



# **The Walls of Troy**

**Labyrinths During 3000 Years**

**John Kraft**

**E-book 5 of 6**

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1. Tibble Slott

Sweden's first inventory of ancient monuments was carried out in the second half of the 17th century. The bishops ordered the clergy to report in writing what they could find out about ancient monuments and other 'antiquities.' The results were mixed. Most sent in rather meagre reports. From Badelunda parish in Västmanland, however, the harvest was plentiful; there are three reports from different people. None of them mention the Trojeborg at Tibble, but one of them, Nicolaus Tiblæus, reports in 1682 a local legend that could be connected to the Trojeborg:

"An old maid told a story or fairy tale about a castle that in ancient times was said to have been located on Balunda Ridge and was called Tibble slott 'Tibble Castle.' A young maiden and her mother were said to have lived there. A young duke is said to have proposed to this maiden or lady. They met at a spring by the long meadows. But when the guard and gatekeeper tried to prevent her from going out, she gave him first her gold rings and then a gold chain. When she arrived at the spring before the duke, she encountered a mountain troll who put her in his apron and carried her into the mountain to her mother. When the duke arrived and saw the crown she had left on a branch, he realised that his beloved had been abducted. He then fell on his own sword and destroyed himself.

The sword was placed on a golden chariot in which the duke was buried together with the dead maiden, who was soon carried out of the mountain. It

is predicted that the chariot and the sword will in due course be dug up, and then the sword will pierce him who took up the sword. This story is also confirmed by a song which adds that the mountain troll commanded his daughter to carry the young lady back. He told her that before she got there she would lose three lives: the young lady who died on the road, the duke who killed himself and the guard who threw himself off the watchtower. Furthermore, the song says that the maiden's father was a king's son, and her mother was of imperial lineage. As for the castle, we can find no real sign of where it would have stood, but the spring with the long meadow and the mountain across it, is with us to this day."

A few lines further down in the same report, the two largest mounds in the parish, Anund's mound and Gryta mound, are mentioned. The latter is identified as "the same in which the duke and the young lady in the gold chariot were buried."<sup>1</sup>

In 1956, archaeologist Mårten Stenberger associated the old legend of "Tibble castle" on "Balunda ridge" with the Trojeborg at Tibble.<sup>2</sup> His guess seemed reasonable because there are no remains of any real castle on the ridge near the village of Tibble. The only "castle" there is the Trojeborg.

Can the legend of the maiden and her suitor give us a clue about the oldest use of the labyrinth? No, not really. It turns out that this fairy tale motif has no counterparts at other labyrinth sites. So, it is not



1.1 The Tibble labyrinth.

possible to fit the story into any broader pattern of labyrinth traditions.

The historian Lars Gahrn has shown that the story of the maiden and the duke was probably inspired by the Roman poet Ovid (43 BC-18 AD), whose account of the lovers Pyramus and Thisbe tells us that their parents refused to allow them to marry. However, the lovers decide to meet at night at the tomb of Ninus outside the city. Thisbe arrives first and sits down by a spring. Then a lioness comes to drink water. Thisbe hides in a cave but loses her veil. When the lion goes back, it finds the veil and tears it. Then comes Pyramus, who finds the torn veil and thinks Thisbe is dead. In his despair he falls on his sword and dies. Thisbe returns to the meeting place and is overwhelmed with grief when she finds Pyramus dying. She kills herself with his sword. The bodies of the lovers were burned, and their ashes placed in the same urn.

So how could Ovid's skaldic art have reached the village of Tibble at Badelunda? Lars Gahrn points out that the neighbouring diocese of Västerås had an early gymnasium where the pupils spent a lot of time studying Latin and certainly became acquainted with the great master of verse art, Ovid. This is how one could explain the interaction between classical learning and local folk tradition.<sup>3</sup>

The folklorist Bengt af Klintberg has taken the discussion a step further. He also believes that the framework of the legend is borrowed from Ovid's story of Pyramus and Thisbe. But it has passed some intermediate stages. Tiblaeus' report mentions a song with similar content. Klintberg found it in a songbook from the 1570s (Harald Olufsson's songbook). The song was sung in Uppland in the 16th century, and it was probably the model for the legend that was retold at Badelunda in 1682.

The Swedish song had a predecessor in Denmark. And the Danish song was modelled on a fifteenth-century German poem inspired by Ovid, either directly or through a few more intermediaries that can no longer be identified.

However, the gold chariot is a local addition at Badelunda. There are a number of legends about gold wagons, which Klintberg explored and retold in a book in 1998. This legendary motif has thus been linked to a song rooted in Ovid's story of Pyramus and Thisbe.

According to Klintberg, the Swedish song has been *localised*, i.e. associated with a real place, in two places in Sweden: Badelunda and an estate outside Sölvesborg.<sup>4</sup>

There is also another local legend about the labyrinth in Tibble. In the collections of the Västmanland County Museum there is a record of the following: "There was a castle at Tibble. The lord of the castle's daughter was in love with a farmhand. In order for her to forget him, her father ordered the girl to walk daily in the Trojeborg. So that she would lose her lust."

This story also has no counterparts in other labyrinth lore. My guess is that it is a tale that says nothing about the meaning or use of labyrinths in ancient times.

## Appendix 2. Völundarhús

Four stone labyrinths are known in Iceland:

- 1) *Píngeyri* at Skarðsströnd on the south side of Gilsfjörður.
- 2) *Hólmavík* at Steingrímsfjörður.
- 3) *Bíldudalur* at Arnarfjörður.
- 4) *Dritvík* 13 kilometres west of Arnarstapi on Snæfellsnes.<sup>1</sup>

They were all in the north-west, and only one of them, at Dritvík, remains. A drawing of it from around 1900 shows a figure that has nine walls and differs considerably from the unaltered angle type.<sup>2</sup>

Jeff Saward told me that when he visited Dritvík in 1997, the labyrinth there was completely overgrown and barely recognisable. In 2000, a new labyrinth was built on the same site, following the design published by Brynjúlf Jónsson in 1900.

The labyrinth at Hólmavík is marked on a map from 1780 with the text *Labyrinth*. The labyrinth at Bíldudalur was mentioned in 1746 as *Völundarhús*, which was the common name for labyrinths in Iceland. The labyrinth at Píngeyri was also called *Völundarhús* by the locals.



2:1 Four field labyrinths have been recorded in Iceland.



2:2 The field labyrinth at Dritvík

The locations on the seashore and adjacent to fishing villages show that they should all be considered coast labyrinths. The labyrinth at Dritvík is today not connected to a settlement, but next to it are the remains of two stone houses that belonged to a fishing hamlet.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that they are coast labyrinths means that they can hardly be older than the 13th century (see Chapter 23), so Iceland's coast labyrinths must have been built quite some time after the first colonisation of the island, which began around 870. It is most likely that they were built by visiting fishermen from the coasts of the Skagerrak and Kattegat using stone labyrinths in connection with fishing. Iceland soon became a hotspot for foreign fishermen who fished there and also went ashore to prepare their catch.

The National Museum of Iceland has three bed boards from the former half of the 18th century with carved labyrinth figures:

NMI 2454 has a figure of perfect simple angle-type and the year 1734.

NMI 3135 has a different layout, similar to the stone labyrinth in Dritvík, and it looks as if the year 1706 has been carved into the board. By the labyrinth is the text *Völundarhús mannsævinnar* 'Völundarhús: such is the life of man.'

NMI 5268 has a similar design to 3135, the date 1710 or 1712 and the text *Völundarhús*.

Two of the bed boards are of unknown origin but NMI 3135 could be from one of the fjords in western Iceland.<sup>4</sup>

The Trojeborg names, which are characteristic of Scandinavia, have not been found among labyrinths in Iceland. Instead, the common name for labyrinths has been völundarhús, suggesting classical models.

Völund was the master smith of Norse mythology. For newly Christianised Icelanders who came into contact with the Theseus legend, it was probably natural to compare Daedalos with Völund. So, the Theseus legend is obviously the inspiration for the Icelanders' labyrinth name völundarhús.

The texts in several old manuscripts confirm the suspicion that Iceland was influenced by the continent's learned labyrinth traditions. There are also some labyrinth figures clearly inspired by the Chartres-type, suggesting continental models. But the labyrinth images and the texts also show that the Icelanders who wrote books did not adhere slavishly to the classical models.

Two medieval manuscripts with labyrinth images and three old Icelandic texts are clearly inspired from the continent and give clues to why labyrinths in Iceland were called völundar hús and how the beast *Honocentaurus* replaced the Minotaur.

An Icelandic parchment manuscript from the 14th century shows a modified Chartres-type figure with the text *völundar hús* in the centre.<sup>5</sup>



2:3 Bed board, NMI 2454.



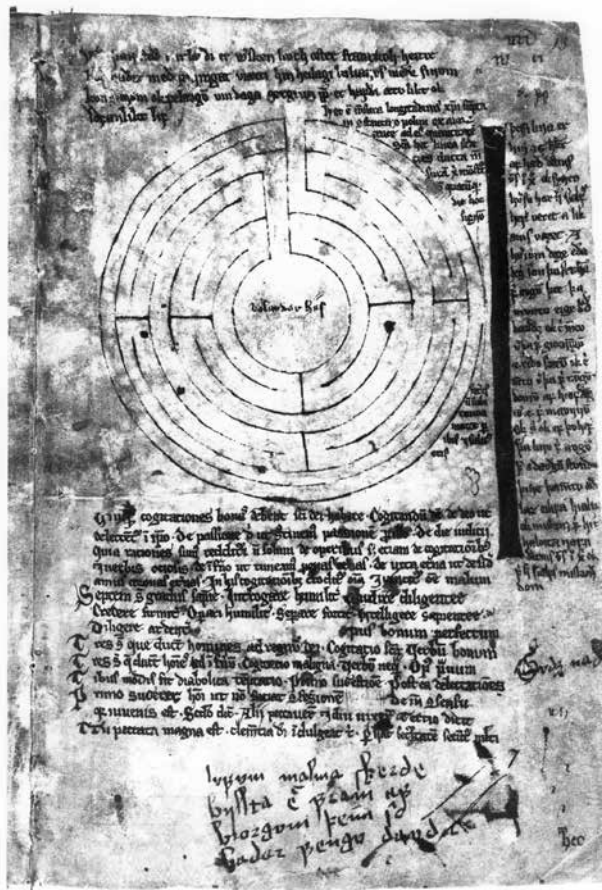
2:4 Bed board, NMI 3135.



2:5 Bed board, NMI 5268.

Another labyrinth drawing, also of a modified Chartres-type, is found in a 15th century Icelandic manuscript. In the centre of the figure is a hybrid animal and the text *honocentaurus*.<sup>6</sup> The accompanying text tells a story that reveals a clear affinity with the Theseus legend but also shows independence from the classical model:

"With this figure called the *uolundar hus* there is a story: A king in Syria was called Dagnus. He had a son called Egeas. This Egeas was a very good sportsman. He went into King Solldan's kingdom to

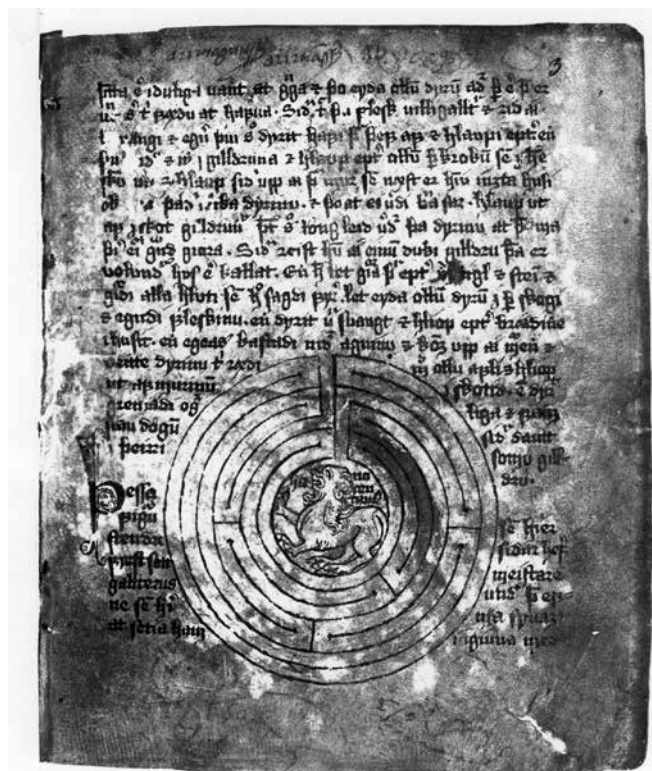


2:6 Manuscript, 14th century. *Völundar hus* in the centre.

propose to his daughter. The king said that he could win her by defeating alone the animal called the *Honocentaurus*, which no man could defeat.

But as the king's daughter was exceedingly wise, more than all the wise men in the whole kingdom, the king's son endeavoured to meet her in secret, and told her what her father had enjoined him to do if he wished to win her hand. Since she was fond of him, she said: Since it is not in human power to defeat this animal by force, I will teach you to build a trap in the forest where it usually goes. But before doing so, you must kill all the animals that it used to eat. Then take the pork of a boar and coat it with honey. Use it as bait, so that the animal will smell it and run after it, but you shall run ahead and into the trap, run through all the windings in it, and then jump up on the wall nearest the innermost room. From there kill the animal; and if the wound is not fatal, jump down into the corner of the trap, for it will be such a long way there for the animal that it cannot do you any harm.

Then she drew on a canvas the trap that is usually called *völundar hús*. He built one out of bricks and stones and did everything she told him; he had all the animals in the forest killed and used the meat as bait. The animal was hungry and ran into the house after the prey. However, Egeas threw down the bait and came up on the wall himself and wounded the animal with blows and strikes. Then he jumped down from the wall in the corner. The animal roared terribly and was found dead in the trap seven days later.”



2:7 Manuscript, 15th century. *Honocentaurus* in the centre.

In this story there is no mention of Theseus. Instead, the hero takes his name from Theseus' father Aegeus. And the Minotaur has been replaced by the enigmatic beast *Honocentaurus*. The same main characters appear in a similar story in the *Kirialax saga*.

The *Kirialax saga* is a medieval Icelandic saga with continental inspirations. The story centres on King Laicus of Athens and his son Kirialax. Laicus proposes to Mathilda, daughter of King Dagnus of Syria, and wins her hand in battle. Together they have a son, Kirialax, who has a series of adventures, including visiting the site of Troy. Kirialax eventually marries Florencia, daughter of King Lotharius of Greece, and eventually becomes King of Greece.

The *Kirialax saga* includes an episode that has clear links to the Theseus legend. It is about King Dagnus' son Eggias:

“Of the same Eggias a strange story is written, and although it does not concern this story, yet that event shall be told, because it is interesting, although some people consider it incredible. It happened at a time when the oft-mentioned Eggias was asked to join Emperor Valentiniano on a campaign to Africa, because two dukes of Mauritania were planning to invade Italy with an invincible army to destroy Rome. At the bidding of Pope Bonfacci, Valentinianus went against these dukes. But Theodosius, the other king, stayed at home to defend the empire against attacks by soldiers north of the mountains who wanted to subdue Rome. When both dukes and most of their entourage were killed by Valentiniano, and the army was dispersed on the way home, Eggias sought his own fortune.

He came to a town called Getulia. There had been a king's daughter who was a magician and had enor-

mous strength. It is said that she attracted a bull with her magical power and with the help of sacrifice. She was impregnated and gave birth to an animal called *Honocentaurus*. It was so wild with devilish power that no matter how many or few men went there, no one came back.

At that time there was another king's daughter who was considered the best choice for a wife. Eggias had heard this, and asked for this maiden's hand, and when this matter was discussed, the result between men was that Eggias, being famous for many great deeds, should kill the wild animal *Honocentaurus*, and it was decided between them. With Eggias was a skilful blacksmith, whose name was Dydalos. He practised his art and built a house with strange windings and corners leading back and forth in the house, and when it was finished, they took pork and smeared it with blood and honey and went to the forest where the *Honocentaurus* was. When the animal became aware of the men and smelled the lure, it ran with great speed after the lure, but Eggias got away with the lure in the house and ran in the windings made in it. When the animal came to the corners, it ran very much and screamed terribly, but Eggias jumped up on the wall and stabbed several times at the animal, which with its strength and ferocity broke down the wall in places. But Eggias strikes often and quickly, and in one of his blows the head was cut off. Eggias now runs to another corner, the one leading out of the house, and comes back to his men unharmed. The image of this house has since been depicted in memory and in honour of the man who built it. It is called *Domus Dydali*. We call it *Vaulundar hus*. Eggias then stayed in the kingdom and had the king's daughter."<sup>8</sup>

As Hermann Kern has pointed out, the animal *Honocentaurus* can be traced back to Isidore of Seville (560-636) who has a section in his encyclopaedia *Etymologies* discussing hybrid animals. An extract of this text can be found in the Old Norse Bible translation *Stjórn* from the early 14th century.

*Stjórn* has been preserved in a number of Icelandic texts which have been brought together in three volumes. They date from the 14th century and, according to the prologue, were commissioned by King Haakon Magnusson of Norway, who reigned from 1299 to 1319. He wanted a book that could be used for reading aloud to all those who did not know Latin. The text is largely based on the Latin version of the *Vulgata* but with additions from other books, such as *Scholastica Historia* and *Speculum Historiale*. The unknown author also drew on Agustinus, Gregorius Magnus and Isidore of Seville.

The quotation reproduced here, which refers to *Ysidorus* (Isidore of Seville)<sup>9</sup>, is part of a chapter on geography, mostly about the Mediterranean countries. In describing Greece, the author mentions the birthplace of Achilles and then refers to the labyrinth and its Icelandic name, *völundarhús*. The part of the text from *Stjórn*, reproduced here in bold type,

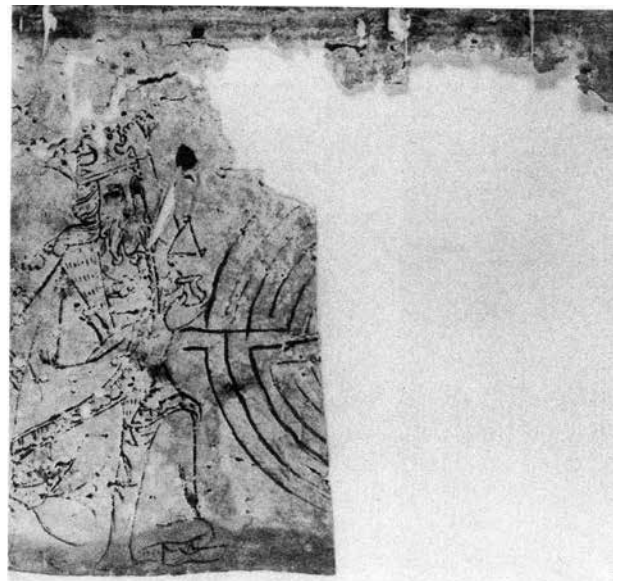
has been borrowed almost verbatim from Isidore's *Etymologies*, an early 20-volume encyclopaedia of all science and knowledge, written in 622-633. Isidore's text, *Etymologies* XI:3, deals with strange hybrid animals, including the Minotaur. The author of *Stjórn* has added the short note on *Völundarhús*.

**"There (in Thesalia) the great Achilles was born and there he grew up. And there was Laphite born, who is also called Centauri. About them it is said that they were the first of all men to tame horses, with a bridle. But yet Ysidorus says that the centaurus is so born, as a man sitting on a horse, or growing together with it. But some say that they were riders in the aforementioned Thesalia. But because they seemed to have joined the body of man and horse together, as they went about in battle, it is said that they are therefore called centauri. They say that Minocentaurus was named from man and ox, because they were united in one, man and ox, which animal previous to men, in their lying stories, said was hidden in the laborintho, which some call Völundarhús. Onocentaurus is said to be so called, because he is half like man and half like an ass. Further, it is called Ypocentaurus because his nature is half man and half horse."**<sup>10</sup>

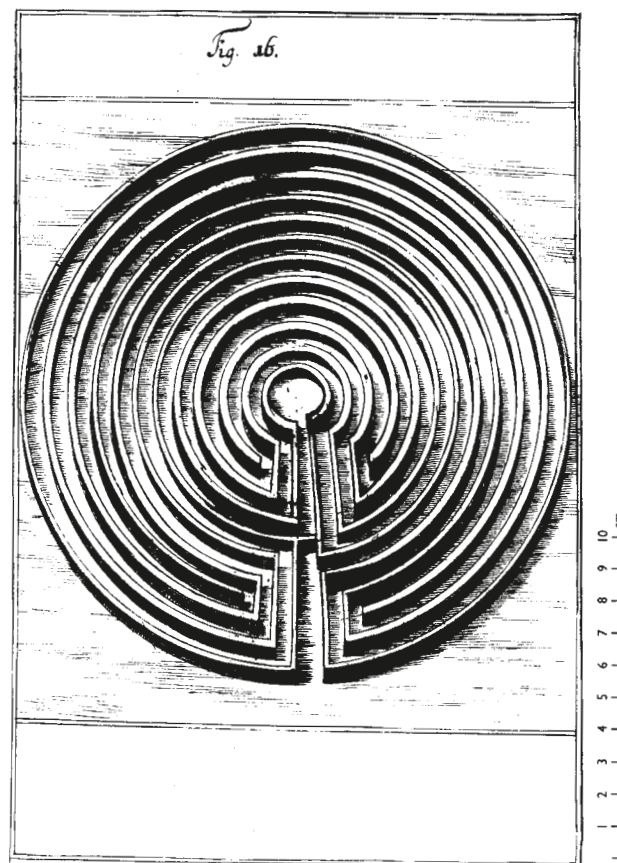
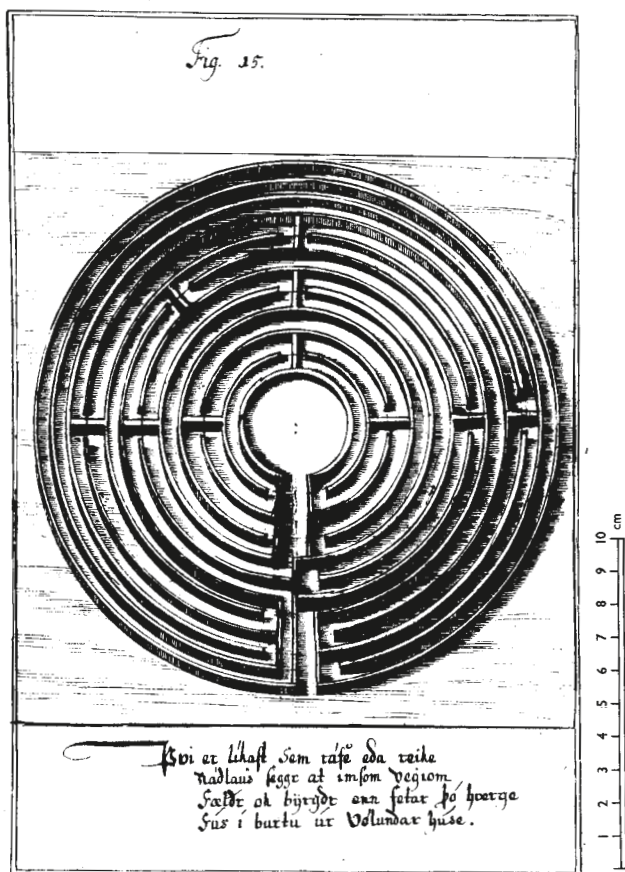
An Icelandic manuscript from the last half of the 15th century shows one of the three wise men kneeling in front of the entrance to a labyrinth. It is difficult to interpret the meaning of the image. And since most of the labyrinth figure has been cut away, it is also difficult to determine whether the layout was of a modified Chartres-type or angle-type.<sup>11</sup>

The wise man depicted with the labyrinth is thought to be Melchior. And it seems that his image was added by a hand other than the one that drew the labyrinth.<sup>12</sup>

Two Icelandic labyrinth drawings from the 18th century depict a figure of double angle-type and



2:8 One of the three wise men at a labyrinth. Manuscript, from the last half of the 15th century.



2:9 Two labyrinth drawings by S M Holm 1777.

one of slightly modified Chartres-type. They are found in a publication called 'Drawings of Icelandic Curiosities by S.M. Holm 1777.' To the drawing of the angle-type he has added some lines from the Icelandic poem *Lilja* which the Icelandic monk Eysteinn Asgrímsson (who died 1361) dedicated to the Virgin Mary:

"If an eloquent man wanted to describe your honour in poetry, as you deserve my Queen, he would resemble a helpless man staggering back and forth from one wall to another, frightened and trapped, and no matter how much he wanted to find his way out of *Völundar húse*, he would not succeed."<sup>13</sup>

The manuscript in which the drawings can be found contains mainly images that were intended to be used as illustrations for Olaus Olavius' stories from various journeys that he undertook in the Nordic countries in 1776-1777.

S.M. Holm was born in Iceland but worked for many years in Denmark. He states that he received the drawings from Iceland and copied them from old books. He adds that he made a similar drawing for chamberlain Suhm of a previously drawn labyrinth that had been on a stone post or cross. He also says that such a labyrinth figure existed at Hólmarífsvík on Stengrímsfjorden in Stranda syssel 'district' in Iceland. It was built by "the old ones."<sup>14</sup>

Chamberlain Peter Frederik Suhm (1728-1798) was a Danish historian. He had a large book collection which was opened to the public in 1775 and donated to the Royal Library in Copenhagen in 1796. I suspect that the labyrinth Holm claimed to have copied from a stone pillar or on a stone cross for Suhm is the

same labyrinth figure on a stone cross depicted in Ole Worm's book *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri sex* (1643). The stone cross, which was cut and erected in 1445 in Levide on Gotland, was moved in the 16th century to the Juulskov manor on Funen, Denmark. The stone cross was later broken up to provide material for a stone bridge.<sup>15</sup>

In Iceland, the influence of the continent is evident. One possible explanation is that monks at some of Iceland's many monasteries learnt about the Chartres-type and its connection with the Theseus legend through manuscripts from the continent. They may have given rise to the name *völundar hús*.

