handrails, and on both sides there were alder and willow hedges and here and there were benches. Tin boards with painted verses were set up along the walkways. "My maze resembles the course of the world, where many immerse themselves so much in body and soul, that they think of the exit too late," C. G. Tessin writes.²² [Olausson 2023:250, 1993:149-150; Selling 1937:137]. Duke Karl of Södermanland, who saw C. G. Tessin's water maze, was inspired to build a maze in the old pleasure garden at Rosersberg in 1772. [Olausson 2005:291p, 2023: 251]. On a map from 1773 it is stated that a maze had been built after the Count's own drawing [Wollin 1930: 52; Lindahl 1975:44]. Duke Karl was inspired by C. G. Tessin's water maze, but the maze he built is more in accordance with the bosquet maze in figure 12 he had seen in Versailles before it was removed in 1775 [Olausson 1993: 99, 2023: 250-251]. It seems strange Karl decided to copy a maze considered to be outdated in Versailles, but maybe he wanted to create a new context for Oxenstierna's sculptures from the old bosquets, which were made of lead and depicting scenes from Aesop's fables.

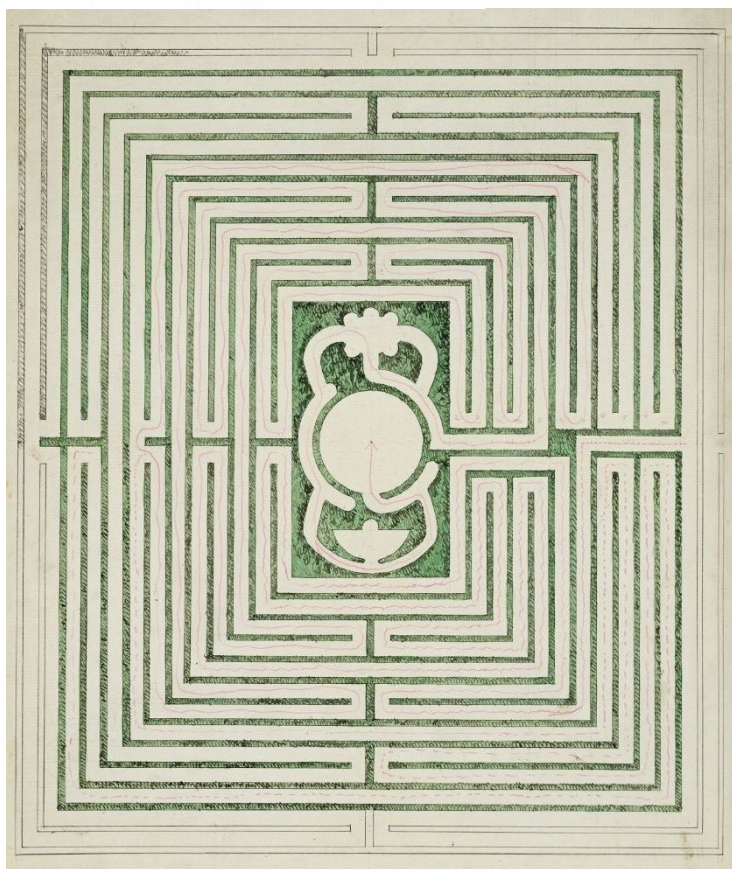
Figure 15: Plan of Carl Gustaf Tessin's water maze at Åkerö Castle 1762. Drawing by Olof Fridsberg. Nationalmuseum H0050-2003.



Among nobility and royalty were many with a dilettante engagement in garden design and many were caught by an interest in garden mazes. Some of them were skilful, for instance the King Gustav III, who was educated by the most eminent architects. King Gustav made drawings of ideal gardens, often with mazes. Some of his drawings of mazes were made with an intention to materialize them, such as those for the copy of the maze at villa Altieri in alternative locations in the landscape park at Drottningholm Palace.²³ Most of the amateurs' mazes were unrealistic fantasies. Presumably the king's enthusiasm for mazes, which was also shared with leading architects, spread among the nobility and other lords, but their design efforts are not just as carefully preserved as King Gustav's and those of his architects.



Left: Figure 16: Duke Karl's version at Rosersberg Palace of the bosquet maze in Versailles. Redrawn by author from reproductions in Olausson 2005:291, 293 & 300.



Below: Figure 17: Garden maze designed by King Gustav III. A dotted line illustrates the correct way. The two outer paths seem to be added and change the maze from unicursal to multicursal. Vasasamlingen V337, Marie-Claire Cronstedts Foundation.