The four coastal labyrinths and the three labyrinth figures on bed boards, on the other hand, can be suspected of belonging to popular labyrinth lore based on the coastal labyrinths of Scandinavia. Thus, in Iceland, Nordic folklore seem to have met with the scholarly tradition from the continent and mixed in an interesting way.

It is remarkable that no Trojeborg names have been found in Iceland. But the reason may be simple. Even among the coast labyrinths of Scandinavia, Trojeborg names are not common, they hardly occur.

The explanation could be that the reference to the city of Troy had begun to be forgotten by the time coast labyrinths began to be built in Scandinavia, i.e. in the 13th or 14th century. The fishermen who probably brought labyrinth traditions from the coastal areas of Kattegat and Skagerrak to north-west Iceland probably had other names for the stone figures. More on this in Chapter 37 and Appendix 17.

But if so, why haven't the Icelandic stone labyrinths been given the same type of names as those found along the Swedish west coast? The explanation may be that there is evidence in Icelandic manuscripts that labyrinth figures have been called *völundarhús* since the early 14th century. It is therefore possible, even likely, that the scholars in Iceland already had an established name for labyrinth figures, namely *völundarhús*, when the first stone figures were built at some fishing sites in north-west Iceland. This could explain why stone labyrinths and carved figures on bed boards were also given the same name.

### Appendix 3. The Angle-type in the British Isles

In the British Isles, the angle-type has had a wide popular following. It has consistently been associated with Troy names. No angle-type figures have been called Maze, Labyrinth or Julian's Bower.

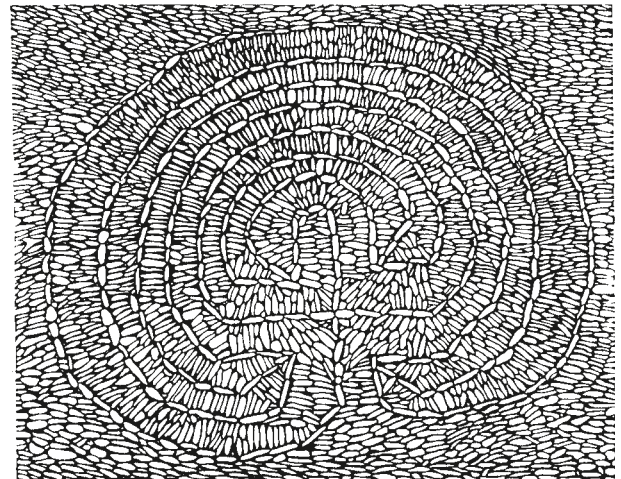
- At Hollywood in County Wicklow, Ireland, a labyrinth figure of simple angle-type has been found carved into a large stone. The labyrinth was discovered by chance in 1908 when, during a hunt, the stone was turned over to reveal the figure. The dating is highly uncertain, with most guesses pointing to the Bronze Age or Neolithic period, but Jeff Saward believes the figure must have been carved into the hard granite with a pointed metal object, suggesting it is younger. He also points out that the stone was found on a pilgrimage route (St Kevin's Road) between Hollywood and Glendalough Abbey. He believes the labyrinth image may date from 550-1400.<sup>1</sup>

- In Castletownroche, southern Ireland, there was until 1964 a labyrinth figure of simple angle-type, made of small stones in a stone kitchen floor. The floor should have been added sometime in the 1790s.<sup>2</sup>

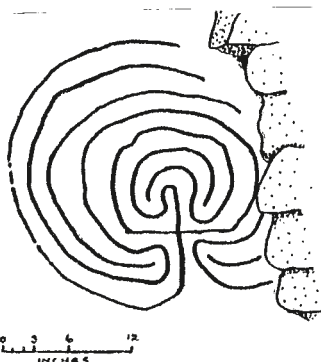
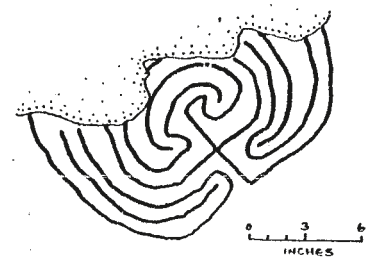
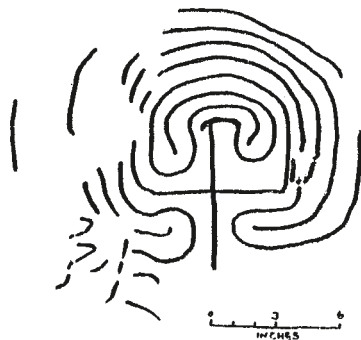
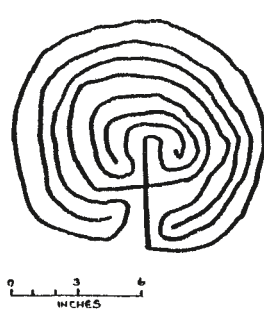
- Near Chaldon, just south of London, there is an old underground quarry. It was already in use in the



3:1 Labyrinth figure carved in a stone, Hollywood, County Wicklow, Ireland.



3:2 Labyrinth figure inlaid in stone floor, Castletownroche, County Cork, Ireland.



3:3 Five simple angle-type graffiti in an underground quarry near Chaldon.



3:4 Labyrinth carving on sandstone outcrop at Heysham in 1995. Today the pattern is no longer as clear.

early Middle Ages and was abandoned in the early 18th century. With collapsed passageways and a later entrance consisting of a narrow hole in the ground, the quarry has been almost completely sealed for the last 250 years. There are graffiti down there, including five labyrinth figures and four swastikas. The labyrinths have been drawn in chalk on the walls and are all of the simple angle-type. Jeff Saward dates them to the 1720s or 1730s.<sup>3</sup>

- Near St Patrick's Chapel in Heysham, a labyrinth image carved into a sandstone slab was discovered in 1995. It is of simple angle-type. Carving expert George Nash reckons it could be from the 18th or 19th century. But Jeff Saward suspects it is much younger, perhaps from the 1970s.<sup>4</sup>

- Towards the end of the 18th century, the idea of making 'love tokens' with initials, names, phrases



3:5 Love token from 1791.



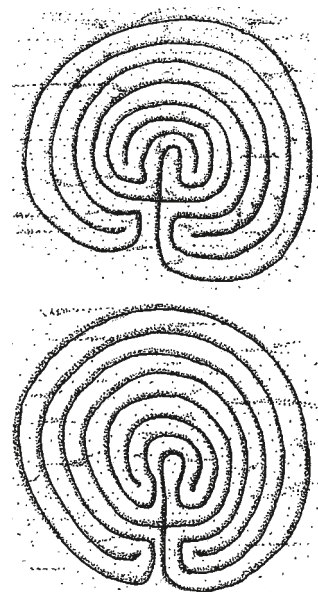
3:6 Slate disc with a labyrinth image in a museum of witchcraft, Boscastle.

and symbols, by modifying real coins, became widespread. They could be given to young ladies as tokens of love by, for example, sailors or soldiers being sent to serve elsewhere. Jeff Saward has come across one such re-used copper half penny from 1791 with a perfect angle-type figure on one side.<sup>5</sup>

- In a museum of witchcraft in Boscastle, Cornwall, there is a slate slab, barely half a metre long, with a carved figure of simple angle-type. Before entering the museum, it is said to have been owned by a 'wise old man' and previously by a well-known 'witch.' In Cornwall there is a record of another such stone, but it was destroyed after the death of its owner, a 'wise old woman.' Such stones have been called *Troy-stones*, *Brain-stones*, *Snake-stones*, *Serpent-stones* or *Moon-stones*, the latter because they were used at night.

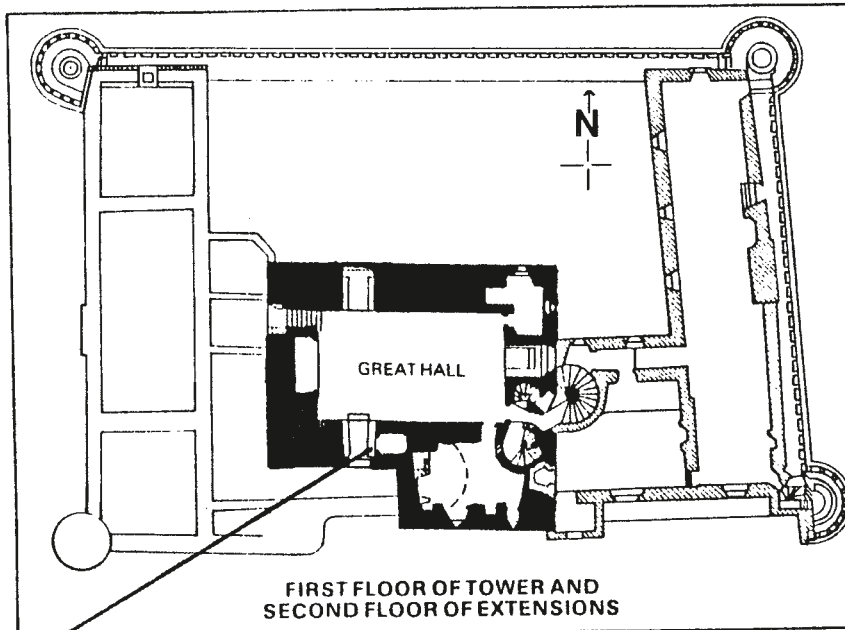
During the day they were wrapped in a piece of cloth. The stones were used for magical purposes. By moving a finger over the stone, while the user hummed rhythmically, a hypnotic state could be achieved.<sup>6</sup>

- In Rocky Valley, near Tintagel, in Cornwall, there are two figures of simple angle-type carved on a



3:7 Two carved labyrinth figures on a rock face, Rocky Valley at Tintagel, Cornwall.

Plan of Craigmillar Castle, showing the location of the worn labyrinth carving.



FIRST FLOOR OF TOWER AND  
SECOND FLOOR OF EXTENSIONS



3:8 Labyrinth carving on a stone bench, Craigmillar Castle, Edinburgh.

vertical rock face. They have been considered to be from the Bronze Age, but Jeff Saward argues that they must have been carved with metal tools. He thinks they may date from 1750-1860.<sup>7</sup>

- Craigmillar castle, on the outskirts of Edinburgh, has a labyrinth carving on a stone bench in the hall, upstairs in the tower. The figure is worn but is probably of the simple angle-type. Edward Trollope mentioned it in 1858 and Jeff Saward rediscovered it in 1982. The castle dates from the 1370s but has been altered many times. Jeff Saward estimates that the labyrinth can hardly be older than the late 16th or early 17th century.<sup>8</sup>

- A 1708 inventory of a house at Duffus, near Elgin in Scotland, mentions that the nursery contained six pairs of sheets and "three fyn towels and five of the walls of troy."<sup>9</sup> So apparently towels were decorated with labyrinth figures. It is not clear what type of labyrinth it was, but it was probably the angle-type, as the Chartres-type is not usually associated with the name Walls of Troy.

- Edmund Venables stated in 1893 that in Norfolk there was a folk tradition that labyrinths were named after Troy because "the city of Troy had but one gate, and that it was necessary to go through every street to get to the market place."<sup>10</sup>

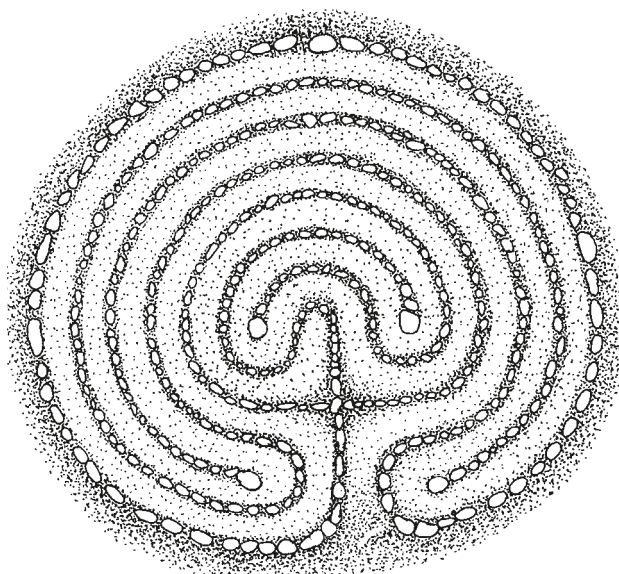
- Under the heading *Troy Town*, Alice Berta Gomme describes in 1898 (without specifying a geographical location) a game in which schoolboys drew labyrinth figures on chalkboards, with others trying to find their way to the 'citadel' in the centre.<sup>11</sup>

- Edward Trollope stated in 1858 that school children in Scotland drew the *Walls of Troy* on their chalkboards and in the sand on seashores.<sup>12</sup>

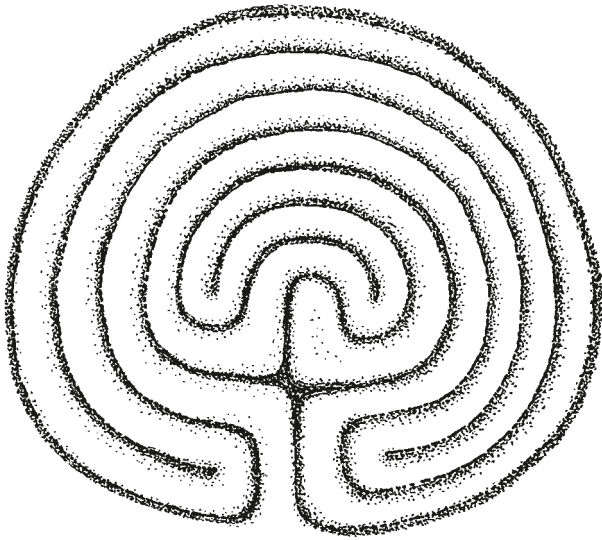
- Around 1920, R Morton Nance reported that children in the west of Scotland drew angle-type figures

on sandy beaches. The game was called *Walls of Troy* and the children walked in procession to the centre of the figure and out again. A lady who learnt this game in Scotland taught it to Nance's own children as a beach game. Nance included a sketch of the simple angle-type.<sup>13</sup>

- On the island of St. Agnes in the Isles of Scilly, west of Cornwall, there is an angle-type stone labyrinth. It is called *Troy-Town*. According to local tradition, it was built in 1726 or 1729 by a lighthouse keeper or his son. At the time of Jeff and Deb Saward's visit in 1983 it had only six walls but a photo from 1885 shows that it was then of perfect simple angle-type.<sup>14</sup> Since the 1950s about 25 younger stone labyrinths have been constructed on various islands in the neighbourhood. According to a local guidebook in 1887, the labyrinth ("a curious enclosure called the Town of Troy") "takes its name from the Troy of ancient history; the streets of ancient Troy were so constructed that an enemy once within the gates



3:9 Troy Town, field labyrinth on the island of St Agnes, Isles of Scilly.



3:10 Turf labyrinth at Dalby.

could not find their way out again. This enclosure is composed of an outer circle of stones with an opening at one point, the whole supposed to represent the walls and gate Troy....the space between these (rows of stones) represents the streets.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to these examples, there are some angle-type turf labyrinths.

- At Dalby, North Yorkshire, there is a turf labyrinth of simple angle-type. It is called the *City of Troy*. The current labyrinth is a replica from around 1900 of a nearby labyrinth that was destroyed and whose location can no longer be accurately determined. Jeff Saward believes that the old labyrinth may have been built around 1860. According to one account, it was copied from a drawing in a newspaper. According to another, it was copied from a carved image on a barn door.<sup>16</sup>

- At Somerton, Oxfordshire, there is a turf labyrinth with 16 walls. It is called *Troy Town*. Jeff Saward hypothesises that the labyrinth dates back to the late 16th century as the neighbouring farm was then renamed Troy Farm.<sup>17</sup>

- An angle-type turf labyrinth with only five walls existed until 1852 on the common at Temple Cowley near Oxford. It was called *Tarry Town*.<sup>18</sup> The name is probably a folk etymological transformation of *Troy Town*. Jeff Saward has told me that according to the Cambridge Dictionary, *Tarry* means 'to stay somewhere for longer than expected and delay leaving' which would have been a good name for a labyrinth. The conversion of *Troy* to *Tarry* should have made the name more understandable to those who used it.

- At Stuartfield in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, there has been a turf labyrinth built in the early 19th century. It was called *The Walls of Troy* and was of simple angle-type. It was destroyed in 1869.<sup>19</sup>

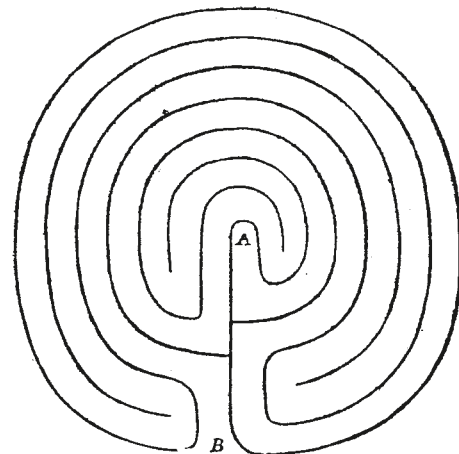
- Moriah Kennedy, by analysing aerial photographs, has recently been able to show that a nearly lost turf labyrinth in North Yorkshire should have been of simple angle-type.<sup>20</sup>

- In 1858, W.H. Mounsey mentioned a Welsh history book from 1740, *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, which tells us that shepherds in Wales used to carve labyrinthine figures in the turf. They called them *Caerdroia*, i.e. 'the walls or citadel of Troy.'<sup>21</sup>

Jeff Saward has found an earlier edition of the same book published in 1716. He has also found a later edition in 1865, in which the shepherds' turf labyrinths are illustrated with a drawn image of simple angle-type. The 1865 figure has an A at the centre with the explanatory text: *Canol y Ddinas* 'centre of city.' The letter B at the entrance has the text *Mynediad i mewn i'r Ddinas* 'entry into the city.'<sup>22</sup>

- W.H. Mounsey also said that since his boyhood he remembered that the shepherds in the grasslands of Burgh and Rockliffe on the Solway Firth in Cumberland, near the Scottish border, used to carve such labyrinth figures out of the turf. They were called 'the Walls of Troy.' Mounsey briefly added that he thought this figure was known to most schoolboys.<sup>23</sup>

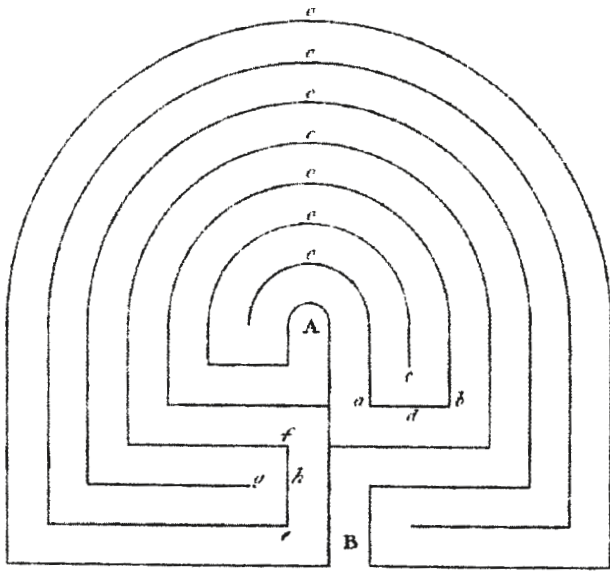
W.H. Matthews in his 1922 book tells of three lost turf labyrinths at Rockliffe and he reproduces a sketch of one that still existed in 1883, but it was then heavily overgrown.<sup>24</sup> The sketch makes a peculiar impression, which could possibly be due to the fact that the turf figure was about to disappear. However,



3:11 Llun Caerdroia 'image of the city of Troy' in the 1865 edition of a Welsh history book, *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, first published in 1716.



3:12 Walls of Troy, remains of turf labyrinth, Rockcliffe Marsh, Cumberland.



3:13 *Caer Droea*, Wales, 1815.

the design is reminiscent of the angle-type and bears no resemblance to the Chartres-type.

- A book on Wales in 1815 by Peter Roberts depicts a figure of simple angle-type. It tells us that shepherd boys in Wales used to carve such figures in the turf while guarding the animals in the mountains. They were called *Caer Droea*, 'The City of Troy.'

Sometimes the figure was drawn, 'as a puzzle', to test the others' skill in finding the way to the centre or their ability to construct the figure. Associated with the figure was a tradition that "the city of Troy was defended by seven walls represented by the seven exterior lines, and the entrance from B made so intricate for its greater security, as the enemy is supposed to have been under the necessity of going through all of the winding interval of the walls before he could arrive at the citadel."<sup>25</sup>

- There are traces of more turf labyrinths in Wales. Jeff Saward describes an almost obliterated turf maze at Llwydiarth Hall in mid-Wales that can still be seen on aerial photographs. Jonathan Mullard has found six sites with place names near the Welsh border that suggest the existence of turf labyrinths. However, it is unclear whether any of them were of the angle-type.<sup>26</sup>

- In England, *Troy-town* in some local dialects has meant "state of confusion, an untidy house being said to be just like Troy-town."<sup>27</sup> From Cornwall, where no turf labyrinths are known, it is reported that in the late 19th century nannies told children that they looked like they were in a Troy-town when they pulled out lots of toys.<sup>28</sup>

This varied collection of examples can be compared to the Chartres-type, which in the British Isles only occurs in the form of turf labyrinths and a few church labyrinths. Six preserved and nine lost turf labyrinths and three labyrinth reliefs in churches are of the Chartres-type. One church labyrinth is found as a roof-boss in a vault at St Mary Redcliffe in Bristol. Another is carved into a stone block, now set into the wall, inside the door in Rathmore's church ruin in southern Ireland, and a third has been found on a

stone cross at the Rock of Cashel in Ireland.<sup>29</sup> The Chartres-type is also found in some manuscripts and on the *Mappa Mundi* map, from 1276-1283, in Hereford Cathedral.

## Appendix 4. Russians Built the Labyrinths

Particularly in the Stockholm archipelago, but also further north along the coasts of the Baltic, the idea that labyrinths were built by the Russians is common. It is easy to think of the ravages of the Russian galleys in 1719-21 or the Russian occupation of Swedish coastal areas during the war of 1808-09. But most indications are that these are migratory legends with no basis in reality.

In the far north, in Upper Vojakkala on the Torne River, there is a labyrinth which, according to one tradition, was built by 'Russian prisoners of war' during the 1808-09 war. According to another tradition, the labyrinth was built by Abraham Erro, a magician who lived in the early 19th century.<sup>1</sup>

Journalist Kurt Boberg wrote in 1980 that "it has sometimes been said that it was Russian soldiers who laid several of the labyrinths along the Västerbotten coast."<sup>2</sup> Some labyrinths on Långskäret in Nordingrån parish have been called *Ryska fästningar* 'Russian fortresses.'<sup>3</sup>

Lars Berglund in Jakobstad, who produced a photo exhibition on labyrinths in 1976, has told me that according to a legend, a labyrinth at Domarkobbon in Sideby parish, just south of Kristinestad in Finland, was built by *ryskt bevakningsmanskap*, 'Russian guards.'

At the fishing village of Kuggören outside Hudiksvall, there was a tradition that a labyrinth there was built by the Russians during their ravages of the Norrland coast in 1720-21.<sup>4</sup>

A labyrinth at Köpmanholm in Blidö parish is said to have been built by 'Russians.'<sup>5</sup> In several interviews in the Stockholm archipelago, I have picked up closely related traditions. The fisherman Georg Nordström on Rödölga told me that he had heard from his ancestors that a now destroyed labyrinth on Rödölga storskär was made by "Russian prisoners of war." Arne Lind, who grew up on Svenska högarna, told me that the "standing legend" about the labyrinth on the island was that it was built by "Russians." A lighthouse keeper's daughter from Svenska högarna has told me that she has heard visitors to the island say that the labyrinths were built by "Russian prisoners of war."

Anders Nyman of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm has told me that a labyrinth on the island of Södra Berghamn in the Stockholm archipelago was locally called the *Rysslabyrinten* 'the Russian labyrinth.' According to another account, the "Russians" built the labyrinth when they were moored on the island. But it is also said that it was built by 'sailors.' One version states that the labyrinth at Södra Berghamn was built by "prisoners of war."<sup>6</sup>

In northern Norway, there are also reports of “Russians” building and using labyrinths. But there is much to suggest that these traditions may have had a basis in reality. Fishermen and traders from Russia, known as *Pomors*, travelled as far west as Bodö during the summers to fish along the Finnmark coast. Åse Sörgård recounts some folk traditions indicating that Russians built and used the labyrinths.

Johan Fritzner, who was vicar in Vadsö 1838-1845, tells from Inner Kiberg about “A labyrinth laid out of small stones at Inner Kiberg by the Russians fishing there.”<sup>7</sup>

At Repvåg, 45 kilometres south of the North Cape, there are three labyrinths. A local man, who was born in 1889, said that at Repvåg there was a labyrinth where the Russian crews used to dance and play when they had reason to do so.<sup>8</sup>

On Mikkbergodden at Steinvig, 90 kilometres east of the North Cape, there is a labyrinth to which a local tradition is attached: “In Gamvik, some claim that the labyrinth is a ‘Russian game’, which Russian traders built to dance a specific Russian dance.”<sup>9</sup>

Historian Einar Niemi has taken an interest in the labyrinth at Mikkbergodden, which was one of the places where there were Russian land stations. Such Russian support points also existed on Kjøøya and Indre Kiberg, where there are also labyrinths. Niemi concluded that the labyrinths in the north came from the coasts of the White Sea and spread to northern Norway through the long sea voyages of the Russian *Pomors*.<sup>10</sup>

## Appendix 5. Shipwrecked?

There are a number of accounts of labyrinths being built by sailors or castaways. In some cases, it is said that the labyrinths were laid by sailors as a diversion. It is also said that shipwrecked people built the stone figures as a pastime. These explanations seem unlikely and are probably migratory legends with no basis in reality.

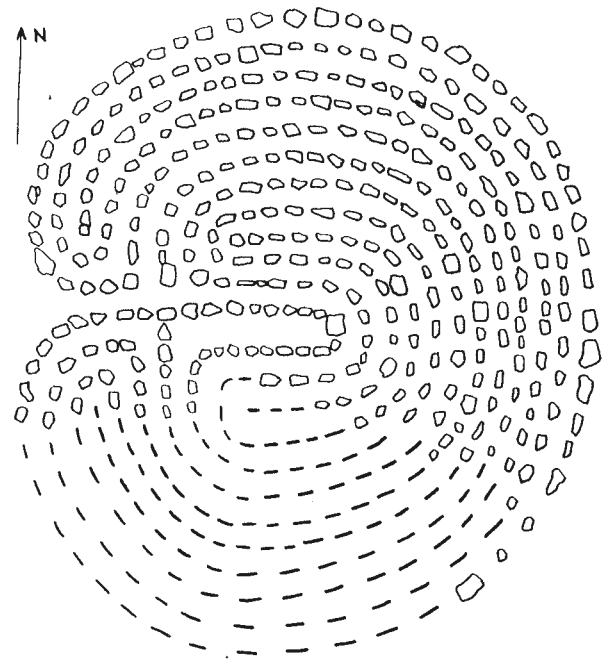
The identification of sailors and shipwrecked people means that folk tradition has associated the creation of labyrinths with anonymous strangers, even though the location pattern clearly shows that they should have been built by local people.

It is possible that some “sailors”, from areas where labyrinths were known, may have built stone figures to induce favourable weather after a shipwreck or that they hoped to improve their survival chances in general by walking in a labyrinth. But none of the known folk traditions give the slightest hint of such a thing. On the contrary, it is typical of these traditions that the “sailors” appear as strangers. In order for the traditions of the castaways to be credible, one must assume that sailors in general were familiar with the art of building labyrinths. But if so, stone labyrinths should be found here and there along the coasts, wherever ships have been wrecked, not just in the rather distinct zones where coast labyrinths are found.

On Storskär in Malax parish in Österbotten there are five labyrinths (previously there were eight). One of them is situated next to a small cemetery surrounded by a stone wall. According to tradition, Arvid Kurk, Finland’s last Catholic bishop, was on the run from the Danes. The bishop’s party went ashore on Storskär and waited a few days. The bishop died there. So, the cemetery was built. The largest grave has been called the bishop’s grave.

There is also a folk tradition about a major shipwreck on Storskär. People starved to death. It is possible that this tradition merged with the bishop tradition.<sup>1</sup>

According to one version of the tradition, a ship sank and some of the crew managed to get ashore on Storskär. Among them was a Russian bishop and his family. The shipwrecked people were short of food and one after another died of starvation. They dug graves for each other and filled them in. In the end only the bishop’s daughter remained, her remains were later found in an unfilled grave. The site of the graves was then surrounded by a stone wall and was



5:1 Trondhjem on Prästgrundet, Hälsingland.



5:2 The labyrinth on Borgen Island, after restoration.

called 'tjörkgålin' (church yard) or 'kapellbakken' (chapel site) by the locals.<sup>2</sup>

According to one version, the unfortunate ones had built labyrinths on the insignificant island that became their burial place "as a pastime."<sup>3</sup> Emil Westergård from Södra Vallgrund, born in 1892, says that he played in the labyrinth on Storskär as a child. It was built by sailors as long as "they still had the strength to do it." And when they had laid the labyrinth, they each dug pits for themselves. And they went into the pits when they felt their strength was gone. And they lay down each in his pit which they had dug.<sup>4</sup>

An old fisherman told about a labyrinth on Skötgrund in the outer archipelago of Pjelas hamlet, near Kaskö on the west coast of Finland, that long ago a ship had been wrecked off this island. The sailors came ashore, the captain ordered the sailors to put together a labyrinth so that the time would not be long.<sup>5</sup>

The author Barbro Sedvall told me that as a child in the 1920s she spent a few summers on the island of Prästgrundet on the coast of Hälsingland in Sweden and was told that the island's labyrinth had been built by shipwrecked sailors.<sup>6</sup>

According to local tradition, a labyrinth on the island of Rovågern outside Umeå was built by sailors who came ashore from a ship that had been stranded nearby.<sup>7</sup> According to Christer Westerdahl, the labyrinth was built by a sailor who was shipwrecked in the area in 1857.<sup>8</sup>

Peter Gustafsson at Skellefteå Museum told me in 1979 that he had heard that a labyrinth on Pite Stenskär had been built in memory of dead fishermen. Christer Westerdahl mentions a labyrinth near a memorial stone for two boat crews that died in 1862.<sup>9</sup>

In a newspaper article from 1953, regarding the labyrinths on the island of Stor-Rebben outside Piteå, some people claim that a shipwrecked sailor built a labyrinth as a pastime, while others claimed that they were built for pleasure, so that people had something to do in their spare time.<sup>10</sup>

Bo Stjernström has told me that he has heard a tradition from Ornö in the Stockholm archipelago that a labyrinth on the island of Borgen was laid by a German sailor who was shipwrecked during the First World War.

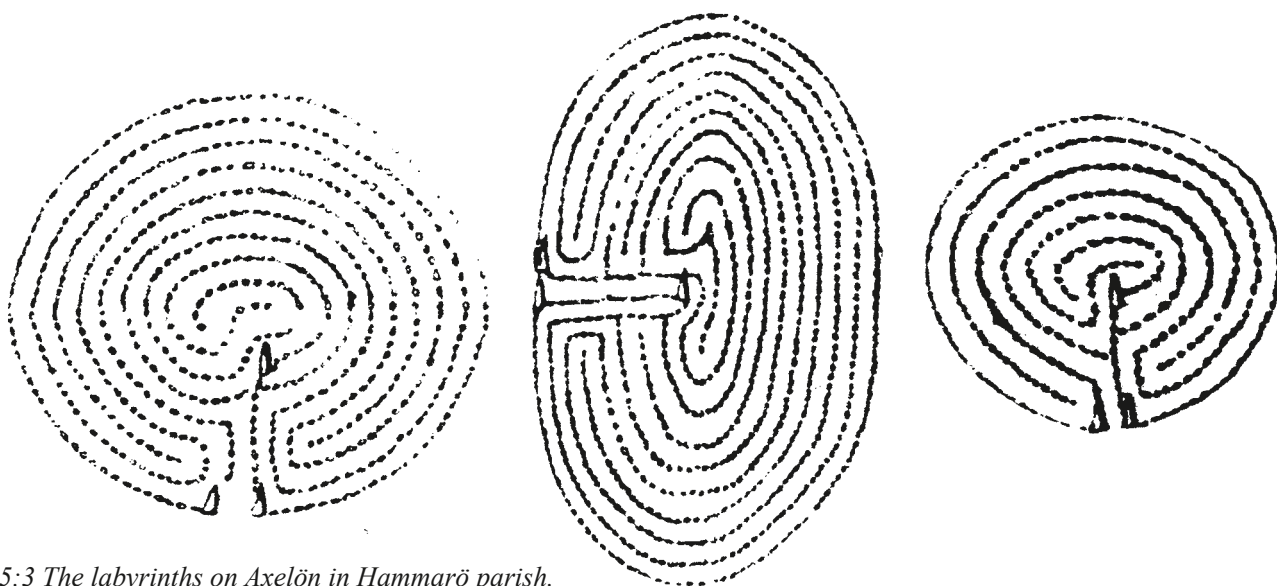
In a story from Finland, the motif of distress at sea is strangely combined with the aspect of entertainment. A labyrinth on Utö in the Åboland archipelago is said to have been constructed by a noble maiden. "After she, exposed to a violent storm, managed to reach the safe harbour of Utö with her ships, she and her accompanying girls and boys employed games on the beach. For this, a jungfrudans was built."<sup>11</sup>

On the small uninhabited island of Wier (South Virgen) in the Gulf of Finland there are two or possibly three labyrinths.<sup>12</sup> The people of the neighbouring large island of Hogland believed that they were laid by fishermen from Estonia or by shipwrecked sailors.<sup>13</sup>

At Kootsaare on Dagö in Estonia there has been a labyrinth said to have been built by a sailor who survived a shipwreck.<sup>14</sup> Jörgen Hedman told me in 1990 that he had heard an old woman say that stranded shipwrecked soldiers had built the labyrinth at Kootsaare.

The shipwrecked motif also occurs along the Småland coast. A labyrinth on the island of Bussan in Västrum parish is said to have been built a long time ago by the crew of a wrecked ship.<sup>15</sup> According to local tradition, a labyrinth on Boskär in the northern Kalmar Strait was also built by the crew of a wrecked ship.<sup>16</sup>

When I made a drawing of the labyrinth on the uninhabited island of Blå Jungfrun in the Kalmar Strait in 1980, hundreds of tourists passed by, many apparently from neighbouring parts of the mainland. On a couple of occasions I heard them say that the labyrinth had been built by castaways.



5:3 The labyrinths on Axelön in Hammarö parish.

The distressed motif also appears in Värmland. The antiquarian N.G. Djurklou stated in 1866 that the labyrinths on Stora Axelön in Hammarö parish near Karlstad had, according to a legend, been created by 'some students' who had lost their boat while staying overnight on the island and were therefore stranded. They had stayed there for several days and all but one starved to death. "While they still had hope of rescue, they had assembled these stone windings" writes Djurklou.<sup>17</sup> But Erland Hofsten (1651-1717), who was a lecturer at the school in Karlstad and at the same time vicar of Hammarö parish, wrote at the beginning of the 18th century about "two Trojenborg" on Stora Axelön and did not mention anything about the stones having been built by those in need, even though the event should have been quite fresh in the memory at the time if the folk tradition had any basis in reality.<sup>18</sup>

A newspaper article in 1986 recounts the 'legend' that three students came ashore on Stora Axelön but that their boat drifted away because they did not moor it properly. These students are said to have laid the labyrinths before they died. According to one tradition, some upper-school scholars were on their way from Värmlandsnäs to Karlstad when they were shipwrecked and landed on Axelön. According to another tradition, the labyrinths were laid by 'German students.' According to one account, they were laid by 'Danish students.' Here, then, strangers are identified as the labyrinth builders. A former steamboat captain in Hammarö said that three students had remained on the island after the boat left: 'They built Trögenborg.' A farmer at Torp in Hammarö had heard that the labyrinths were modelled on a town, Trögenborg, "if they went in, they never came out."<sup>19</sup>

Presumably, the accounts about shipwrecked students is a story that was attached to the labyrinths afterwards. A more likely explanation for the labyrinths on Stora Axelön, as emphasised by Christer Westerdahl, is that the island was known in earlier times for lively fishing with seine nets.<sup>20</sup>

At the 1877 meeting of the Swedish Society of Ancient Monuments at Strängnäs, Simon Nordström said that he had recently seen information in a newspaper about a labyrinth on Hallands Väderö that was said to have been made by shipwrecked sailors.<sup>21</sup> But there are also reports that the labyrinth on Hallands Väderö was constructed when the English navy visited the island.<sup>22</sup>

Johan Alin states that in at least two cases in the Gothenburg archipelago, he had heard "assumptions" from the local population that labyrinths were built by shipwrecked sailors who needed entertainment during a forced stay in the area.<sup>23</sup>

On the Isles of Scilly, off the south-west tip of Cornwall, England, there are now some thirty stone labyrinths, most of them built rather late. The oldest of these, which probably served as a model for the younger ones, is on the island of St. Agnes. According to local tradition, it was built in 1729 or possibly 1726

by a lighthouse keeper or his son. There are a number of records of this. But in 1953, a new story emerged that a shipwrecked sailor with the same name as the lighthouse keeper in 1729 had built the labyrinth.<sup>24</sup> The story of the shipwrecked man probably has no basis in reality, but it gives an interesting indication of how far this migratory legend has travelled.

## Appendix 6. Waiting for Wind

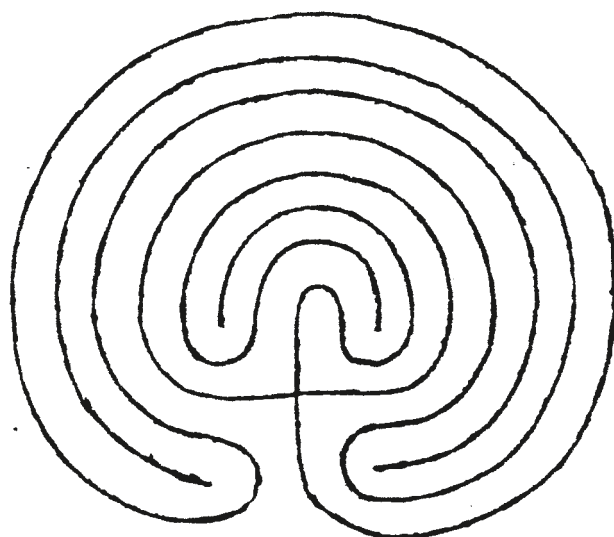
There are a number of accounts of sailors building labyrinths while waiting for favourable winds. These are probably also migratory legends with no basis in reality, but it cannot be ruled out that they reflect the idea that people believed they could influence the winds by walking in a labyrinth.

When Carl von Linné visited the uninhabited island of Blå Jungfrun in the Kalmar Strait in 1741, he saw a large Trojenborg and noted that it was undoubtedly built by "some sailors lying upwind."<sup>25</sup>

Herman Hofberg reported in 1876 that the labyrinths at Kungsbackafjorden in northern Halland "are said to have been laid by seafarers who were lying windless between the islets."<sup>26</sup>

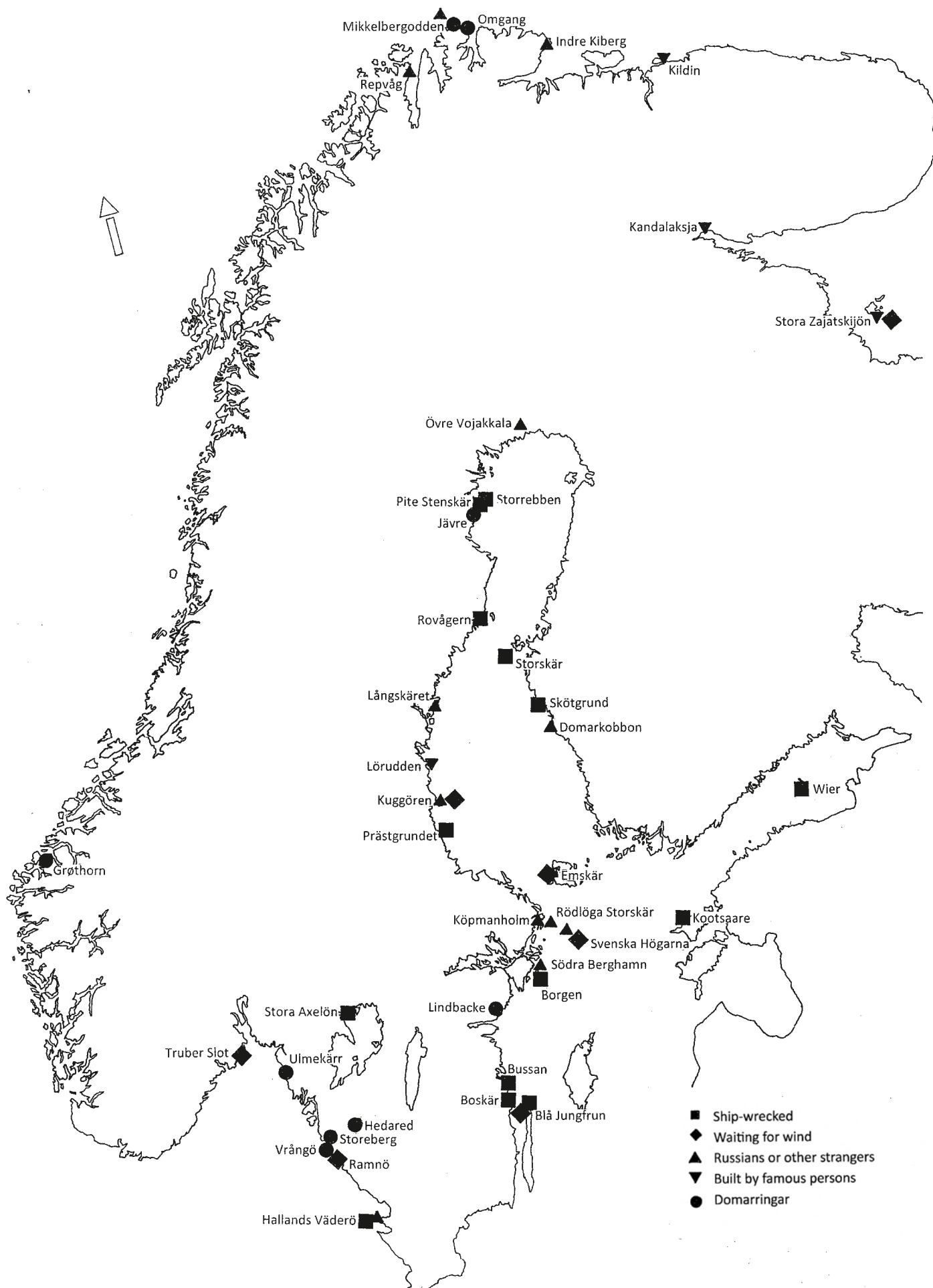
According to an article in a newspaper, which I have not been able to identify, a labyrinth on the island of Ramnö in the Kungsbacka Fjord "according to popular belief" was built "by sailors who were lying in the lee of Lotsholmarna, waiting for better weather."

Göran Österberg mentions the labyrinth on Svenska högarna in a newspaper article and adds: "It was built by sailors, who in this way passed the time while waiting for better weather."<sup>27</sup> This information contrasts in an interesting way with the stories I have been able to collect from old inhabitants of the island.



*Trojenborg på Ramnö,  
i Onvalla S:n.*

6:1 Herman Hofberg's drawing 1876 of a labyrinth on southern Ramnö in Kungsbacka Fjord.



6:2 Five types of folk traditions, presumably without any basis in reality.

They state that the labyrinth was thought to have been built by Russians or Russian prisoners of war, none of them mentioned that it was done in anticipation of better weather.

The local population's most common explanation for the labyrinth at Kuggören near Hudiksvall was that it was built by sailors anchored in Kuggören harbour. Sometimes this explanation is supplemented with the clarification that the sailors who built the labyrinth probably were waiting for wind. According to one version, their ship was trapped by a storm.<sup>4</sup>

At Skaagan near Tönsberg in Norway, there has been a labyrinth called *Truber Slot*. A local legend published in 1872 says that the Huldre-people could sometimes be seen and that they had their castle there. It happened in the old days that a maiden sailing home to Denmark was held up for a long time by a headwind in the nearby harbour. Then one night she dreamed that if she could devise a plan for a castle on the hill and mark it with stones, there would be a favourable wind. She devised a plan and marked it out by joining stones together in rows. You have to go through many windings before you get to the innermost courtyard. They got a good wind and the maiden sailed away. But according to the plan marked by the stones, the Huldre-people now built their castle underground, and sometimes fishermen out on the fjord can see it big and beautiful up on the hill, with lights shining out of all the windows.<sup>5</sup>

A labyrinth on Emskär in the Åland archipelago is said to have been constructed around the turn of the century 1800 by a ship's crew that was stranded in the harbour on the eastern side of the island.<sup>6</sup>

Aarne Europaeus stated in 1922 that most of the labyrinths in Finland date back to historical times and were built as a pastime by sailors who were stranded and by fishermen.<sup>7</sup>

Kurt Jern writes in *Vasabladet* 26.6.1976 that tradition tells us that some labyrinths in the outermost archipelago were laid as a pastime by sailors waiting for a favourable wind.

Max Furu states in a newspaper article, that both in Åland and in southern Österbotten, older people have considered that the labyrinths were laid by sailors waiting for better winds.<sup>8</sup>

The same motif also appears on the White Sea. From the Solovetsky Islands, it is reported that Czar Peter the Great had some of the labyrinths on Great Zayatsky Island built during a visit in 1702. The oldest known record of this is from 1834. But in 1914 the same folk tradition was given a little more substance. An old monk said that Peter the Great had stopped there with his ships and, *while waiting for wind*, had ordered his people to build some labyrinths to keep them busy. According to a report from 1883, the monks stated that the labyrinths on Great Zayatsky Island were built by Peter the Great's people when they were forced to spend several days on the island *because of a storm*. They built the labyrinths because they were idle.<sup>9</sup>

## Appendix 7. Labyrinths at Grave Fields

Numerous inland labyrinths in Sweden are adjacent to prehistoric burial grounds. The character of the grave fields varies, some are large, others are small. Some give a very old impression, while others appear to be from the late Iron Age.

Several of the grave fields at labyrinths do not give the impression of being typical farm or hamlet grave fields. Some were remarkably small, such as Ulmekärr (4 graves) and Storeberg (5 graves). In several cases it makes sense to study some larger grave fields further away from the labyrinth.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about the relationship between labyrinths and burial sites that are adjacent to each other. They do not necessarily have to be contemporary. And it is difficult to say whether the labyrinths or the graves were the oldest. All this is discussed in chapter 26. My list here starts with the examples I consider most interesting and ends with some labyrinths that are hardly likely to be prehistoric but still deserve to be mentioned in this context.

- The Trojeborg at Tibble in Badelunda<sup>1</sup> is an interesting example. The antiquarian Richard Dybeck stated in 1874 that the labyrinth lay "among innumerable grave mounds of the smallest kind, most of them excavated 50-60 years ago ... One of the mounds mentioned was examined by me in 1843 and was found to contain the usual artefacts, among charcoal and bones, from pagan times, such as pieces and the whole bottom of a ceramic urn, iron rivets and small beads, etc."<sup>2</sup>

In 1940, a double-conical ceramic vessel with burnt bones was recovered from the large gravel pit next to the labyrinth. The archaeologist Mårten Stenberger judged it to be an urn grave from the pre-Roman Iron Age (500 BC-0). Presumably such an urn grave was not alone but was part of a now excavated urn grave field.<sup>3</sup> Dybeck's description of countless burial mounds of the smallest kind could thus refer to an urn grave field from the pre-Roman Iron Age. But it is difficult to say anything definite, his description could also be consistent with a mound burial site from the Late Iron Age (375-1050 AD).

- The labyrinth at Rösaring<sup>4</sup> is located on the crest of a high gravel ridge close to a couple of large mounds and four mighty cairns of Bronze Age type (10-18 metres in diameter). One of the mounds and an enigmatic ceremonial path leading 540 metres north from the mound have been partially excavated and dated to the early Viking Age.<sup>5</sup> However, the cairns can be suspected to be from the Bronze Age.

At the foot of the ridge, less than 400 metres from the labyrinth, there are two large grave fields with 200 visible graves, including several large mounds (23-29 m in diameter). In connection with the grave fields, traces of a settlement from 200-550 AD have been found. There are also traces of a bronze casting workshop from 800-1100 AD. An artefact from the Bronze Age has also been found. There are thus traces of settlements from the Bronze Age to 1100 AD.

This may have been the site of an early great manor, Sanda, which in the Middle Ages was divided into several farms: Ålbrunna, Ekeby, Tibble and Sanda.<sup>6</sup>

At the beginning of the 18th century, Rösaring was a meeting place where local young people used to play or dance. Johannes Arenius, who was the son of the vicar at Låssa parish (where Rösaring is situated), mentions this in a dissertation 1717.<sup>7</sup>

- The labyrinth at Ekebo-Smedby in Hammarby parish was destroyed sometime around the turn of the century 1900. It was mentioned in a few words in a book in 1962.<sup>8</sup> One of the authors, archaeologist Lennart Lundborg, has told me that the information came from the local historian Hugo Sabel, who was the Swedish National Heritage Board's representative in the area.

In 1976, I interviewed Sabel, who said that during a home guard exercise in 1940 on the crest of the gravel ridge at Ekebo-Smedby, he ended up together with E W Bruzell (born 1877), a gardener at Stora Väsby who was interested in archaeological remains. Bruzell explained that there had been a labyrinth there until the beginning of the 20th century, when the stones were used to build a boundary cairn on the ridge. On top of the ridge was a flat area, slightly oval, about 30 x 60 metres. Bruzell had seen the labyrinth himself but did not mention any traditions connected to it. Sabel assumed that the labyrinth was destroyed and the boundary cairn was built when Ekebo was partitioned from Smedby village, which happened sometime around 1912. The boundary cairn marked the extent of the Ekebo property.

Shortly after our conversation, I received a letter from Sabel with a detailed report on the labyrinth and the surrounding graves and a map clearly marking the location of the boundary cairn and the labyrinth.

The labyrinth was situated on the flat top of a massive gravel ridge (Långåsen) with a total of about 150 graves on the surrounding slopes. The entire grave complex was examined by archaeologists before the ridge was totally consumed by a huge gravel pit. One cairn could be attributed to the Viking Age. The other graves that could be dated belong to the Migration Period, the Early Iron Age and the Bronze Age.<sup>9</sup>

The archaeologist Björn Ambrosiani, who participated in the excavations on the ridge in 1960, stated in a letter to me in 2017 that the graves probably cover the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period (0-550 AD), although a Bronze Age axe was found at one of the graves. He also mentions that an excavation carried out by Alf Nordström in the centre of the gravel pit area yielded dates to the Migration Period (375-550 AD) and the Pre-Roman Iron Age (500 BC - 0) but nothing in between. Ambrosiani has also drawn my attention to a Bronze Age grave field at Tolan (Edda Park) about 700 metres east of the ridge with the labyrinth. There are 90 round and four square stones and a couple of terraces.