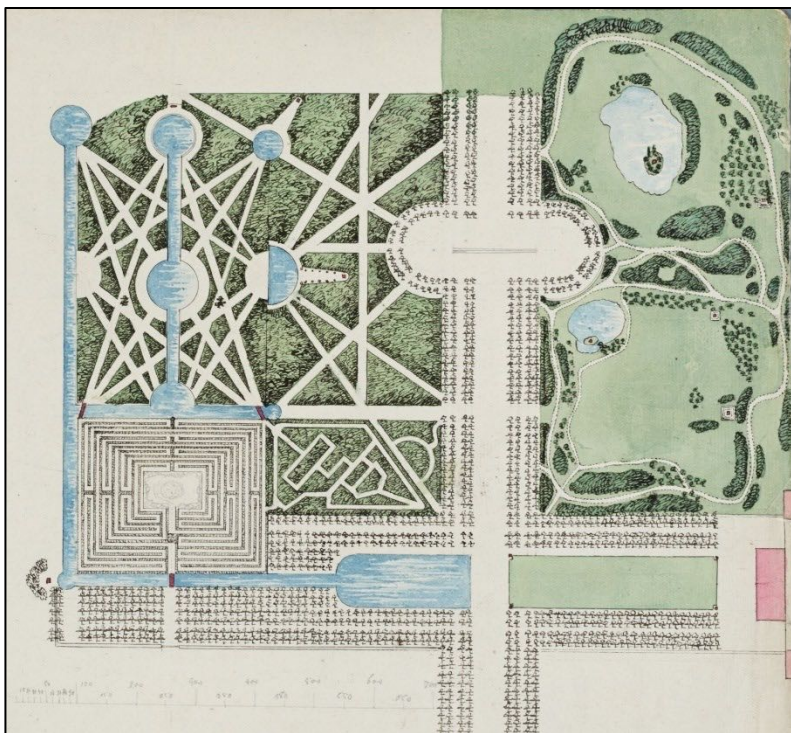


Figure 18: This plan for an ideal garden by King Gustav III has everything: a unicursal maze similar to that in figure 17, a version of the asymmetrical bosquet maze in Versailles, a starshaped bosquet maze, and in addition: a small Landscape Park. *Vasasamligen V461, Marie-Claire Cronstedts Foundation.*

Early 16th to late 18th Century Garden Mazes

Much is preserved of the castles and palaces built by nobility and kings during the Renaissance and Baroque periods in Sweden, but of the garden mazes, which were so popular and an integral part of the gardens, very few are still left to see. Most of them can only be found in archives, which contain numerous drawings of isolated garden mazes as well as gardens with mazes included. Many were planned or only imagined, but never built.

In the mid-18th century as new garden ideals took hold, most of the ambitiously laid out older gardens fell into disrepair or were replaced by informal and picturesque gardens. The once prized bosquets with trellises which included tall, trimmed vegetation and often sculptures and gazebos, became too demanding to maintain when they were no longer fashionable. We are left to wander in our minds through their winding and crossing paths.

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Notes:

- 1 I use “Renaissance” and “Baroque” here for the period from Gustav Vasa’s reign to beginning of Gustav III’s, namely early 16th to late 18th century.
- 2 Château de Clagny was built by Ludvig XIV a few kilometres east of Versailles in 1674–1675. It was demolished in 1769.
- 3 Kern 2000, figures 519-530, 535, 537 and 554 are *bosquet* mazes.
- 4 Linköping Castle was built for the bishop in 1153. In 1527 it was converted into a royal palace.
- 5 This map by Jonas Silfvering 1734 is published in Johannes Ryding’s thesis: *Dissertatio Lincopia*, 1735. Uppsala University. Available on-line: <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/attachment/document/alvin-record:12772/ATTACHMENT-0001.pdf>
- 6 The original map is in Lantmäteristystrelsens arkiv (The Land Surveying Agency’s archives).
- 7 John Kraft’s book was published as a printed version in Swedish 2022. In 2024 it was published as an e-book in English <https://labyrinthos.net/trojasmurar.html> The references in text are to the 2024 edition and in footnotes references are given also to the 2022 edition; in this case it is the same as Kraft 2022:123-124.
- 8 On the map from 1734 is visible a flower garden with a royal name cipher in front of the palace. This fits well at the time of transfer of the bishop’s estate to a royal castle and Friese’s supposed redesign of the garden.
- 9 Same as Kraft 2022:124.
- 10 Same as Kraft 2022:234.
- 11 The new labyrinth is included in the World-Wide Labyrinth Locator: <https://labyrinthlocator.org/labyrinth/linkoping-cathedral/>
- 12 Same as Kraft 2002:34-35.
- 13 For pre-Christian angle-type stone labyrinths in Sweden, see Kraft 2024:107 pp. or 2022:105 pp.
- 14 Thomas Hill published his book under the synonym Dydimus Montaine. Available online (April 2024): <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/206919#page/13/mode/1up> For images see Kern 2000, fig 471,472.
- 15 Available online (April 2024): https://books.google.se/books?id=ODRAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false
- 16 A reconstruction of Mollet’s design for Kungsträdgården is published by Lindahl & Nisbeth 2007:4. The authors make it clear that the reconstruction of *bosquets* is very uncertain.
- 17 Mollet’s garden treatise was translated in English, *The Garden of Pleasure*, and printed in London 1670. A facsimile reprint of the original publication was published in 2006 and of the English version in 2007.
- 18 André Mollet’s father Claude also shows designs of mazes in his book *Théâtre des Plans et Jardinages*, written ca. 1610 and published in 1652. See Kern 2000, fig 504.
- 19 Erik Dahlberg commenced his work on *Suecia antiqua* in 1660. When he died in 1703, the work was still unfinished and what had been accomplished, prints from 353 engraved plates, was published in 1716.
- 20 Tessin visited Château de Clagny on his European Journey during 1687/88.

- 21 In Tessins own words: "ifrån alla hörnen och Sijdornna, med åthskillige korsgångar och Små Cabinetter såssom Labyrinthe eller Irregård igenom bruten, hwilka och änteligen Enda till en mitt uthi lemnad stoor fyrkantig platz..." [Wollin 1927:333]
- 22 Translated by author. The original text reads: "Min irrgång liknar Weldens lopp, där mången sig djupt insänker, att han snärd till siäl och kropp, när han för sent på utgången tänker." In Swedish the text rhymes.
- 23 Many examples of garden designs by King Gustav III are reproduced in Olausson 1993.

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