In a 1994 letter, Hugo Sabel told me more about the ancient remains 700 metres east of the ridge.

He mentions an "ancient site with more than 160 installations, which in its northern part has been excavated and developed. The most remarkable site was a 14x10 metre oval ring of tightly laid stones 40-50 centimetres in size. The ring had a metre-wide 'doorway' to the west marked by two 70-80 centimetre long selected, almost square stones. Within the oval, 17 hearths were excavated containing single pieces of pottery and a large resin sherd dated to the 5th century BC. In the immediate vicinity, a bronze axe was found, similar to the one found near the labyrinth, dated to the 9th century BC, a very beautiful flint axe dated to around 2,500 BC, slag and parts of casting moulds? Closer to the ridge, about midway between it and the burial ground, was a stone mallet with a shaft hole, and about 200 metres north of that find, a stone axe with a shaft hole. A bronze dress pin from the 3rd century BC completed the collection."

I suspect that the oval ring of stones, where there were 17 hearths, may be the remains of a cult site.

- A labyrinth at Ulmekärr in northern Bohuslän<sup>10</sup> is located next to what appears to be the remains of a small grave field with four standing stones, probably from the Roman Iron Age or the Migration Period. One of the stones is still there, lying down. The others were dragged away in the mid-19th century to be used for bridge building, four small pits next to the labyrinth show where they once stood.<sup>11</sup>

The labyrinth at Ulmekärr is situated just one kilometre from the well-known Greby grave field with around 200 visible graves. There are many round mounds with or without top stones, long mounds and occasional standing stones. The latter are up to 4.5 metres high and often placed on top of a mound. Eleven of the mounds were investigated in 1873 by Oscar Montelius. The grave urns dated the graves to the Roman Iron Age (0 – 375 AD).

- At the top of the Storeberg hill (80 metres above sea level) in Gothenburg there is a labyrinth next to five flat stone settings<sup>12</sup>, probably a small grave field.<sup>13</sup>

In a 1925 essay, Johan Alin writes that "In the vicinity of the labyrinth at Storeberg in Gothenburg, there has been a now-destroyed grave field, which, according to the information I have been able to obtain about the graves, was probably used during the pre-Roman Iron Age, i.e. during one of the centuries closest to the birth of Christ." However, the grave field Alin is talking about can hardly have been immediately adjacent to the labyrinth. The map of the Gothenburg inventory places the grave field (no. 7) some distance north of the labyrinth (no. 6). Alin's grave field should therefore not be confused with the five flat stones next to the labyrinth.<sup>14</sup>

Alin previously wrote in an inventory report from 1916-18 that on the crest of Storeberg, just above and west of Anderstorpet, there was a grave field with graves under flat ground: "An old lady living at the Anderstorpet croft told us that 40 years ago, when they took turf and topsoil here for the Garden Association's park (in Gothenburg), they found a pot,

which was protected by four flat stones. The old lady, who was a child at the time, picked the pot apart.

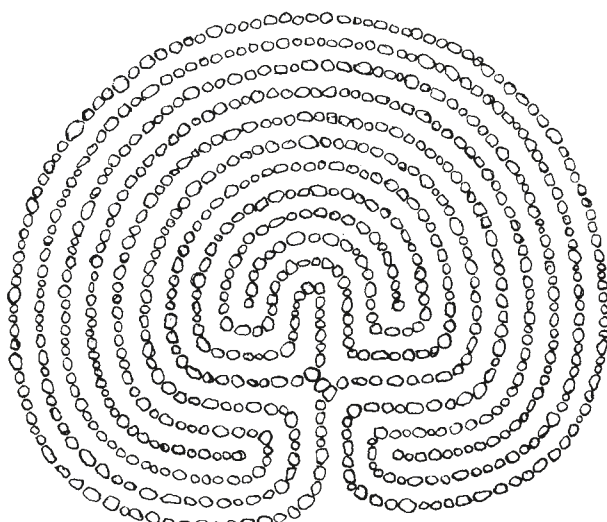
The site was shown. There was now a rocky rise in the ground and a slight depression in its centre. Other people said that many years ago, when a field north of Anderstorpet was newly cultivated, lots of human bones were found in the soil.

The site above Anderstorpet is now levelled and covered with heather, and no mounds are visible except for the mentioned elevation. Whether the graves originally lay under smooth ground could not be determined with certainty.<sup>15</sup>

- A labyrinth at Högaryd in Vallda parish, northern Halland, was destroyed in the early 1900s. It was located on the slope of a gravel ridge, in a grave field that has since been destroyed by gravel extraction. Today only a few small burial mounds remain.<sup>16</sup>

- At Horn church in Västergötland there used to be two labyrinths<sup>17</sup> on a small ridge called Kyrkbacken. They are said to have been located 50-70 metres east of the road and were ploughed up "before the shift." Before Kyrkbacken was destroyed by gravel extraction, the ground was examined and about 70 flat graves, so-called urn graves, from the time just before and after the birth of Christ were excavated. The labyrinths were not located on the crest of Kyrkbacken with the large urn cemetery, but about 30 metres northwest of the ridge.<sup>18</sup>

- About 300 metres north of Vånga church in Västergötland there is a grave field<sup>19</sup> where a labyrinth should also have been located. The grave field was severely damaged by cultivation during the late 1870s, when the labyrinth was also destroyed. The labyrinth is said to have been located in the current field west of the grave field and east of the road. The grave field was reported in the 1961 inventory to contain some 40 graves, of which 30 were mounds and 10 were round stone settings. There is a report saying that the cemetery before the cultivation may have had six times as many graves, but a more conservative estimate suggests that there were rather some 80 graves.<sup>20</sup>

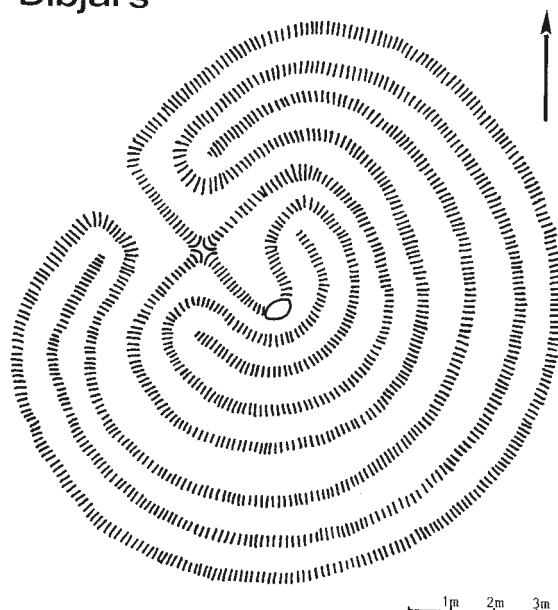


7:1 The Visby labyrinth.

There is also information about a labyrinth at Vånga church in Västergötland, but my checks have shown that this is a mistake caused by an annoying typo when the minutes of the Swedish Society of Antiquities' meeting in 1877 were printed. The archive documents show that the word Vånga was then misread as Vånga.<sup>21</sup>

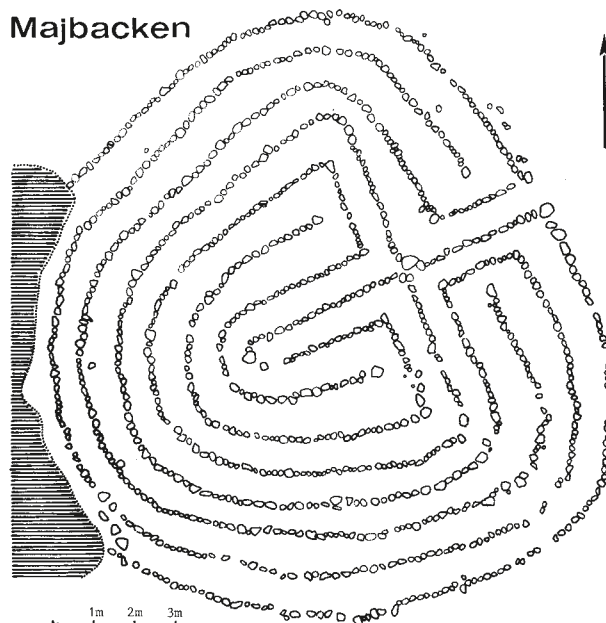
- 750 metres north of Vittaryd's church in Småland there is a labyrinth of simple angle-type on a low ridge, about 50 metres south of a long grave field with graves characteristic of the Late Iron Age (47 mounds, 6 cairns, 1 stone setting).<sup>22</sup> Two of the graves were excavated in 1957 and were judged to be from the Viking Age (800-1050 AD).

## Dibjärs



7:2 Labyrinth of simple angle type at Dibjärs, Hörsne parish, Gotland.

## Majbacken



7:3 Majbacken at Petsarve, Garde parish, Gotland.



7:4 Labyrinth at Ottes, Sundre parish, Gotland.

- Johan Alin wrote in 1925 that in Småland “there is in the neighbourhood of Östra Torsås a large grave field with “domarringar” and erected stones. Between the stones there is also a labyrinth.”<sup>23</sup> This labyrinth, which has not been found again, thus seems to have been situated in a grave field with graves which are characteristic of the Early Iron Age.

- Johan Hadorph reports from a visit to Köping on Öland in 1673 that “outside the church, a little to the north, there are still visible stones from 2 Trøyenborgar who were here in the past.”<sup>24</sup> From the end of the 10th century, Köping was an important trading centre. There was a court site next to the church. There have also been significant grave fields. At Klinta, six fairly large cairns (13-20 metres in diameter) and one mound (15 metres) have been investigated, several with unusually rich artefacts. Among other things, four boat graves were found there. One of these graves is dated to the Vendel/Viking period (550-1050 AD), while three are from the 10th century. The other investigated graves are attributed to the Viking Age.<sup>25</sup>

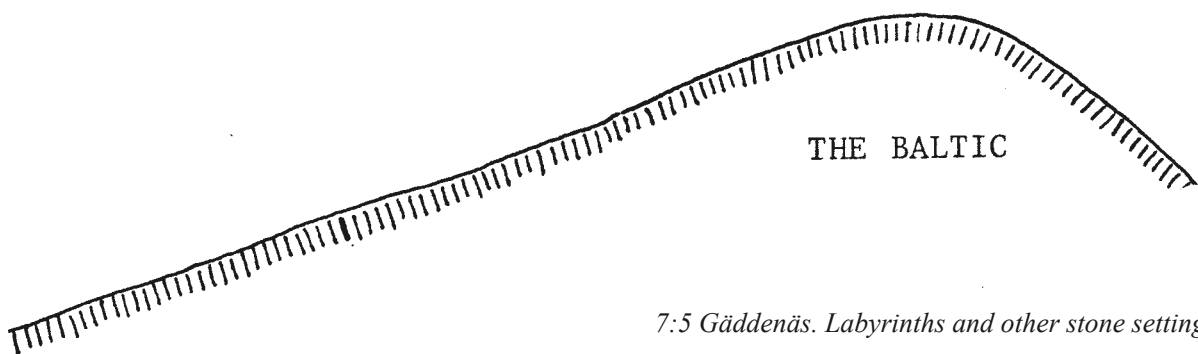
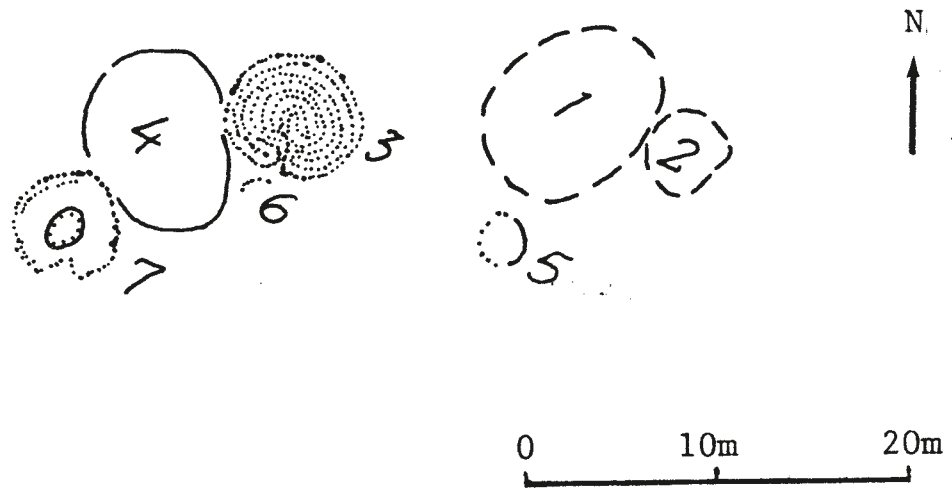
- The labyrinth at Visby on Gotland<sup>26</sup> has two small cairns flanking the entrance. About 25 metres south of the labyrinth, there was previously a cairn.<sup>27</sup> The nearest more significant grave field is at Annelund at Visby Airport, 1.7 kilometres northeast of the labyrinth. The grave field consists mostly of flat stone settings. Excavations show that it covers the entire pre-Roman Iron Age and early Roman period and that there are also graves from the Stone Age and Bronze Age.

- At Ottes in Sunde parish on southern Gotland there is a labyrinth<sup>28</sup> close to three flat stone settings that appear to be graves from the Late Iron Age.<sup>29</sup>

- According to a report from 1901, a labyrinth at Dibjärs in Hörsne parish on Gotland was located in connection with several ‘ancient graves’: large mounds, including an oblong one 25 metres long, and small circles of small stones. One of the graves was investigated and found to contain bones, shards of pottery and teeth.<sup>30</sup>

- At Majbacken at Petarve in Garde parish on Gotland, there is a labyrinth<sup>31</sup> whose entrance is less than three metres from an impressive Bronze Age burial mound (3 m high and 26 m in diameter).

#### GÄDDENÄS

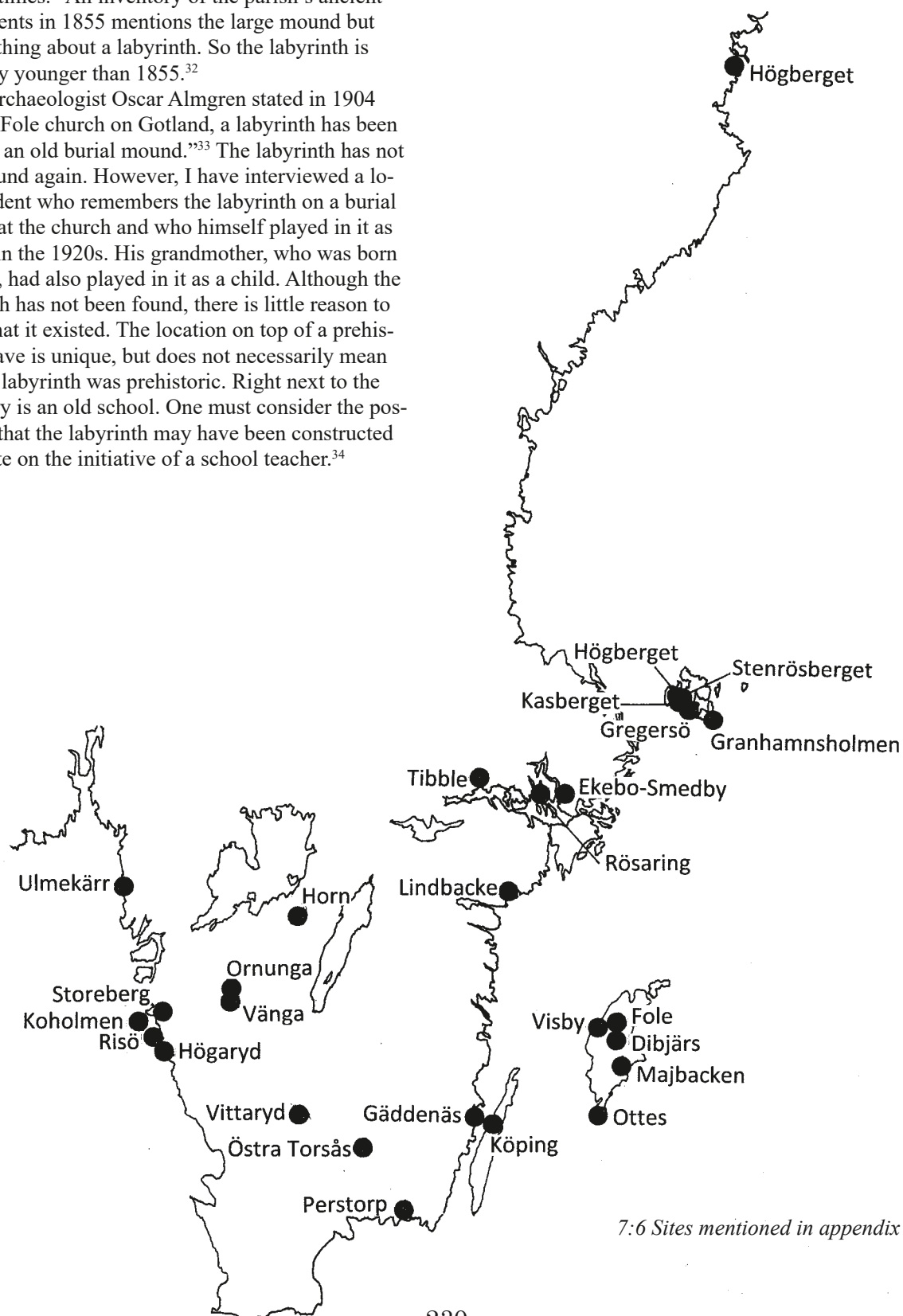


7:5 Gäddeån. Labyrinths and other stone settings.

Next to the labyrinth there are also a number of partially damaged stone settings. The name of the site, Majbacken, comes from the fact that the whole parish used to celebrate May Day here. However, the labyrinth is hardly prehistoric. According to a local tradition, it was built by "an old man, Anders, in Petarve", who lived in the early 19th century. According to another tradition, it was built by schoolchildren under the guidance of the school teacher Qviberg in Garde just before the turn of the end of the 19th century 1900. An inventory in 1907 noted "a Trojeborg, built in later times." An inventory of the parish's ancient monuments in 1855 mentions the large mound but says nothing about a labyrinth. So the labyrinth is probably younger than 1855.<sup>32</sup>

• The archaeologist Oscar Almgren stated in 1904 that "at Fole church on Gotland, a labyrinth has been built on an old burial mound."<sup>33</sup> The labyrinth has not been found again. However, I have interviewed a local resident who remembers the labyrinth on a burial mound at the church and who himself played in it as a child in the 1920s. His grandmother, who was born in 1858, had also played in it as a child. Although the labyrinth has not been found, there is little reason to doubt that it existed. The location on top of a prehistoric grave is unique, but does not necessarily mean that the labyrinth was prehistoric. Right next to the cemetery is an old school. One must consider the possibility that the labyrinth may have been constructed quite late on the initiative of a school teacher.<sup>34</sup>

• On the mountain Högberget in Hortlax, 20 km south of Piteå, there is a partly damaged labyrinth close to a large cairn of Bronze Age type.<sup>35</sup> However, the labyrinth is not from the Bronze Age. Examination of the lichen growth indicates that it was built in 1299 (plus or minus 35-40 years).<sup>36</sup> Noel Broadbent in 1989 gives a different date, 1455 (plus or minus 35 years).<sup>37</sup> The labyrinth was probably built close to the cairn because it was convenient to use stones from the much older cairn.



7:6 Sites mentioned in appendix 7.

- On the island of Risö, outside Gothenburg, there are the remains of a destroyed labyrinth near the highest point on the island.<sup>38</sup> Just one metre from the labyrinth is a cairn 13 metres in diameter. As this is obviously a coast labyrinth, it is unlikely to be prehistoric. A reasonable suspicion is that the labyrinth is located next to the cairn because it was easy to get stones from there.

- There are three labyrinths on Koholmen at Vinga outside Gothenburg.<sup>39</sup> Just two metres from one of the labyrinths is a five-metre cairn.<sup>40</sup> These labyrinths are also coast labyrinths, which makes it unlikely that they are prehistoric.

- At Gaddenäs in the parish of Ålem on the shore of the Kalmar Strait there are two labyrinths located close to two stone settings and two cairns.<sup>41</sup> Since they give the impression of being coast labyrinths, it is unlikely that they are prehistoric.

- The labyrinth at Lindbacke,<sup>42</sup> southwest of Nyköping, is situated ten metres from three round stone settings which could be prehistoric, but could also be house foundations or natural formations. 150 metres to the west is another round stone setting.<sup>43</sup> Almost 500 metres west of the labyrinth is a grave field with about 45 visible graves. It includes 12 mounds, 28 round stone settings, two oval stone settings, a “treudd”, a “domarring” and the remains of another “domarring.”<sup>44</sup>

When the sea level touched the map's 10-metre contour, Lindbacke was an island in a bay of the Baltic. The large grave field<sup>45</sup> extends down to a level between 10 and 15 metres above sea level while the labyrinth is close to the 10-metre level. Judging by the more detailed contours of the city map, the labyrinth is immediately above the 9 metre level. Since the land elevation here has been less than along the Norrland coast, the level suggests that the labyrinth may well be prehistoric, but hardly older than the beginning of the Late Iron Age (375 AD). This fits well with the larger grave field whose graves give the impression of being from the Late Iron Age. But the evidence for such an early date is weak. The labyrinth could be much younger.

- A labyrinth on Sörgården's outfield in Ornunga parish in Västergötland has been situated at a place called *Hovs backe*.<sup>46</sup> According to a legend, there was a manor house called *Hov* at this place before the Black Death. The old landowner's father claimed that the hill was a ‘holy place.’ Around it were “at least 75 Bronze Age cairns” which, according to one record, were further “proof” of the site's ancient origins.<sup>47</sup> But this terrain was probably cultivated late, and several crofts were parcelled out in the 19th century. According to other information, these are not “Bronze Age cairns” but cultivation cairns from the late period. The labyrinth is said to have been constructed by “a shepherd boy.”<sup>48</sup> There is also a report that names two people who are said to have laid the labyrinth: the crofter Svante Kröjs and his brother Johannes, “who had their childhood home close by.” The same information is reproduced in a local history book in 1980.<sup>49</sup>

- A labyrinth at Perstorp in Fridlevstad parish in Blekinge<sup>50</sup> is also surrounded by small cairns. My opinion is that these are cultivation cairns, probably from the 19th century when poverty was severe and people tried to cultivate even poor land. According to one tradition, the labyrinth was laid by a shepherd boy.<sup>51</sup>

- In Åland there are five sites where labyrinths occur together with cairns: 1) Höggerget in Hammarland parish, 2) Kasberget in Hammarland parish, 3) Stenrösberget in Hammarland parish, 4) Gregersö in Jomala parish, 5) Granhamnsholmen in Föglö parish.<sup>52</sup>

In the late 1980s, archaeologist Noel Broadbent carried out comparative tests with the Schmidt Test hammer (which measures the hardness of the surface layer of stone, i.e. the degree of weathering) between the stones of the labyrinths and the cairns. The tests indicate that the labyrinths at Granhamnsholmen and Gregersö were contemporary with the neighbouring cairns. The labyrinth at Stenrösberget was similar to the labyrinths at Granhamnsholmen and Gregersö but the adjacent cairn seemed much older, it could be from the Bronze Age.

Broadbent's conclusion is that the labyrinths at Stenrösberget, Granhamnsholmen and Gregersö were probably contemporary with each other and with the neighbouring cairns at Granhamnsholmen and Gregersö. The investigated labyrinths on Åland may thus be older than those in northern Sweden, they could be from the Iron Age and can possibly be chronologically linked to labyrinths and graves in southern Sweden.<sup>53</sup>

## Appendix 8. Chieftoms

During the Middle Ages, Mälardalen was divided into judicial district areas called *Hundare*. They corresponded to the *Härad* districts further south. But there were of course older patterns of territorial division before the introduction of the *Hundare*. Archaeologists and place-name researchers usually suggest, somewhat cautiously, that there should have been numerous *petty kingdoms*, *lands* or *chieftoms*. But it is difficult to identify their names and extent.

It is hardly too bold to assume that islands such as Gotland and Öland were prehistoric chieftoms. And in Småland there have long been traces of an old division into old lands: Finnveden, Varend, Njudung, Möre, Åsboland and Tjust.

In Östergötland, Västergötland and Mälardalen, however, the traces have largely disappeared or become difficult to interpret. However, the repetition pattern of some old place names opens up a possibility to unravel the territorial division in prehistoric lands. The theophoric place names, which include names of gods, probably mark old pagan cult sites. In much the same way as the number of old church parishes can be determined by counting rural churches, an idea of the ancient division of *chieftoms* can be

obtained by counting cult sites with identical names, such as Ullvi or Torslunda.<sup>1</sup>

In Östergötland, three ancient lands stand out, all defined by complete sets of the names Ullevi, Njärdevi and Skäddvi. To each such group a labyrinth can be linked. The labyrinths are well centred in all the three areas. They are all located at relatively high level, although not in such clear elevations as the labyrinths in Uppland and Västmanland. None of the labyrinths can be associated with prehistoric grave fields.

- In western Östergötland there has been a labyrinth at Skänninge. It was located on a hill, Galgbacken, also known as Karlsborgsbacken, just west of the town. The labyrinth was described at the end of the 17th century, but it probably disappeared before the end of the 18th century.<sup>2</sup> Nearby are the place names Ullevi (*ullawi* 1376) and Mjärdevi (*nærdhavi* 1374), and a little further north you come across Skedvi (*Skædhwi* 1375).

- In eastern Östergötland the place name Trojenborg (*Troiienborgs Bergh* 1691) indicates that there was a labyrinth at Himmelstalund near Norrköping. It probably belonged to the place names Ullevi (*ullavi* 1381), Niärdhawi (*nierdhawi* 1344), Skävi (*skædhwi* 1365) and possibly Skärlunda (*skædalundum* 1377).

- In central Östergötland we find the place names Ullevid (*vllawi* 1300), Mjärdevi (*nyærdhawi* 1355) and Skedevi (*skiäwij* 1697-98). In Linköping there has been a labyrinth, but it is problematic. A map from 1734 depicts a labyrinth of simple angle type in the old bishop's castle garden, adjacent to the entrance of Linköping Cathedral. The labyrinth is also marked on a map from 1750, with the text 'the so-called Trojaeborg'.<sup>3</sup>

In his book on the history of garden art, Sten Karling has assumed that this was a planted garden labyrinth. These were created in several royal palace gardens in the second half of the 16th century by gardeners called in from abroad. There is much to suggest that Karling is right, as the labyrinth is situated in one of the royal palace gardens known from the 16th century. However, something that contradicts his explanation is that the labyrinth figure on the map from 1734 is of angle-type. Nowhere else in Europe is there any evidence that such early garden labyrinths were of angle-type.

Could the labyrinth at Linköping Cathedral instead be an old stone labyrinth, perhaps from pre-Christian times? If so, it would fit in well with the group of cult site names. I have played with the idea in some articles, but over time I have become more sceptical. It is perhaps most reasonable to explain the labyrinth at Linköping as a garden labyrinth from the 16th century.

- There are traces of another probable labyrinth in Östergötland. At Viby village, about halfway between Linköping and Skänninge, there were two farms called Tröjaborg in the Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> The earliest

source where the farms are mentioned is from 1421 when they were donated to Vadstena Monastery. Jöran Sahlgren guessed that the monks in Vadstena were responsible for the name. He understood it to be a nickname inspired by the Trojan Saga popular in the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> But as Thorsten Andersson pointed out, the farms obviously had this name already when they were donated to the monastery. This indicates that the name belonged to a long-lost labyrinth.<sup>6</sup>

But the location is puzzling in that case. Viby is located near the probable border between two ancient lands. If these lands were ever united, one could imagine that Viby would have been a favourable meeting point for a larger land. But this can only be loose speculation.

Further south, in Småland, the clues of the cult names are fading. For some reason the traces of Ull, Njård and Härn disappear. But it doesn't matter to us, because the division of Småland into six old lands lived on into the Middle Ages and are therefore well known. Two labyrinths are known in the hinterland of Småland, both of which are adjacent to grave fields and are well centred in their lands.

- The Labyrinth of Vittaryd, situated at the edge of a grave field with 47 mounds, six small cairns and a stone setting, is in the heart of *Finnveden*.

- In 1925 Johan Alin mentions another labyrinth "in the neighbourhood of Östra Torsås." He writes that there is a large grave field with "domarringar" and erected stones. "Inside between the stones there is also a labyrinth."<sup>7</sup> This labyrinth has since not been found again, but the description shows that it was located in the old centre of *Värend*.

- On Öland, the antiquarian Johan Hadorph mentions two labyrinths near Köping church in 1673.<sup>8</sup> They have never been mentioned later. The location at an important church, which may once have been a cathedral, suggests that the labyrinths may have had a Christian significance. But at Köping's church there has also been an old court venue (*tingsplats*). A nearby grave field with some graves with rich artefacts and the place name Köping, which marks an early trading place, shows that this was an important centre on Öland. Köping is located in the centre of the island. However, it is not possible to determine whether the labyrinths were primarily connected to the church or to the pre-Christian centre.

- There are many labyrinths on Gotland, most of which seem to have been built in the 19th and 20th centuries. But the famous labyrinth below Galgberget, just north of Visby, could be older than the others, perhaps dating from pre-Christian times. A number of legends about this labyrinth have been preserved. Visby was an important pagan cult site for the whole of Gotland before the island was Christianised.

Västergötland is difficult to grasp because the theophoric place names there do not provide the same

good guidance as in Östergötland and Mälardalen. However, it is likely that Västergötland was divided into three prehistoric lands whose core settlements corresponded to the three large plain areas. There was probably a fourth land in the Göta River valley. However, it is only in one of these imagined lands that one comes across a reasonably centrally located labyrinth.

- In northern Västergötland, a group of place names of the same type as in Östergötland and Mälardalen stand out: Ullervad (*vllerwi* and *wllerwi* 1293), Närlunda (*Nerlunde* 1540), and Skövde (*Sködwe* in the late 13th century), as well as two labyrinths at Horn's church. The labyrinths were located on a ridge, the so-called Kyrkbacken, at the edge of a large urn grave field from the time around the birth of Christ.
- In the rest of Västergötland the theophoric place names do not provide any firm guidance to the pre-Christian territorial division. However, it is conceivable that the now lost labyrinth at Vänga played a central role in an ancient chiefdom whose extent we can now only speculate about. The labyrinth at Vänga was located in a large Iron Age grave field that once maybe contained 80-240 graves.<sup>9</sup>

In Mälardalen, the combinations of place names are clearer. My review of the place names suggests that two thousand years ago there may have been eleven chiefdoms in the Mälär landscape (four in Uppland, two in Västmanland and five in Sörmland). In four of these lands, there have been labyrinths which could be prehistoric. All five of the labyrinths were located at high levels and three of them had grave fields.

- The labyrinth at Tibble is located near Ullvi (*in Vllau* 1371), Närlunda (*in Nerdalunda* 1386) and Skerike (*skægherghi* 1283).
- The labyrinth at Enköping was located near Ullunda (*ii Vllalunde* 1353) and can probably be associated with Härnevi (*Ernawi* 1302) and Ulleråker (*in villa Vllerakyr* 1346) a little further north.
- The labyrinth in Rösaring is located near Ullvi (*in wllawi* 1326?) and Härnevi (*Hernwij* 1257), it may also be associated with Skadevi (*skedwi* 1296, *skædui* 1299).
- The labyrinth in Ekebo-Smedby was well centred in the heart of its land, but the distance is quite long to the names Ullentuna (*Waltwna* 1538), Närtuna (*de Nierdhatunum* 1298), Skederid (*Skætharg* 1287) and the Härnevi that can be sensed in the older name of Husby-Långhundra parish (*husabyærnawi* 1303).
- However, the neat pattern on the north side of Lake Mälaren is disturbed by a labyrinth in Kungsör. It lies high, on the crest of Jägaråsen, but has no grave field. Place names in the Köping area such as Ullvi and Västra Skedvi indicate that western Västmanland was a separate chiefdom. But the labyrinth's peripheral location, on what in prehistoric times was an island, right on the southern border of the land, indicates that it is hardly prehistoric. And there are further indications that it is not very old (see chapter 41, note 9).

- On the southern side of Lake Mälaren, five lands are characterised by the repetition of cult names. But there are no records of labyrinths there; they may have disappeared, or they may have escaped discovery. Sörmland's only labyrinth, which could be quite old, is at Lindbacke, near Nyköping. But it is situated on low level, only nine metres above sea level, which, due to land uplift, puts a backward limit on its age to the time around the birth of Christ, when Lindbacke was a small island.<sup>10</sup>

One tradition identifies the Lindbacke hill as a sacrificial grove with a spring dedicated to the god Frey (Frö). Originally the place was called *Lundbacke*. Below this *Frey* grove was a meadow called *Freyängen*, which was later called *Fruängen*.<sup>11</sup>

- Närke is difficult to assess. The repetition pattern of the cult names indicates that there may have been two or three very small chiefdoms. However, the concentration of old settlements in a rather limited area and the small number of graves indicate that there was hardly more than one land.

A single labyrinth is known from Närke. It was located on a low gravel ridge, Långhamra, 500 metres west of the Stora Väsby farm in Kräcklinge parish. In the early 20th century, it was destroyed in connection with the construction of a potato cellar.<sup>12</sup> During an inspection of the site in 1986, Eric Ericsson (born 1904) said that when he was a child, the labyrinth was cleared by a private tutor at the Stora Väsby farm. Around 1910-1912, the stones of the labyrinth were removed to be used in concrete for the construction of a potato cellar. The potato cellar is situated about ten metres west-southwest of the site of the labyrinth. The labyrinth has not been associated with any names, traditions or prehistoric remains.<sup>13</sup>

It is of course impossible to say whether this labyrinth was prehistoric. But the location is central in Närke's oldest settlements, just a few kilometres west of the Nalavi farm (*Nærthawi* 1276).

## Appendix 9. The Labyrinths in Fridlevstad

In Fridlevstad parish, just north of Karlskrona, there is a sparse cluster of labyrinths. Altogether there are records of eight stone figures, but some of them have been destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Most of them give a late impression. They have no contact with ancient monuments, and they are often located in somewhat anonymous, almost hidden places, some distance away from the settlements. I suspect that the people who built the labyrinths and walked them wanted to do it for themselves, without the scrutiny of others.

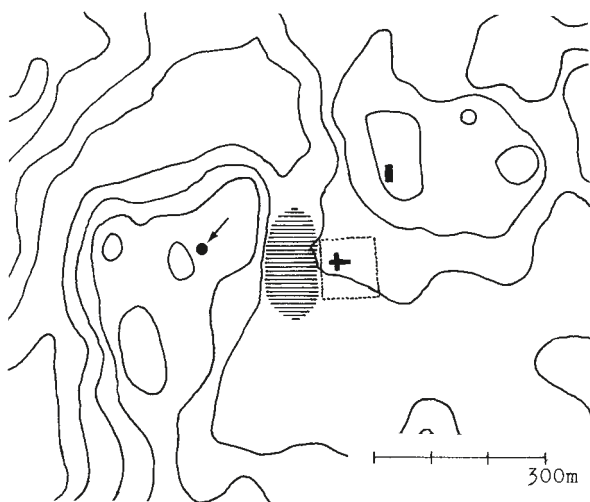
- One of them, at Tvingelshed (Raä nr 27) cannot be older than the 1870s. It was built from blasted stone from an adjacent small quarry that was used to make stone posts when the railway was built in 1872-1874. Two of the labyrinth's stones have traces of drill holes after blasting.

Local historian Rikard Svensson has told me that as a child he heard an old man say that the labyrinth in Tvingelshed “was not something to play with and that it was a place that children should not bother with.” The same person had also said that there were people seeking cures for diseases in the labyrinth. Svensson believed that people went to the labyrinth to get rid of mental illness.

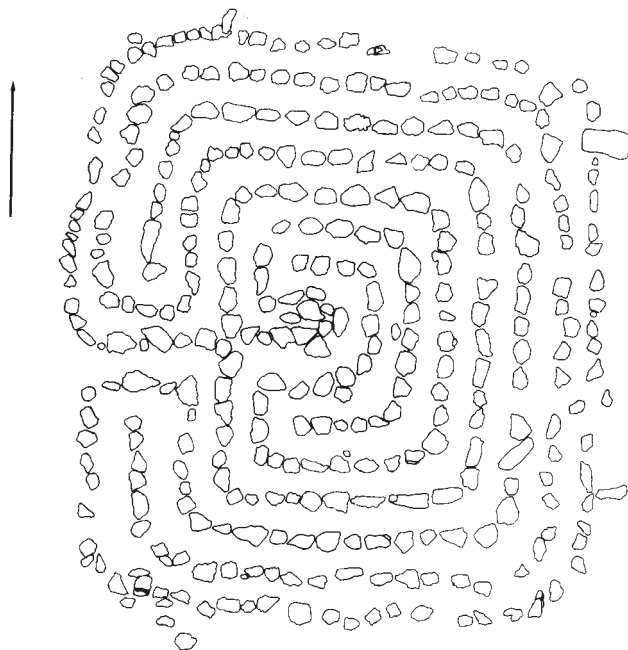
- A labyrinth at Kvarnagården (Raä nr 38), which was discovered as late as 1976, is located in a forest area that in the 19th century had a completely different character with many crofts and open pastures. Close to the labyrinth is the so-called Lindgrenstorpet. In the mid-19th century, “Jönsingels-Tillan” lived there, a woman who, according to Rikard Svensson, was known for distilling liquor and practising the black arts. Perhaps she built the stone figure.

- A now lost labyrinth on the small rocky hill Klockarebacken, 250 metres west of Fridlevstad church, was called *Trelleborg*. It is mentioned in an unpublished manuscript by S.W. Gynther, *Blekings fornminnen*, from the early 1800s. He writes: “A fairly old stone setting on a hill not far from the church, called by some the labyrinth by others Trelleborg, is remarkable although it cannot be considered other than as a playground. The passages between the rows of stones are so narrow that they scarcely leave room for a foot, and so arranged that without going through them all one cannot get to the centre, or out from there.”

Rikard Svensson, who himself saw the remains of this labyrinth sometime around 1935, has pointed out the site to me. No remains of the stones are visible anymore. According to Svensson, in the 1920s a state subsidy was given for clearing stones from the vicarage’s fields, and the labyrinth was destroyed by dragging heavy loads of stones over it. In 1927 Gottlieb Wirde stated that the labyrinth at the church was de-



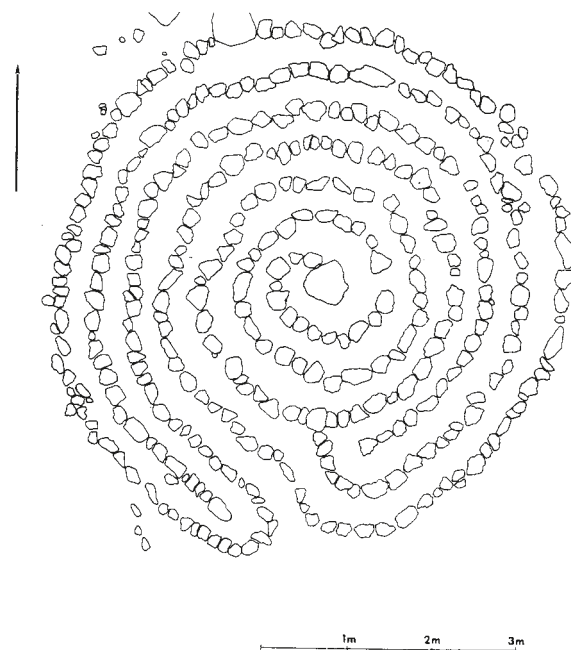
9:1 The site of the destroyed labyrinth Trelleborg on the Klockarebacken hill, about 250 metres west of Fridlevstad church. Immediately west of the cemetery was the so-called Aspelunden ‘the Aspen grove’ (hatched). The map also shows the contour lines.



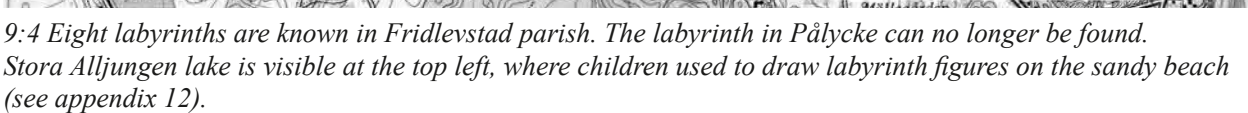
9:2 Trollebo stad at Perstorp, Fridlevstad parish, Blekinge.

stroyed. In the same year, an article in *Blekinge Läns Tidning* mentions that the labyrinth was “for a long time completely hidden by superimposed stones.” Wirde assumed that the labyrinth at Klockarebacken was the oldest of the labyrinths in the parish.

- A labyrinth at Perstorp (Raä nr 24) is located in a clearing in the forest, up on the crest of a hill. Surrounding it are many small cairns, but these are hardly prehistoric graves, but rather cultivation cairns from the 18th or 19th century when people tried to cultivate even poor soils. Wirde says that the labyrinth was said to have been built by a shepherd boy. He also states that the neighbouring cairns are traditionally associated with an ancient queen’s attempts at cultivation.

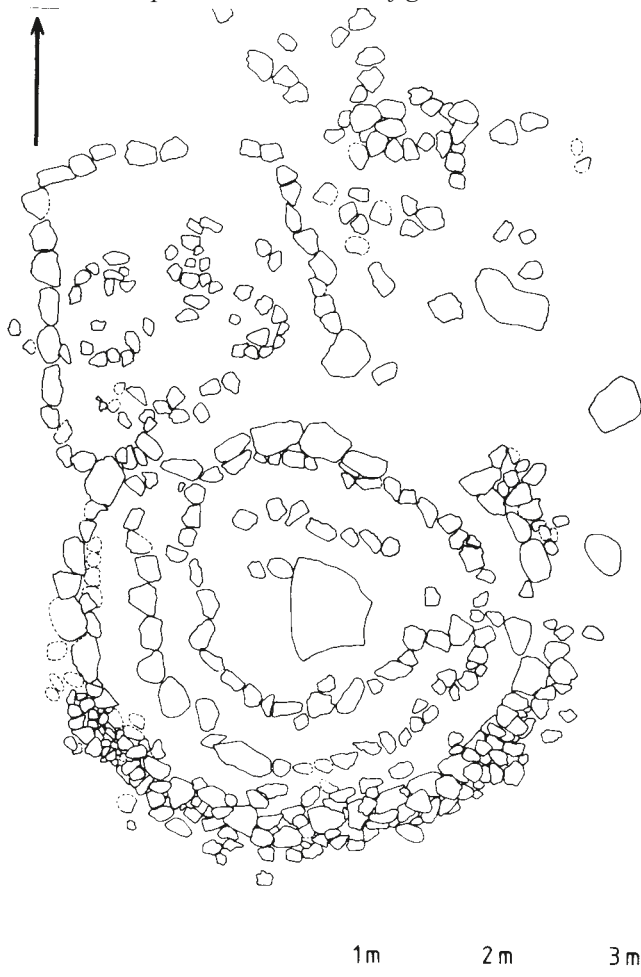


9:3 The labyrinth at Kuleryd, Fridlevstad parish, Blekinge.

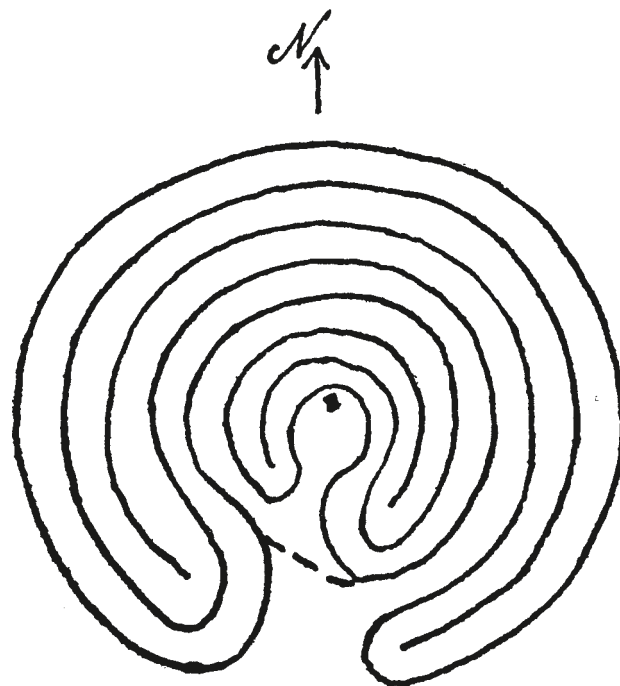




9:5 The labyrinth at Kvarnagården, Fridlevstad parish, Blekinge. The stone figure is located in a forest area that in the 19th century had a completely different character with numerous crofts and open pastures. The labyrinth was probably laid by people from one of the crofts. When I visited the site in 1982 there was only one croft left, the so-called Lindgrenstorpet. In the middle of the 19th century, "Jönsingels-Tillan" lived here, a woman known for practising the black arts. Perhaps she built the stone figure.



9:6 Remains of a labyrinth at Buskeboda, Fridlevstad parish, Blekinge.



9:7 Sketch of the Pålücke labyrinth, which can no longer be found, Fridlevstad parish, Blekinge.

- The labyrinth at Kuleryd (Raä nr 28) is situated on a wooded hill surrounded by open meadows. The landowner told me in 1976 that it was built by his grandfather who bought the farm in 1883. The purpose of this is said to have been to save the pattern from an older labyrinth that lay 4-5 metres north of the present figure. The older labyrinth would have been destroyed just before the change of ownership in 1883.

- A labyrinth at Buskeboda appears to be damaged and has probably been altered.

- A labyrinth at Persborg, near Södra Bostorp, was situated on a large moss-covered, sloping rock face. It is so damaged that it is no longer possible to discern any pattern. Sven-Olof Hillerström, who grew up on the farm that owned this land, told me in 1982 that as a small boy, about 50 years earlier, he heard the old people tell a tradition that labyrinths (in general) were once used for occult purposes at midsummer and in connection with weddings.

- In 1927 Gottlieb Wirde mentioned a labyrinth at Pålücke, which can no longer be found. However, Wirde gives a sketch of its design. It looks a bit strange, but a closer look shows that it is of a simple angle-type, i.e. the same type as the labyrinths at Perstorp and Kvarnagården. Out of a total of eight labyrinths in Fridlevstad, the design is known in five cases. Three of them are of the simple angle-type. No larger labyrinths seem to have existed in Fridlevstad.

The labyrinth at Klockarebacken was called *Trelleborg*. The one in Tvingelshed has been called *Trellebostan*, *Trällestad* or *Trällstad*. According to information from Rikard Svensson's brother, the labyrinth at Tvingelshed was also called *Trelleborgsstad* or *Trojeborg*. The labyrinth at Perstorp is said to have been called *Trollebo stad*.

A good guess is that the name *Trelleborg* is the oldest, while the other names are late transformations. The name Trelleborg probably gave rise to *Trelleborgsstad*, which was then transformed into *Trellebostan*, *Trällestad* and *Trällstad*. *Trollebo stad* shows that the prefix could also change. The name *Trojeborg* is mentioned by one informant but has not been confirmed by others in the parish, perhaps the informant has accidentally mixed up the local labyrinth names with the standard Swedish: Trojeborg.

Like Gottlieb Wirde, I believe that the labyrinth at Klockarebacken was the oldest. Its name Trelleborg has been taken over by the younger labyrinths and in that process new variants have emerged.

It is not known what design the labyrinth at Klockarebacken had, but a reasonable guess is that it was of the simple angle-type since three of the probably younger labyrinths were of this type.

Some accounts suggests that the younger labyrinths were used for magical purposes. I suspect that this too was modelled on Klockarebacken.

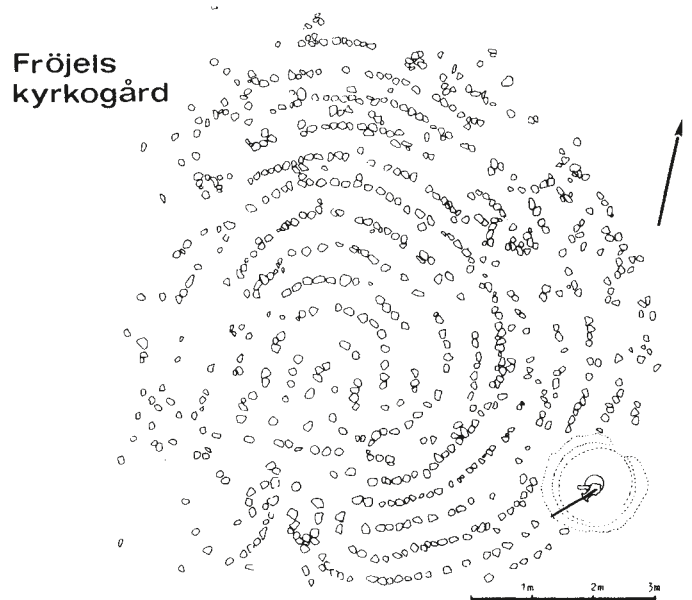
## Appendix 10. Labyrinths at Churches

There are records of stone labyrinths at nine Swedish churches. Only one of them, in Fröjel, has been preserved. The question is whether the churches were built next to older labyrinths or whether churches attracted labyrinths. A closer examination shows that the connection between churches and labyrinths is often difficult to interpret and sometimes questionable.

- at Viby parish in Östergötland there were two farms called *trøioborgh* in 1421. In 1447 they are called *trøghiaborgh* and in 1457 *thrøiaborgh*.<sup>1</sup> I agree with Thorsten Andersson's assessment that there was probably a labyrinth at Viby village. The farms were located southwest of the church, on the edge of the village.<sup>2</sup> The parish name Viby indicates that the church was built at a pagan cult site, a *vi*. But it is difficult to assess whether the labyrinth was older than the church or whether it was built close to the church.
- There were two labyrinths at Horn's church in Västergötland. They are mentioned in archaeologist K.E. Sahlström's 1921 inventory report, where he states, based on interviews with local residents, that they were destroyed before the agricultural reforms of the 19th century.<sup>3</sup>

Immediately east of the cemetery is a north-south road. 50 metres north of the north-eastern corner of the cemetery there was a turn-off to the east. By this smaller road, 50-70 metres east of the main road, were the labyrinths, "a double and a simple." On an attached sketch, the distance from the church is given as 50 metres, but judging from the description, the labyrinths should rather have been about 100 metres north-east of the church.<sup>4</sup>

Sahlström's description thus suggests that the labyrinths were located about 30 metres northwest of the gravel ridge east of Horn's church called Kyrkbacken. Before Kyrkbacken was destroyed by a gravel pit,



10:1 The labyrinth at Fröjel church before the restoration in 1974.

Sahlström excavated a large urn grave field from the time around the birth of Christ. Apparently, the labyrinths were not among the graves on the ridge, but quite close to them (about 30 metres). However, the distance to the church (about 100 metres) was so great that one can question whether there was a connection between the church and the labyrinths.

- Two labyrinths at Köping church on Öland are mentioned by the archaeologist Johan Hadorph who visited the site in 1673. Hadorph writes that "outside the church, a little to the north, one can still see stones from 2 Trøyenborgar which have been here in the past, built to honour Odin and danced around."<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to judge how close the labyrinths were to the church.
- A labyrinth at Linköping, depicted on two maps from the 18th century, was situated in the garden of the old bishop's residence, near the west portal of the cathedral. There is no doubt about the proximity to the church, but the connection is still difficult to interpret. The labyrinth was in the garden of the old bishop's castle, which became a royal castle garden after the Reformation in 1527. It is known that this was one of the castle gardens planned in the 16th century by invited foreign gardeners, some of whom created garden labyrinths. This means that the labyrinth at Linköping Cathedral could be a 16th century garden labyrinth. If so, it is easy to explain why it never appeared in later sources. But on one 18th century map, the labyrinth is depicted as an angle-type figure, which indicates that it was not a garden labyrinth.
- According to a letter in 1683 from the local judge Erik Teet in Selånger to the Uppsala professor Olof Rudbeck, there should have been a labyrinth "at the highest cliff or hill" at Sundsvall's old city church. The letter relates a local tradition that St Olof (the Norwegian king Olaf Haraldsson) is said to have played in the labyrinth with "his woman."<sup>6</sup> I suspect that the labyrinth, which no longer exists, was older

than the church. Sundsvall became a city in 1621 and the building of the city church was still ongoing in 1629. If the labyrinth was younger than the church, there should therefore have been several Sundsvall residents who in 1683 remembered when and how it was built. If so, there would have been no basis at that time for a local legend associating the labyrinth figure with the Viking Age king Olaf Haraldsson.

The location at Sundsvall's old church is interesting. Ships that passed the Selånger river from the old court venue and the harbour at Selånger's church, this should have been a suitable place to wait for favourable winds to continue their journey along the Norrland coast.

- At Enköping, just north of Vårfrukyrkan, on top of the ridge, there used to be a labyrinth. A sketch of it was published in 1872 by the antiquarian Hans Hildebrand. Simon Nordström said in 1877 that "it is called Trojenborg."<sup>7</sup> It was situated just outside the then cemetery wall. But during an expansion of the cemetery in 1883, the labyrinth ended up inside the new cemetery wall. It was covered with gravel and has probably since been destroyed by graves. The location of the labyrinth, on the crest of the dominant Enköpingsåsen, suggests that it was prehistoric and thus older than the church. But the location just north of the cemetery could also mean that it was built in Christian times, as close to the church as possible.

- At Möklinta church in northern Västmanland there used to be a labyrinth, five metres south of the bell tower, just outside the gate of the cemetery wall. When the cemetery was expanded in 1891, it ended up inside the cemetery wall.<sup>8</sup> Herman Hofberg describes it in 1912 as "an old Trojanborg, almost overgrown with grass."<sup>9</sup> In 1930, W Palmblad states that there was little left of the labyrinth.<sup>10</sup> Since then the area has been taken over by graves. In Möklinta parish there was no prehistoric settlement indicating that the labyrinth might be older than the church. My guess is therefore that this labyrinth was built just outside the cemetery wall because they wanted it as close to the church as possible, but not within the cemetery.

- At Fröjel church on Gotland there is a labyrinth within the walls of the cemetery. There has been speculation that the labyrinth was older than the church and was connected to the site of worship that appears in the parish name Fröjel, namely *Fröjas al*. However, the question is whether the early church builders were really so tolerant of paganism that they allowed a pre-Christian labyrinth to remain inside the cemetery. The church description in 1942 states that the labyrinth probably lay outside the walls of the original cemetery.<sup>11</sup> If this is true, the labyrinth in Fröjel may be a parallel case to the labyrinth at Möklinta.

- Horred's church in Västergötland has a church bell with a labyrinth figure. In addition, the inventory of ancient monuments noted a local tradition that there used to be a stone labyrinth at the centre of the village, at Lunnaliden. Labyrinth researcher Jørgen

Thordrup has told me that an old resident told him of a local tradition that when the bell was to be cast in the 15th century, the caster lived in the vicarage and reproduced the pattern of the nearby stone labyrinth on the outside of the bell.<sup>12</sup>

The information about a stone labyrinth in Horred's church village is uncertain. But if it existed, it should have been located near the church. Whether it was older or younger than the church, however, is impossible to say.

## Appendix 11. Images in Churches

Around 30 labyrinth images are found in 23 churches in the Nordic countries. There is also a labyrinth on a church bell and another on a stone cross. 28 of the labyrinths are painted, two of them on the outside of the churches. Most appear to be from the 15th or early 16th century. A few may be from the 14th century.

All figures except one (Grinstad) are of angle-type. Only two of the angle-type figures have 8 walls, fifteen have 12 walls and five have 16 walls. In two cases (Maaria and Levide) the dots have been omitted resulting in figures with 6 and 10 walls respectively.

All five figures with 16 walls have been found in Jutland and Fyn in Denmark, where there is only one labyrinth with 8 walls and one with 12 walls. In Sweden, Norway, Finland and Zealand, figures with 12 walls dominate, with only one labyrinth with 8 walls and none with 16 walls.<sup>1</sup>

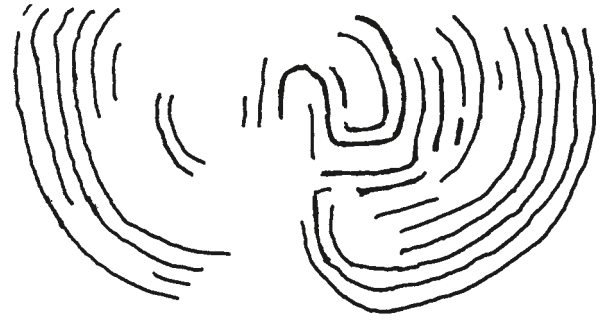
### Denmark

- Bryrup Church, south of Silkeborg and west of Skanderborg in Jutland: A labyrinth painting that seems to be of angle-type with 16 walls, on the south side of the tower vault. The labyrinth painting was covered by lime and was discovered during a restoration in 1989. Subsequently, it was limewashed again.
- Gylling Church, 21 kilometres northeast of Horsens in Jutland: On the north wall of the nave, west of the western window, restoration work in 1907 revealed the remains of a labyrinth painting that was later limewashed over. Between the windows on the north wall, close to the labyrinth, there was an image of St Christopher, who was the saint of the travellers.
- Nim Church, 13 kilometres northwest of Horsens in Jutland: During restoration work in 1990, a labyrinth painting on the north wall of the nave was discovered that had been started but never completed. The labyrinth is large (175 cm). The design is clearly angle-type, but it is incorrectly constructed (the horizontal line of the centre cross has been tripled), which may be the reason why it was not completed.
- Skive Old Church, in Jutland: The church has many frescoes, most of them from 1522. On the west wall of the tower room, there is an angle-type figure with 16 walls. It is well preserved and clear but is partly obscured by the organ. To the left of the labyrinth is a symbol of the Trinity. Above it and the labyrinth is an image of St. Christopher.

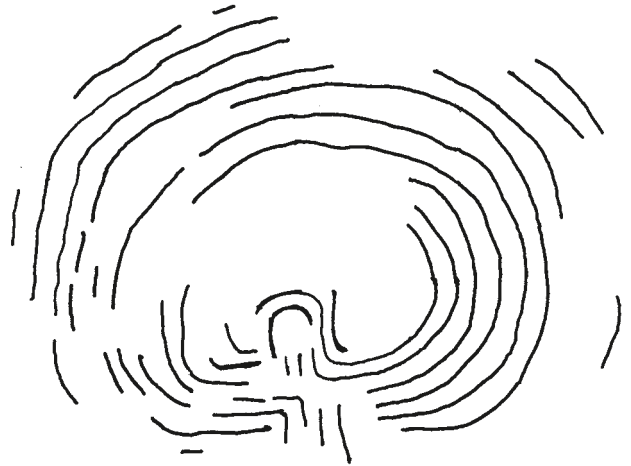


11:1 Labyrinth painting in Skive Old Church after the restoration in the 1990s.

- Skørting Church, 20 kilometres west of Aarhus in Jutland: A restoration in 1962 revealed two labyrinth figures on the north wall of the nave. One was of the angle type with 16 walls, of the other only fragments remained. The labyrinth figures have been dated to around 1500. Next to one of the labyrinths was a dedication cross. Everything has since been limewashed again.
- Tåning Church, 5 kilometres southwest of Skanderborg in Jutland: During repairs to damage in



11:2 One of two labyrinth paintings in Skørting church.



11:3 Labyrinth painting in Bryrup church.



11:4 Labyrinth painting in Hesselager church.

the vaults in 1957, paintings were found, including a figure of angle-type with 16 walls, which were then limewashed. The vaults date from around 1475 and the labyrinth painting probably from around 1500. The labyrinth is in the eastern vault of the nave, just above the chancel arch. To the left of the labyrinth is a man carrying a yoke over his shoulders and a bucket. To the right of the labyrinth is a fox that appears to be hung or tied to a tree. In the centre vault of the nave there are more paintings, probably depicting elements of a Lenten procession.

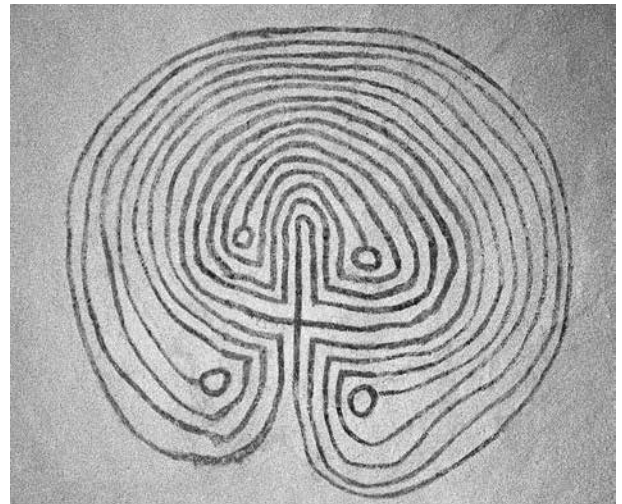
- Hesselager Church, 16 kilometres northeast of Svendborg on Funen: A well-preserved figure of double angle-type is found in the west vault of the nave. The labyrinth is surrounded by foliage. To the right is the word *Maria* 'Mary.' To the left there is a mirrored date, which probably refers to 1481 or 1487.
- Roerslev Church, near Middelfart on Funen: During restoration work in 1995, a large figure of angle-type with 16 walls was found, dating from the 15th century. It is painted on the vault above the choir arch.
- Vissenbjerg Church, 17 kilometres west of Odense: A figure of simple angle-type was exposed in 1976 in the easternmost vault of the nave. It was only partially preserved and was subsequently limewashed.
- Gevninge Church, 7 kilometres west of Roskilde on Zealand: This is Zealand's only church with labyrinth paintings. Two labyrinths have been painted on the triumphal wall, i.e. the church's most prominent view towards the altar. There are no other lime paintings in Gevninge Church. The labyrinths in Gevninge must have been painted before the arches were put in place. They are situated above the arches and are now only visible to those who go up into the church attic. The lower edges of the figures are partly covered by the arches. Gevninge Church's vaults are considered to have been built in the 14th century and the labyrinth paintings have been dated somewhat vaguely to 1275-1375. They are thus the earliest found in Denmark.

## Sweden

- Båstad Church in north-west Skåne: Among the paintings from 1470-1520 there is a figure of a double angle-type in a vault.
- Östra Karup Church in Halland, seven kilometres east of Båstad: To the right of the church door are five painted arches that could possibly be the remains of an angle-type figure, about a quarter of which remain. To the right of the possible labyrinth is a ship. The paintings have been dated to 1470-1520.
- Horred church in Västergötland: On the big bell there is a small labyrinth figure of double angle-type and the text *help maria*.

• Grinstad Church in Dalsland: Part of a labyrinth painting of somewhat imperfect Chartres-type with 12 walls is on the north wall of the nave. The church is from around 1250. The missing part of the labyrinth was apparently destroyed when a window was widened. The image of the labyrinth had been limewashed and was discovered during a restoration in 1913.

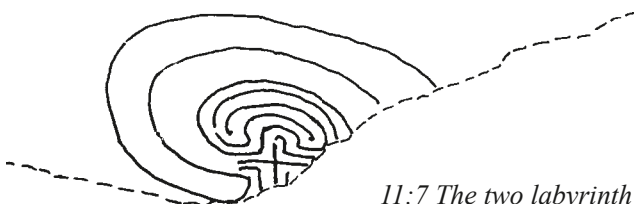
- Sorunda Church in Sörmland: On a coat of arms on the vault of the Fleming burial chapel, a figure with 11 walls has been carved in the plaster. The shape of the coat of arms indicates that it dates from around 1500.
- Hablingbo Church on Gotland: On the west wall of the windowless and therefore dark tower room is a



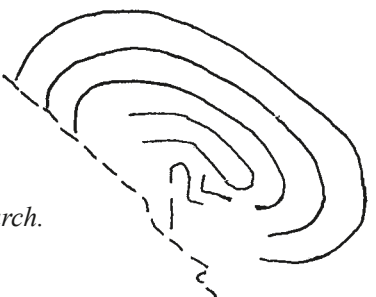
11:5 Labyrinth painting in Roerslev church.



11:6 Labyrinth painting in Vissenbjerg church.



11:7 The two labyrinth paintings in Gevninge church.



painted figure of a heavily modified angle-type with no less than 19 walls. In the right part of the figure is a human-like drawing, probably a man with a sword.

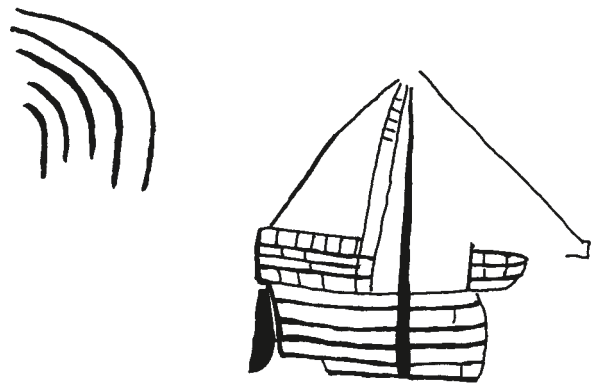
On the south wall of the same tower room there is a carved, but not completed, labyrinth figure of double angle-type, i.e. a seed pattern with a cross, double angles and four dots. There is also a lot of other graffiti in the tower room, including images of ships to the left of the seed pattern. It is impossible to date the labyrinth images in Hablingbo but the tower room is older than the 14th century when the rest of the church was built.

- Lye Church on Gotland: On the south wall of the windowless and therefore dark tower room there is a small carved figure of double angle type together with a variety of graffiti, including runes. Above the labyrinth is a runic line with the text: "I am a poor, sinful man", which is an extract from the Lutheran confession of sin, introduced into Swedish liturgy around 1540 by Olaus Petri. On the opposite wall of the tower room are images of ships carved in the same way. The tower room is from the 13th century. The appearance of the ships indicates that the carvings are from the 15th century.

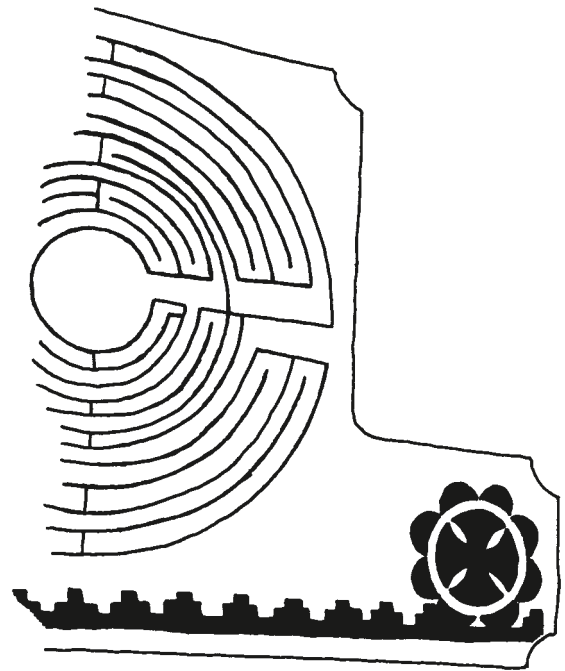
- Ganthem Church on Gotland: In 1979 the iconographer Anna Nilsén discovered an indistinct carving of double angle-type on the north side of the western arch. Above the labyrinth is a painted consecration cross. The church's nave is from the 13th century.

- From Levide parish on Gotland comes a stone cross. It had a carved figure of angle-type with double angles but without dots, giving 10 walls and making the passage system impossible to follow to the centre. The stone cross was depicted in 1627 at the Julskov manor 7 kilometres west of Nyborg on Funen, Denmark. The antiquarian Ole Worm reproduced the drawing in his book on runes in 1643.

The stone cross was brought to Julskov from Levide by Emmike Kaas, the county governor of Gotland, who married the heiress of Julskov in 1580. In Juulskov, the stone cross was placed in the



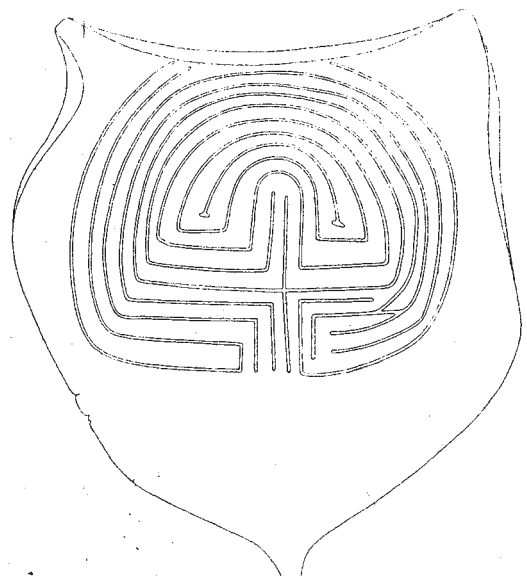
11:9 Ship and remains of a probable labyrinth in Östra Karup church.



11:10 Labyrinth painting of a modified Chartres-type in Grinstad church. The figure is obviously imperfect, but as Viola Hernfjäll has pointed out to me, with a few simple corrections it becomes identical to the labyrinths in Lucca in Italy and Chartres in France.

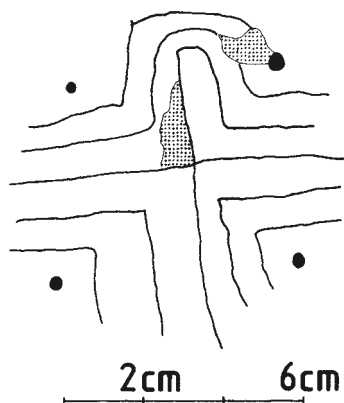


11:8 Labyrinth painting in Båstad church.



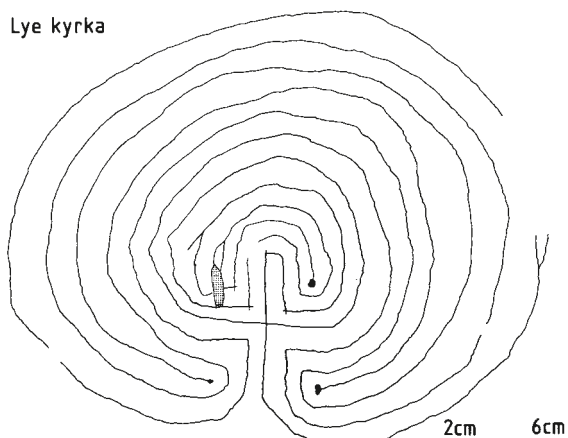
11:11 Labyrinth figure in Sorunda church.

## Hablingbo kyrka



11:12 Uncompleted carved labyrinth figure in Hablingbo church.

## Lye kyrka



11:13 Labyrinth graffito in Lye church.

courtyard. In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century it was torn down to provide material for a dam and a stone bridge. The inscription on the stone cross has been interpreted by Erik Moltke as follows: "After the birth of God in 1442, Gengulf at Levede and his son Oluf had the cross made." Thus, the cross with the labyrinth image is from Levede on Gotland and was made in 1442.

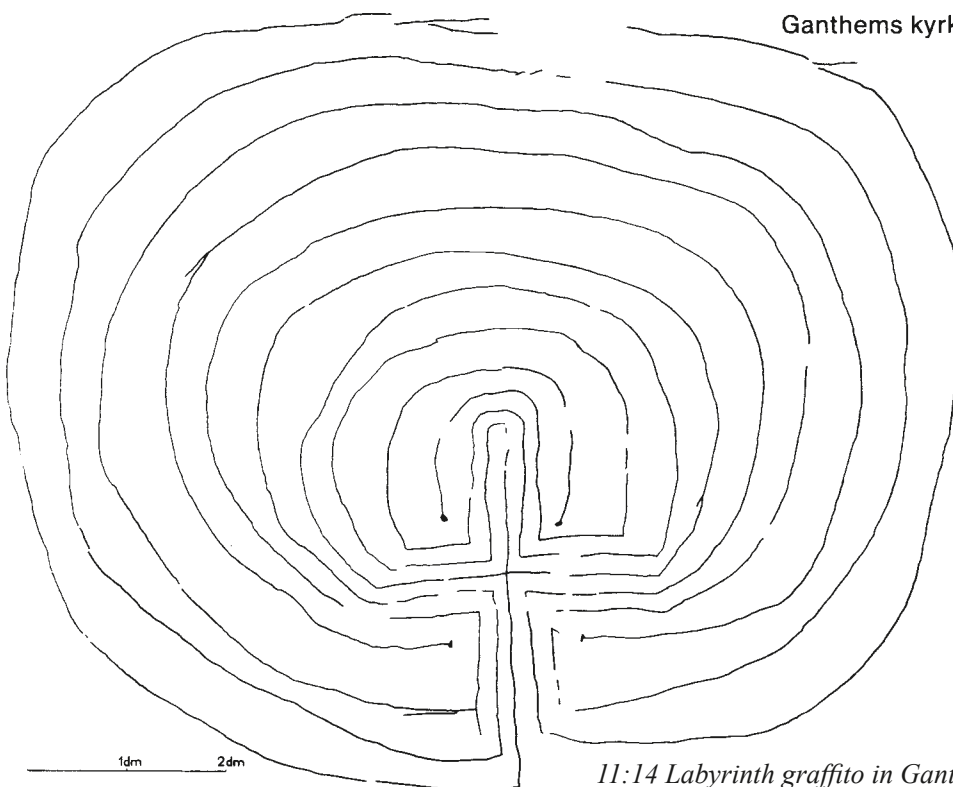
## Norway

- Vestre Slidre Church in Valdres: On the outside of the south wall of the church, in the doorway of the south portal of the nave, there is a painted figure of double-angle type.
- Seljord Church, north-west of Skien in Telemark: On the outside of the church, next to the door on the west gable, there is a partly damaged figure of the Seljord-type with 12 walls. A little to the left on the same wall are five or six arches that could be the remains of another labyrinth. On both sides of the labyrinth are paintings of ships with high stems. The church was built 1150-1180 and the labyrinth was discovered during restoration work in 1926.

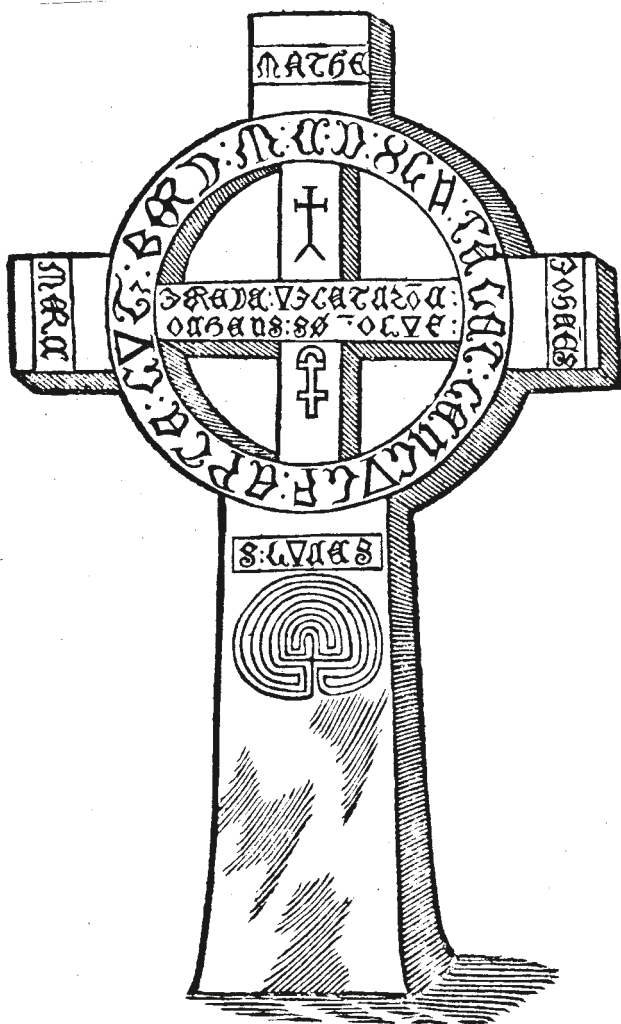
## Finland

- Korpo Church, about 50 kilometres southwest of Åbo (Turku): Paintings of ships and two labyrinths in the southwest corner of the nave, not far from one of the windows in the south wall. One is well preserved and of a simple angle-type. The other is smaller and seems never to have been completed. Among the many frescoes are a man with a staff, several hornblowers and sirens, a hunter with a dog, a crossbowman, several ships, a jousting scene with two men on horseback and a bird of prey that seems to be pouncing on them, and St. George and the dragon.

## Ganthems kyrka



11:14 Labyrinth graffito in Ganthem church.



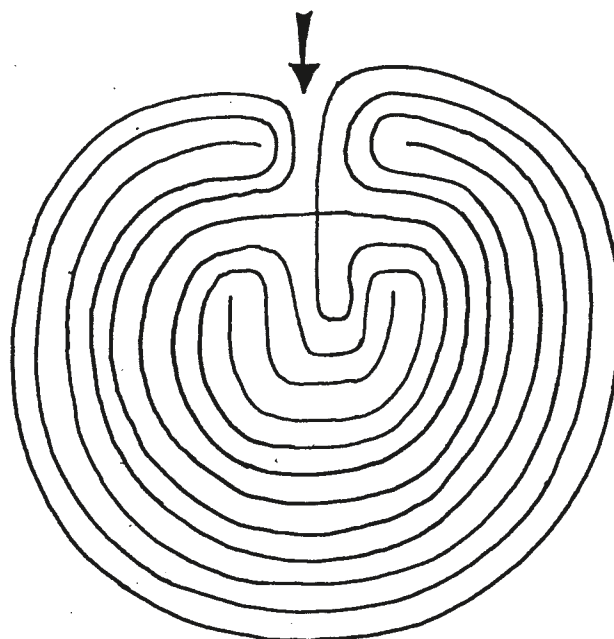
11:15 Stone cross with imperfect labyrinth figure from Levide parish.

- Maaria Church (St. Mary) in Röntämäki near Åbo: The church is large and full of strange paintings, which seem more inspired by folk art than by traditional medieval church art. No other church with labyrinth images can be compared to this one! There are four angle-type figures, three of which have 12 walls, one has been constructed with simple angles and no dots, resulting in a figure with 6 walls.

The many frescoes include several ships, a jousting scene, a wind rose, the face of Christ and a sun, a chessboard pattern and a man with a top hat, an executioner-like man with exposed genitals and a hood pulled down over his eyes.

- Sibbo Old Church, barely 30 kilometres northeast of Helsinki: High up on the north wall, above the sacristy door, there is a painted labyrinth of double angle-type. In its centre is a female figure. The church was probably built at the beginning of the 15th century, and the frescoes may have been added after the vaults were constructed in the latter half of the 15th century. The frescoes were uncovered in 1935. In addition to the labyrinth, they include a trickster, two opposing dogs, a horse and a wind rose.

A.W. Rancken interpreted some of the other paintings as “a rich sample map of all means by which the air in the church could be kept clean and



11:16 Labyrinth painting in Vestre Slidre church.



11:17 One of two labyrinth paintings in Korpo church.

the congregation protected against the cunning and dark intentions of the evil one.” He is cautious about the interpretation of the labyrinth figure, but points to the possibility that the female figure in the centre may be related to the fact that in the parts of Finland where Swedish is spoken, labyrinths were called jungfrudans (maiden dances).<sup>2</sup>

- Pernå church, about 60 kilometres east of Helsinki: On the south wall there is a painted, partly destroyed figure of double angle-type. The labyrinth is surrounded by imaginative frescoes, including a ship, a hornblower, a siren, a battle between two crossbowmen and possibly a jousting tournament. The church is from the 15th century.

### Comments on dating:

Six church labyrinths are known in Jutland. Five of them have been found during restorations and have subsequently been limewashed over. Only the one in Skive Old Church is visible today, after a thorough restoration.

One labyrinth painting in Gylling church has an unknown design. Another one (Nim) is unfinished but



11:18 Labyrinth painting in Pernå church.

has a peculiar design which is discussed in Appendix 26. The other four (Skive, Skørting, Bryrup and Tåning) are all of the rather rare angle-type with 16 walls. No other church labyrinths in Scandinavia have 16 walls, apart from the one at Roerslev on north-west Funen, which is close to Jutland. The unusual design suggests that these labyrinth paintings are closely related. They are probably close in time, maybe they were painted by the same hand.

All these churches are old, dating from the 12th and 13th centuries, but the vaults were only built in the 15th century or slightly later. In Bryrup's church, the vaults were built in the late 15th century and decorated by the so-called 'Lily Master', who was a master mason from Ribe, whose people in the period 1500-1520 travelled around southern and central Jutland modernising churches by building towers, adding vaults and decorating the vaults at the same time. I suspect that all of Jutland's church labyrinths with 16 walls were painted by them.

On Funen there are two church labyrinths (Hesselager and Roerslev) that are very similar in design. Both are well preserved and especially the four dots of the figures seem to be painted by the same hand. Next to the labyrinth in Hesselager there is the text "Maria" and on the opposite side of the labyrinth an unclear date that has been interpreted as 1481 or 1487. I think that this dates both labyrinths to the 1480s.

The frescoes in the church of Hesselager are believed to have been made by the so-called "clog painter" known from several other churches. A third church labyrinth on Funen was found in the church of Vissenbjerg. Here too, the paintings in the vault are believed to have been made by the clog-painter. The church was rebuilt in the 1490s. The evidence thus suggests that all three church labyrinths on Funen were built in the 1480s and 1490s.

The churches at Båstad and Östra Karup, which belonged to Denmark in the Middle Ages, are only

seven kilometres apart. It can therefore be suspected that they are closely related, perhaps painted by the same artist. The paintings in both churches have been dated to 1470-1520.

Almost all the labyrinth paintings in Danish churches thus appear to date from the late 15th or early 16th century. Only the two labyrinths in Gevninge church on Zealand appear to be much older.

In the other Nordic countries, the evidence is less clear, but several of these labyrinth images also appear to be late, from the 15th or early 16th century.

## Appendix 12. Labyrinth Drawings

There are a number of records from northern Europe showing how labyrinth figures were drawn. They are generally of the angle-type. In roughly the same parts of Europe, angle-type figures are also found painted or carved into everyday objects, carved in stone, drawn in books or scribbled in some other context.

Such labyrinth lore is found in the Nordic countries, northern Russia, Estonia and the British Isles. The area of distribution largely coincides with the areas where one finds field labyrinths of stone or turf. However, it is rare to find examples of the labyrinth drawing game or labyrinth figures on everyday objects in close proximity to field labyrinths.

Let's start in the north-east, in Russia. There are no records from there showing how to draw a labyrinth, but in the village of Zanjuchta in the Pinega region, about 300 kilometres east of Archangelsk, i.e. far inland, a folk object has been found, a *skal'no* (a tool for winding yarn) with a carved figure of double angle-type connected to a similar figure.<sup>1</sup> Soon after the printing of my book in 2022 Vyacheslav Mizin sent me photos of another similar labyrinth figure, on a similar object, from the same place.

In Finland, archaeologist J.R. Aspelin published in 1877 some labyrinth figures drawn by school children. Figures of the double angle-type were drawn by schoolchildren in Helsinki in the 1840s and in Vasa in the 1850s. Labyrinths without a centre cross were drawn by schoolchildren in Helsinki in the 1840s.<sup>2</sup>

From the parish of Nagu in Finland, it was reported in 1893 that a labyrinth was drawn based on a cross, angles and dots (the seed pattern). However, instead of starting by joining lines in the centre, it is said that you start by drawing the outermost wall and then add wall after wall towards the centre.<sup>3</sup>

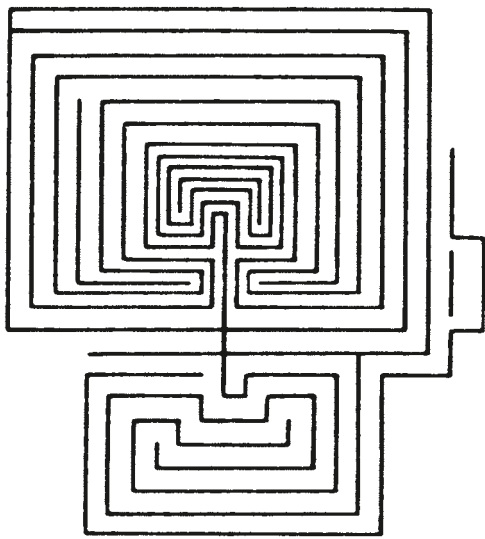
Björn Cederhvarf wrote in an article 1910 on labyrinths in Åland: "Labyrinths are also known from Finland in the form of parlour games for both children and adults. Many people have probably been involved in drawing labyrinths as a pastime and then following the path with a pencil or stick, or perhaps jumping on one leg and trying to kick a stone or other heavy object forward in order to drive it out of a labyrinth drawn on the ground." Cederhvarf also mentions an information he received from Kuolajärvi parish (Salla) in Lapland about a probably drawn labyrinth figure called *Keisarin lystihuone* 'Emperor's gazebo'.<sup>4</sup>

The island of Hogland in the Gulf of Finland has no known stone labyrinths. However, according to a report from 1919, boys on the island were still drawing labyrinths around 1870. The report includes a number of detailed sketches of how to construct a figure of the simple angle-type.<sup>5</sup>

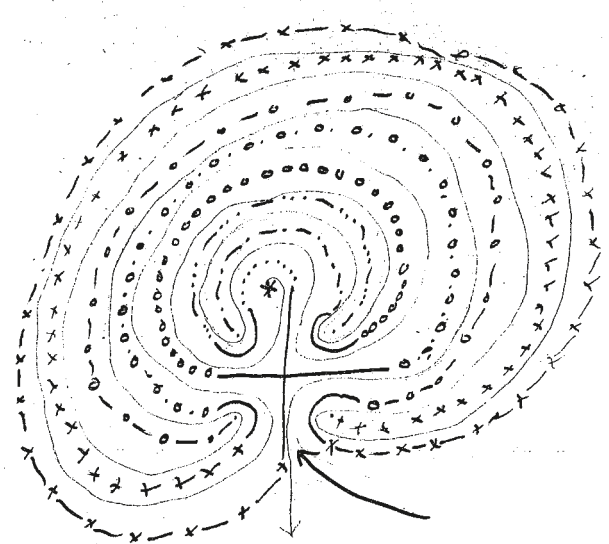
Christina Bäcksbacka mentions a labyrinth figure carved in a rock on the island of Pikku Porho in Merimasku parish west of Åbo. It cannot be old because it is only one and a half metres above sea level.<sup>6</sup> According to an unpublished list of Finland's labyrinths compiled by Bo Stjernström, there are several carved images in the rocks on the small island of Porinkloppi, in the neighbouring parish of Velkua: a labyrinth figure of the simple angle-type, a swastika, a triangle and the date 1700. The carvings are located 2-3 metres above sea level.<sup>7</sup>

On a wall in Åbo Castle there is an elaborate but still quite clear graffito of double angle-type framed by a number of additional lines.

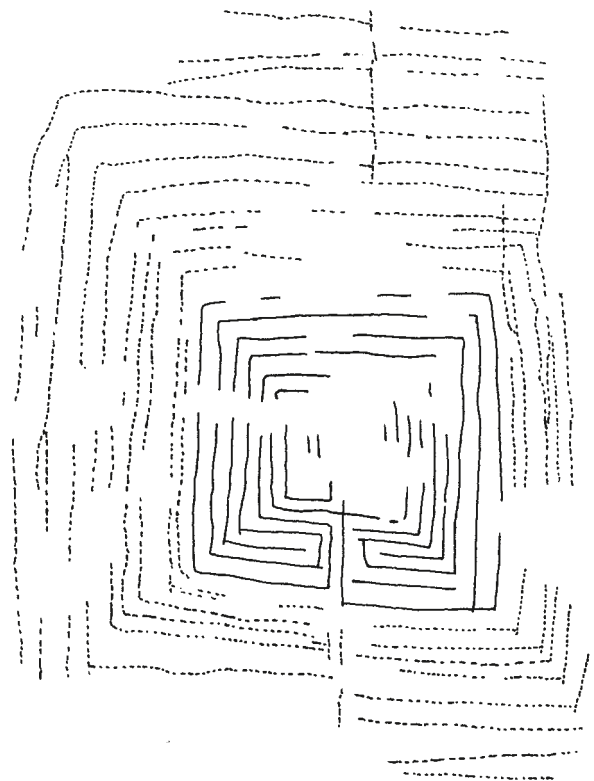
A mangle board from Kuortane in the hinterland of southern Österbotten has an incised figure of simple angle-type together with three other signs (a cross, a star and a St. Hans coat of arms), as well as the year 1664 and some enigmatic letters.<sup>8</sup>



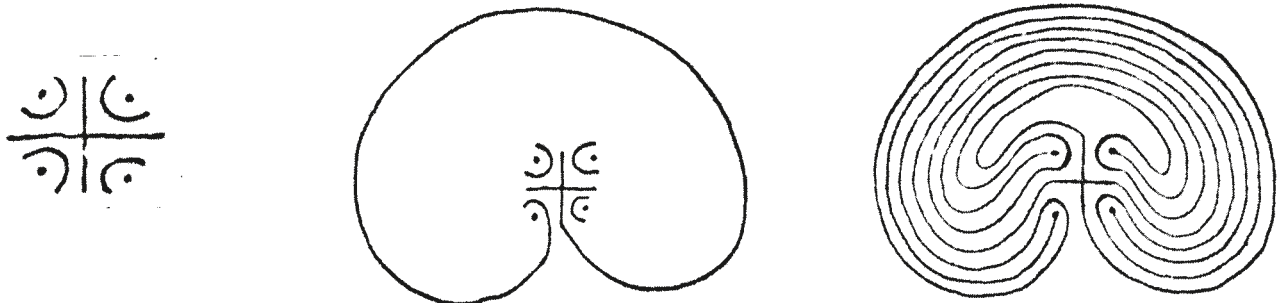
12:1 Labyrinth figure on a skal'no from the village of Zanjuchta in the Pinega region, northern Russia.



12:3 Ranskan Parisi 'Paris of France.' Drawing showing how angle-type figures were drawn on Hogland in the late 19th century.



12:4 Graffito on a wall in Åbo Castle. The outer walls have been reproduced here with dashed lines to emphasise the labyrinth figure in the centre.



12:2 Drawings showing how to "build a maiden dance." Nagu parish in southern Finland 1893.



12:5 Mangle board from Kuortane in southern Österbotten.



12:6 Labyrinth carved on the wooden wall of a windmill from Vormsi, Estonia.



12:7 Labyrinth drawing scribbled in a 16th century Latin mass book.

In 1885, Kustaa Killinen reported that in Iso-Kyrö (Storkyro) parish in southern Österbotten, not far from Kuortane, labyrinth figures were carved with a knife into boards, mill doors and forest sauna doors. They were called *Laiskan Jaakon linnaksi* 'Lazy Jacob's Castle.' One started by carving a cross, then arcs and dots. One also trampled the same pattern in the snow and drew it on chalkboards.

Killinen also mentions that labyrinth figures were drawn in northern Satakunta and in the Björneborg region. Presumably, the game of drawing a labyrinth was widespread in Finland, since Killinen particularly emphasises that he had not encountered it in the area around Kuopio in Savolax. The local names of the labyrinth figures mentioned by Killinen and Aspelin can be found in Appendices 19-21.

The art of drawing labyrinths was also known in Estonia in the 19th century. In 1838 the Estonian zoologist and geographer K.E. von Baer visited the small island of Wier (South Virgen), 11 kilometres southwest of Hogland in the Gulf of Finland, where he saw a stone labyrinth. In his published account, he says that it seems superfluous to describe the figure

in detail "since it can be assumed that every reader, in early years, together with playmates, drew such figures on chalkboards or on the ground..." At the end of the account, Baer adds that he had heard from several sources that drawing such labyrinthine drawings was a widespread pastime among Russian youth. He assumes that this game spread from Russian youths to German youths in Livonia, where they used to draw such figures on slate boards. He also adds that this game seemed to be little known in Germany.<sup>9</sup>

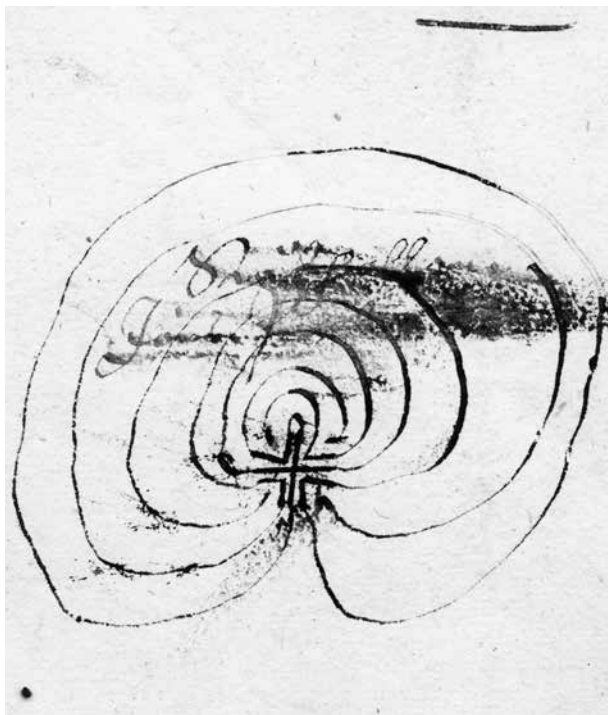
The game he refers to should therefore have been known both in parts of Russia and in what is now Estonia (Livonia was divided after the First World War between the newly created states of Estonia and Latvia). This is confirmed in an article by Peeter Mey in 1931, where he states that schoolchildren in Estonia used to draw *Jeruusallemma mäng* 'Jerusalem Game' on the blackboard.<sup>10</sup>

The Rocca al Mare open-air museum near Tallinn houses a windmill built in 1748 on Ormsö Island in Estonia's old Swedish settlements and later moved to the village of Sutlepa in Noarootsi on the mainland. On an inside wall it has a carved labyrinth figure of double angle-type.<sup>11</sup>

The oldest labyrinth drawings on paper found in Sweden are in a handwritten Latin mass book from the 16th century.<sup>12</sup> On the inside of the front cover, someone has drawn three angle-type figures; a fourth drawing is found further into the book. One can clearly see that the figures were constructed using the seed pattern. Three of the figures are of perfect angle-type but the smallest figure has no angles. The labyrinths should have been scribbled in the book sometime in the second half of the 16th century. The two owners of the book, who can be suspected to have made the labyrinth drawings, are Laurentii Nicolai who was vicar at Gävle 1578-1581 or Andreas Petri who was vicar at Nederluleå 1569-1611.<sup>13</sup>

A slightly younger labyrinth drawing of simple angle-type is found on the last page of a cattle list from 1624 for Väne härad in Västergötland.<sup>14</sup> A couple of labyrinth drawings from the beginning of the 18th century, by the Värmland priest Erland Hofsten, clearly reveal that he started by drawing the seed pattern using a ruler.<sup>15</sup>

Queen Christina (1626-1689), who reigned in Sweden from 1644 to 1654, had some silver medals or commemorative coins minted with square labyrinth figures of simple angle-type. She was probably inspired to do so by a Cretan coin with a square, angle-type figure in her coin collection. The coin collection was later dispersed, but before that it was catalogued and among the drawings in the catalogue is the probable model for the Queen's medals.<sup>16</sup> The medals bear the Latin text *Fata viam inveniunt* 'fate will find the way', a phrase borrowed from Virgil's Aeneid and which appears in several cases with labyrinth images on the continent in the 16th century.<sup>17</sup>



12:8 Labyrinth drawing in a cattle list 1624, Väne parish in Västergötland.

It is possible that the Queen's interest in the labyrinth was influenced by the fact that she spent a long time at the royal estate at Kungsör with her mother when she was 13 years old. According to a local tradition at Kungsör, Christina is said to have amused herself by riding her horse in the labyrinth. Several of the names of the labyrinth allude to her games in it: *Queen Kristina's riding course*, *Queen Kristina's riding path* and *Queen Kristina's walking castle*.<sup>18</sup>

The civil servant Sven Wilhelm Gynther (1796-1873) came from Karlskrona and ended his career by becoming county governor of Västernorrland. His unpublished manuscript *Blekinges fornminnen* contains a couple of labyrinth drawings that he probably made from memory. There is no explanatory text for the figures. However, he does mention two labyrinths in Blekinge: one in Fridlevstad and one "near Sölvesborg," but it is unlikely that their designs looked like the drawings.<sup>19</sup>

From Sweden there are a number of records of how the angle type was drawn, many of which were collected by the Ethnological Survey of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm (EU).

From Wängelsby in Fjällsjö parish, northern Ångermanland, it is said that children used to compete with each other drawing labyrinth figures, which "were supposed to represent the city of



12:9 Swedish medals from Queen Christina's time.



12:10 Drawing of a Cretan coin in Christina's coin collection.

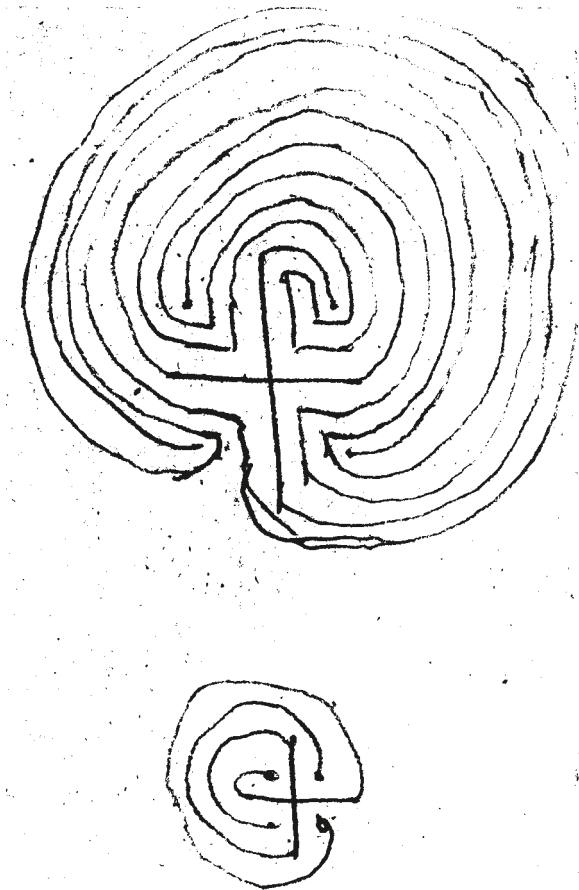
Constantinople and were invented by a stranger who had come here.”<sup>20</sup> In the parish of Nordingrån in Ångermanland, the boys at school would go up and draw a labyrinth figure on the blackboard.<sup>21</sup>

From Revsund in Jämtland it is said that children used to draw more or less strange labyrinths. They were drawn on paper. The informant found it difficult to recall how the labyrinths were drawn, but he had “a vague memory that they usually started with a cross.”<sup>22</sup>

In Lima, Dalarna, in the 19th century, young people used to amuse themselves by drawing angle-type figures on chalkboards, paper and icy window panes.<sup>23</sup>

In Sunne, Värmland, school children used to draw “such castles” during breaks, but they were not part of the curriculum. They were called the *road into the city of Constantinople*. It was believed that “whoever could walk Trojeborg without encountering obstacles could redeem someone who had been spirited away into a mountain.”<sup>24</sup>

From Lilla Mellösa in Sörmland it is stated that they drew “lines and roads between them, you could go in and out of the figure without crossing any line.”



12:11 Sketches of two labyrinths in a manuscript by Sven Wilhelm Gynther from the last half of the 19th century. Gynther probably learned how to draw labyrinths as a child, but when he drew the figures as an adult, he did not quite remember how to do it, because the small figure has no angles, while the large figure has a unique appearance because he started by connecting two angles with each other, instead of connecting the centre cross with the nearest angle.

Not far from there, in Västra Vingåker, an informant in 1943 says that his father used to “draw such a figure.”<sup>25</sup>

The local historian Manfred Ohlsson has told me about a teacher at Rådmansö near Norrtälje who taught his pupils to draw ‘cruciform labyrinths.’ The drawing game was called *Walking to Jerusalem*. A person from Singö outside Östhammar states that his father (1837-1902) occasionally drew an angle-type figure, which he called *gångborr*, ‘walking castle.’ This he did as a challenge for the son to find his way into it without crossing any line.<sup>26</sup>

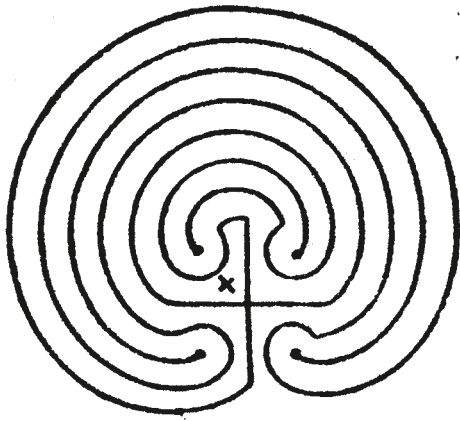
From the island of Landsort, south of Stockholm, there are a couple of drawings by a chief pilot, showing how to construct angle-type labyrinths, a “simple labyrinth” and a “double labyrinth” (see chapter 3).<sup>27</sup>

On Gotland, the trick of constructing the angle-type has been well known. One of the manuscripts of the Gotland researcher P.A. Säve has a sketch of the seed pattern from Vamlingbo parish on southern Gotland. Säve writes that the game was called *Räitå av Stråi-burrgi*, i.e. ‘Drawing the Trojeborg.’<sup>28</sup> A farmer on southern Gotland showed me in 1977 how he used to draw Trojeborg on paper when he was a pupil at Sundre school in the early 1900s.<sup>29</sup> The poet Gustaf Larson in Norrlanda on Gotland said in a radio programme in the early 1980s that at the turn of the century (1900) children were taught to draw labyrinth figures. “I was involved in drawing the Trojeborg on paper.”

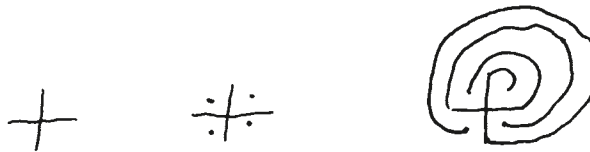
In 1908, the folklorist Sven Lampa published a collection of folk games from Västergötland, including a figure of the simple angle-type from the parish of Gerdhem in Västergötland with the comment that they “drew Trojenborg” with a cross, four angles and then four lines. He also states that Trojenborg was



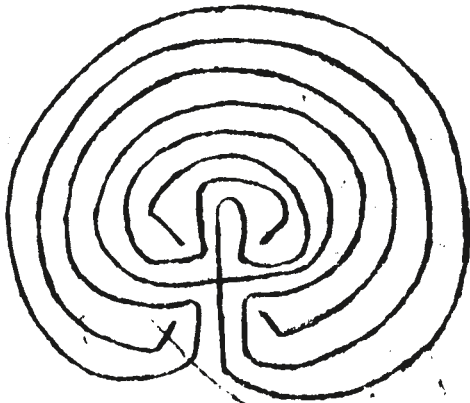
12:12 Drawings from southern Gotland of the trick of drawing a labyrinth. Top: The start of a trojeborg, sketched for me by a farmer on southern Gotland who learnt how to draw labyrinth figures on paper when he was a pupil at Sundre school in the early 1900s. Below: Sketch in the margin of a manuscript by P.A. Säve, Säve states that this game in Vamlingbo parish was called *Räitå av Stråi-burrgi*, ‘Draw Trojaborg’ which started by drawing a cross. The name *Stråi-burrg* is stated by Säve to be a synonym for *Troja-borg*.



12:13 Labyrinth drawing from Gerdhem parish in Västergötland, published by Sven Lampa in 1908.



12:14 The seed pattern, drawing from Uvered parish in Västergötland.



12:15 Drawing in an almanac from 1843, Vislanda parish in Småland.

preferably drawn on a sandy field in such a large scale that the children could walk between the stripes to the centre and out again. He also reproduces a figure of the Seljord-type, from Larv parish in Västergötland.<sup>30</sup>

Claës Johan Ljungström stated in 1865 that in his native area of Sandhem in Västergötland, “as a child he heard such Trojenborgs described and saw them drawn on paper etc.”<sup>31</sup> It is probably the same person who appears at the Swedish Ancient Monuments Society’s meeting in Strängnäs in 1877, when the minutes state that “the vicar Ljungström” said that when he was a child and lived in Vartofta härad in Västergötland “we amused ourselves by drawing such figures, which were called *Troja* ‘Troy.’”<sup>32</sup>

This name of the figure (*Troja* without the suffix *-borg*) is very unusual among labyrinths in northern Europe. I have just found two examples in Sweden. The other was discovered recently by the labyrinth researcher Rolf Johansson: In a short article in the newspaper Svenska Dagbladet 5 Sept 1889 the signature “Ave” wrote that “as a girl I learnt from a soldier, who had never been outside the province of Skåne (in

southern Sweden), to draw the figure with a piece of chalk. He called it *Troja* ‘Troy.’”

A drawing from Västra Tunhem parish in Västergötland in 1940 shows an angular figure with 16 walls. It is accompanied by a tale about the city of Trojeborg.<sup>33</sup> Three sketches from Uvered parish in Västergötland illustrate how to construct an angular figure with four walls based on a cross and four dots, i.e. without angles. It was drawn by a man born in 1866 who had learnt the art as a child.<sup>34</sup>

On Källandsö in Lake Vänern, “the old people” drew labyrinths in the sand for the children to play in, but that play ceased in the second half of the 19th century. Sometimes a *Trojenborg* was trampled in the snow. Similar “labyrinths” were often drawn on paper or pieces of wood. Both the figures on paper and those drawn on the ground were called *momreeks*. They were drawn for fun and to demonstrate drawing skills. The labyrinth/momreek was also cut into mangle boards and clapboards. The pattern could also be carved into a wooden surface with a sharp branding iron.<sup>35</sup> The same informant also describes an interesting winter game in which a girl had to be extracted from the centre of the labyrinth (see Chapter 40).

In the 1860s, the antiquarian Olof Hermelin (1827–1913) describes the stone labyrinth at Kungsör and mentions that “In Småland, it is a commonly used child’s game to draw similar *gångborgar* ‘walking castles’ in the sand. They are called ‘Trög-borgar’; probably a distortion of *Trojenborg*.”<sup>36</sup>

In an almanac 1843 from Vislanda parish in Småland there is a labyrinth drawing of simple angle-type. In the same parish, it is said that children used to draw labyrinth figures on paper called *Trelleborgs gata* ‘Trelleborg Street.’<sup>37</sup>

A report from Berga parish in Småland, which is mostly about the well-known stone labyrinth in Vittaryd, also mentions that it happened that a labyrinth was drawn in the sand as a playground for children. And it was not uncommon that labyrinths were made in the snow and used as a playground.<sup>38</sup>

From the parish of Skredsvik in Bohuslän it is stated that “several of the old people who lived 50–100 years ago” talked about labyrinths and drew figures representing labyrinths on the wall and on barn doors.<sup>39</sup>

In Nösslinge parish in Halland, in the 1880s and 1890s, people used to amuse themselves by drawing labyrinths at guilds and gatherings as well as at school.<sup>40</sup> A person from Tving parish in Blekinge states that as a child he drew labyrinth figures in the sandy beach at Lake Alljungen.<sup>41</sup>

When the antiquarian Gustaf Brusewitz (1812–1899) visited the site of a turf labyrinth in Asige in Halland in 1865, he wrote, among other things, that “the manner of sketching such a labyrinth, though not of the same construction, has long been known in my family.”<sup>42</sup> Where did his family belong? Brusewitz was from Gothenburg; his father was a wholesaler there. Another branch of the family lived in Västergötland. So, the traces point to western Sweden.

Some everyday objects have also been given labyrinth images. Borås Museum has a wooden cheese mould from Fotskåls parish in Sjuhäradsbygden. At the bottom there is a carved figure of simple angle-type and the year 1701 in mirrored figures.<sup>43</sup> In the same museum there is another cheese mould with a figure of simple angle-type, from Märkedal in Grimmared parish in Västergötland.<sup>44</sup> The Nordic Museum in Stockholm has an almost identical cheese mould with a figure of simple angular type and the date 1775. It comes from Svarträ parish in Halland.<sup>45</sup>

The labyrinth figures from Grimmared and Svarträ are both constructed using compasses and are so similar that they were probably made by the same person, if so, around the 1770s. The distance between Grimmared and Svarträ is only about 20 kilometres. Fotskål is about 26 kilometres north of Grimmared. The three known cheese moulds with incised labyrinth figures are thus close to each other, on the border

between Halland and Västergötland. But the date 1701 on the cheese mould from Fotskål shows that it could not have been made by the same person who made the cheese mould from Svarträ.

In Smålandsstugan in Gothenburg, there is a bread stamp from Småland with an incised figure of simple angle-type and the text *Troinbor*.<sup>46</sup> It comes from Småland but the exact location is unknown.

A mangle board from Valva in Eskelhem parish on Gotland is decorated with a carved figure of double angle-type. It was probably made around 1800.<sup>47</sup> Another mangle board, from Länna parish near Norrtälje, is decorated with an incised labyrinth figure. However, it is not of the angle-type but has concentric circles, and the maker does not seem to have mastered the construction techniques of the angle-type. The mangle board is dated to 1720.<sup>48</sup>



12:16 Cheese mould with the year 1701, Fotskål parish in Västergötland.



12:18 Cheese mould with the year 1775, Borsthult, Svarträ parish in Halland.



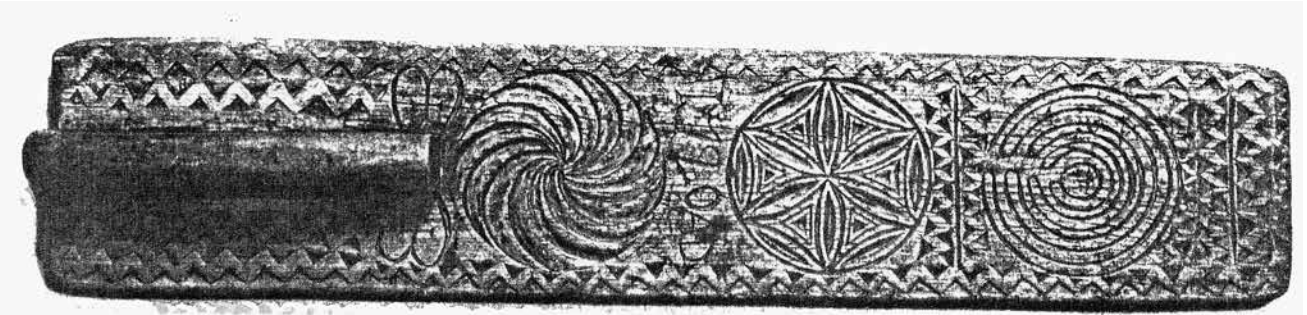
12:17 Cheese mould from Märkedal, Grimmared parish, Västergötland.



12:19 Bread mould from Småland with the text *Troinbor*.



12:20 Mangle board from Eskelhem parish on Gotland.



12:21 Labyrinth figure on a mangle board with the year 1720, Länna parish in Roslagen,



12:22 Labyrinth of simple angle-type, wooden relief on a flax mount, Söderby-Karl parish in Roslagen.



12:23 Chest with painted labyrinth figure from 1727, Börtasgården in Rättvik parish, Dalarna.

From Vik in Söderby-Karls parish, also near Norrtälje, comes a so-called 'linfäste' (flax mount) decorated with a figure of simple angle-type.<sup>49</sup>

Six chest lids have been found in Dalarna with painted figures of simple angle-type on the inside. All the labyrinth figures are of simple angle-type and look identical. The five chests that can be localised belong to a rather limited part of Dalarna, north of Falun. The four with dates are close together in time: 1717, 1727, 1730 and 1736. The identical appearance and design of the labyrinths, their uniform placement on the inside of the lids and the fact that they were all painted, not carved into wood, show that they are closely related. They were probably painted by the same hand.<sup>50</sup>

In Sweden, there are some labyrinth figures which were carved with metal tools in rocks, seemingly at a fairly late date. The antiquarian Sven Nilsson's notebook from 1818-1825 tells of a visit to the sandstone quarries at Vittseröd at Stockamöllan, 12 kilometres north of Eslöv in Skåne, and that in one of the quarries he found some inscriptions on the rock walls, including one *Trelleborgs Slott* and on another rock face the dates 1666 and 1674. In his notebook, he has sketched a somewhat arbitrarily reproduced labyrinth figure. According to the notebook, the labyrinth was situated in the so-called "Kyrkogräven" where, according to tradition, sandstone had been collected for many of the churches in Skåne.<sup>51</sup> My guess is that the labyrinth figure is roughly contemporary with the engraved dates.

At the water channel of an old mill 350 metres east of Östergården at Stora Anrås, Tanums parish in Bohuslän, there are several late rock engravings, including a labyrinth figure of Seljord-type. It appears together with a number of other carvings of initials and dates. Most of the dates are from the early 19th century.<sup>52</sup>

On a rock at Viby in Arboga parish there is a carved labyrinth figure. It is said to have been carved around 1880 by an 18-year-old who lived nearby. He was inspired to do this after seeing the stone labyrinth at Kungsör.<sup>53</sup>

Labyrinth figures carved into rocks have also been found in the island groups of Röder and Skarv in the outer archipelago north-east of Stockholm. The labyrinth figure on Röder Bodkobbe is of the Seljord-type. On Skarv Bodskär there are two figures which have given their name to the Skarv-type. The carvings are only 3-4 metres above sea level, which shows that they cannot be very old.

In Denmark there are no known labyrinth figures on everyday objects, but a printed New Year's greeting to the citizens of Elsinore in 1764 depicts a labyrinth figure of the double angle-type with text in the paths.<sup>54</sup>

A shooting target from 1797 is decorated with an expanded figure of angle-type. Such rather lavish targets with varying motifs were produced in

connection with the admission of new members to sharp shooting associations, in this case a well-known Copenhagen, H.C. Schmidt, who was admitted to the Royal Copenhagen Shooting Society and Danish Brotherhood. The tradition of such targets in connection with admission ceremonies dates back to 1750-1811. Around the labyrinth is the text: "If you can find your way out of the labyrinth, you are sure to win the wreath."<sup>55</sup>

Several records from Denmark show that in the 19th century, and in some cases still in the 20th century, people knew the trick of drawing angle-type figures. A writing book from eastern Zealand in 1837 contains two drawn figures of double angle-type. From the neighbourhood of Korsør in western Zealand, there is an instructive drawing showing how to draw a simple angle-type figure. The game was called *traække til Trolleborg* 'go to Trolleborg.' The drawings clearly show that the figures were drawn using the seed pattern. The linguist Otto Kalkar has stated that in his childhood it was common for children to draw such figures, they were called *Fru Trolleborgs Slot* 'Mrs Trolleborg's Castle.'<sup>56</sup> A person from Bromme parish in western Zealand stated around 1870 that as a child he often drew labyrinth figures.<sup>57</sup>

A Danish reading book for young children, first published in 1907, has a simple angle-type drawing with a princess in the centre and a boy at the entrance. A short verse explains that the boy can have the princess if only he can find his way to her through the labyrinth's winding paths.<sup>58</sup>

Johannes Munch-Petersen has told me in an article and in letters that, as an eight-year-old in the 1930s, he learnt to construct labyrinths from his grandmother, who was born in 1864 in southern Denmark and was familiar with the folk traditions of the Danish islands. She taught him two designs: the 'antique' (simple angle-type) and the 'Nordic.' The angle-type was drawn in the old familiar way, but the 'Nordic' figure was drawn with a continuous line and had no centre cross. According to Munch-Petersen, it was easier to construct the Nordic labyrinth than it was to draw the angle-type. You started by drawing a line and placing a number of dots on it, eight points for the simplest possible variant, 12 or 16 points for larger figures. Then you connect the dots.

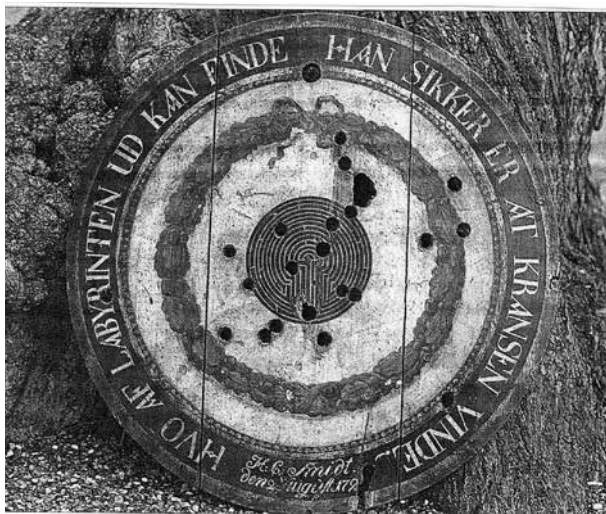
At school, it turned out that some of Munch-Petersen's friends could also draw labyrinths and he, like everyone else, saw the famous labyrinth image in the ABC-book. He writes that in the 1930s, labyrinths were well known among Danish children.<sup>59</sup>

The trick of drawing the angle-type was probably as widespread in Denmark as in Sweden in the 19th century. And the labyrinth paintings in ten churches show that labyrinth traditions in Denmark date back to at least the 14th century.

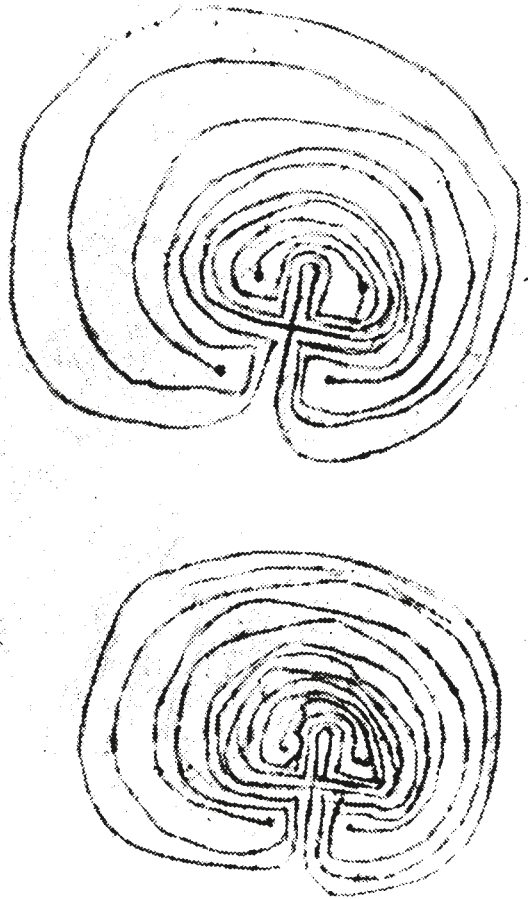
In Norway there are two medieval churches with labyrinth paintings of the angle-type (Seljord and Vestre



12:24 A printed New Year's greeting in 1764 to the burghers of Elsinore depicts a double-angle figure with text in the paths. The idea of placing text in the paths has precedents on the continent. Hermann Kern reproduces a series of printed images of labyrinths with text in the passageways from 1562 to 1758 (fig 391-401). But none of Kern's examples are of the angle-type. This suggests that the labyrinthine New Year greeting in Elsinore in 1764 was inspired from the continent but also influenced by local labyrinth traditions on Zealand. Labyrinths with text in the paths are also discussed by Jeff Saward (2019).



12:25 Shooting target from Copenhagen with the year 1797. The labyrinth figure is quite freely composed but clearly reveals influence of the angle-type. When new members were admitted to 'Det Kongelige Kjøbenhavnske Skydeselskab og Danske Broderskab,' an old society founded as early as 1334, a lavish target was made, and a number of shots were fired at it. Such targets were in use 1750-1811..



12:26 Labyrinth notes in a writing book from eastern Zealand in 1837.

Slidre), but I know of no records of the labyrinth drawing game. However, nine labyrinth figures on everyday objects are known from southern Norway.

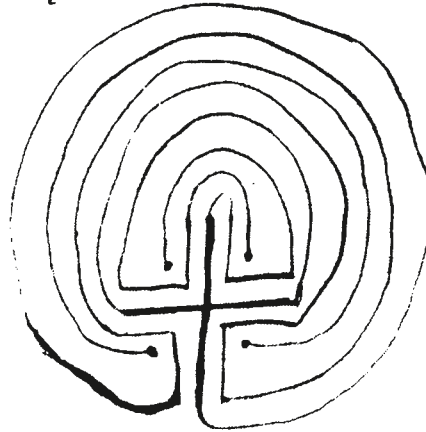
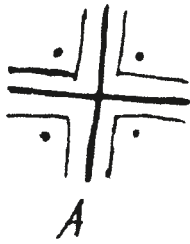
In 1913, Haakon Schetelig published pictures of a wooden box from Vik in Sogn in Western Norway, where, among other carved 'troll signs' on the outside of the lid, there is a labyrinth figure of simple angle-type. It bears the date 1775.<sup>60</sup>

Lars Asle Vold at De Heibergske Samlinger in Sogns Folkemuseum, has at my request found another similar box in the museum's collections, which also has a carved labyrinth figure of simple angle-type on the lid. It is from Seimsdalen in Årdal in Sogn and is dated 1807.<sup>61</sup>

Also in the museum's collection is a round box with an incised figure of simple angle-type on the outside of the lid. It is from the farm Skjerven in Vik in Sogn. The date 1812 is carved into the bottom of the box, but Vold believes that the box is older, from the 17th century. The labyrinth figure is surrounded by an enigmatic text: *MOBVASEB. HARVE - ETDETFORNVHVR - HERO*. Vold believes that the text had a magical meaning.<sup>62</sup> The round box from Skjerven has been reproduced in a book by Janet Bord.<sup>63</sup>

In 1947, Lily Weiser-Aall published an image of a small oval box of a different type, with double lids. It has a carved labyrinth figure of double angle-type on the inside of the inner lid. The box is from Valle

*trække til Trolleborg.*



*A. begynde; der træktes' linien B  
op efter B. ja' havde som runde; Albrechtsen for datter en*

12:27 Sketch showing the game *Trække til Trolleborg* 'go to Trolleborg,' from the neighbourhood of Korsör in western Zealand.

in Setesdal, Aust-Agder, in southern Norway. There is also a labyrinth figure on a *lave* 'barn' in Åkr in Valle. On the lid of a *bomme* 'wooden vessel' from Bø in Telemark there is a burnt labyrinth figure together with other magic signs. Under the bottom of a flatbread basket from Bagn in Valdres, Oppland, there is a series of burnt ornaments, one of which is an imperfect labyrinth figure.<sup>64</sup>

Christer Westerdahl has told me about a labyrinth figure with 16 walls on the outside of a cupboard door in the Fylkesmuseet at Telemark.<sup>65</sup> In the same museum, Westerdahl has also found a small, unfinished labyrinth figure carved into a *sengehest* "bed horse" from 1697.

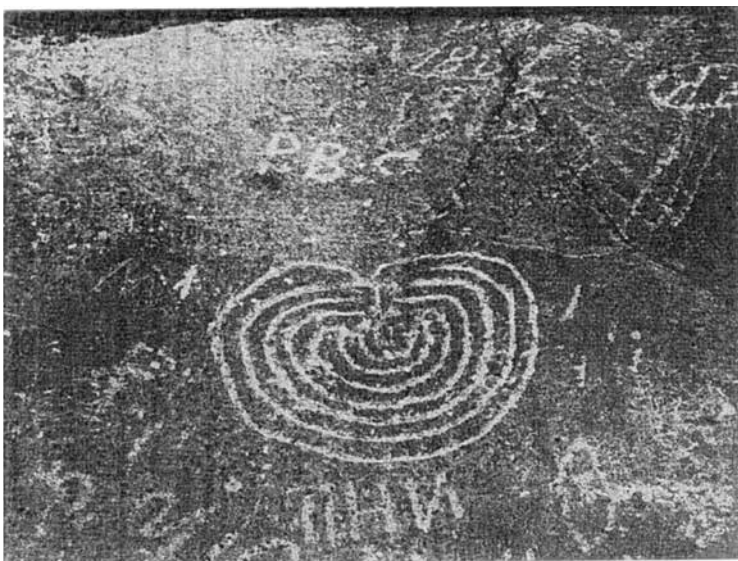


12:29 Three sides of a wooden box from Vik in Sogn, Western Norway.

The labyrinth images on everyday objects form a fairly large area of distribution in southern Norway, with no visible contact with the coast labyrinths. The two church labyrinths (Seljord and Vestre Slidre) are located in the same distribution zone as the figures on everyday objects, which suggests that the labyrinth traditions in southern Norway date back to at least the 15th century.

Two of the wooden boxes with incised figures of simple angle-type have been found in the same parish, namely Vik in Sogn. One of these boxes strongly resembles the box from Årdal in Sogn, which is not far from Vik. This gives a hint that the boxes with incised labyrinth figures may have had their core area in Sogn, perhaps they were carved by the same person.

On Kjøløya in eastern Finnmark, a labyrinth figure of simple angle-type has been carved into the rock. The fairly deep grooves indicate that it is of late date. It appears together with other late rock carvings. There are names and dates, the oldest date being 1884.<sup>66</sup>



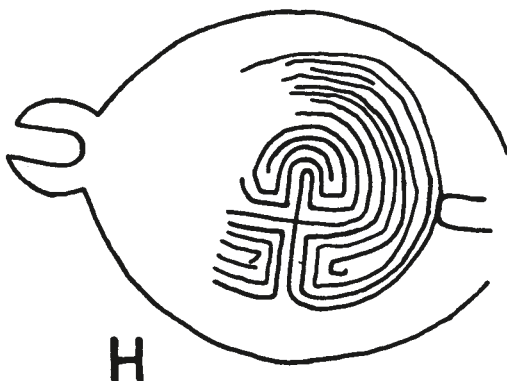
12:28 Labyrinth image carved in a rock face on Kjøløya in eastern Finnmark, Norway.



12:30 Wooden box with the year 1807, Seimsdalen in Årdal, Sogn.



12:31 Round wooden box with the year 1812, Skjervén in Vik, Sogn.



12:32 Oval wooden box from Telemark.

The Faroe Islands, colonised from western Norway, have no known stone labyrinths. But in recent times the game of drawing *Troyinborg* on paper or in the sand has been known. You could hear people say about a house that was intricately built that “this is like *Troyinborg*.” A house in the settlement Hovi was nicknamed *Troyinborg* because of its labyrinthine design.<sup>67</sup>

In Iceland, both the angle-type and variants without a centre cross appear to have been well known in the 18th century (see Appendix 2). Three bed boards with incised figures show that the labyrinth motif was present in folk art. One of them is of the unaltered simple angle-type and has been drawn from the seed pattern. The other two have twelve walls and are similar to the double angle-type, but they have been drawn with compass and have been designed with three entrances, two of which are dead ends. The simple angle-type figure dates from 1734, the other two from the early 18th century.<sup>68</sup>

A drawing from 1778 by the Icelander S M Holm shows a figure of the double angle-type, but it was drawn with a compass, resulting in concentric rings and a skewed centre cross.<sup>69</sup>

Kristian Kålund reports in 1882 that he saw the two drawings by S M Holm in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Kålund adds: “thus the whole thing is quite similar to the well-known games frequently played by boys.” A short article from 1884-1891 discussing, among other things, labyrinths in Iceland, has more or less the same wording: “For boys it has until recently been a popular pastime to draw such figures.”<sup>70</sup> However, it is not clear whether these notes refer to boys in Iceland or in Denmark.

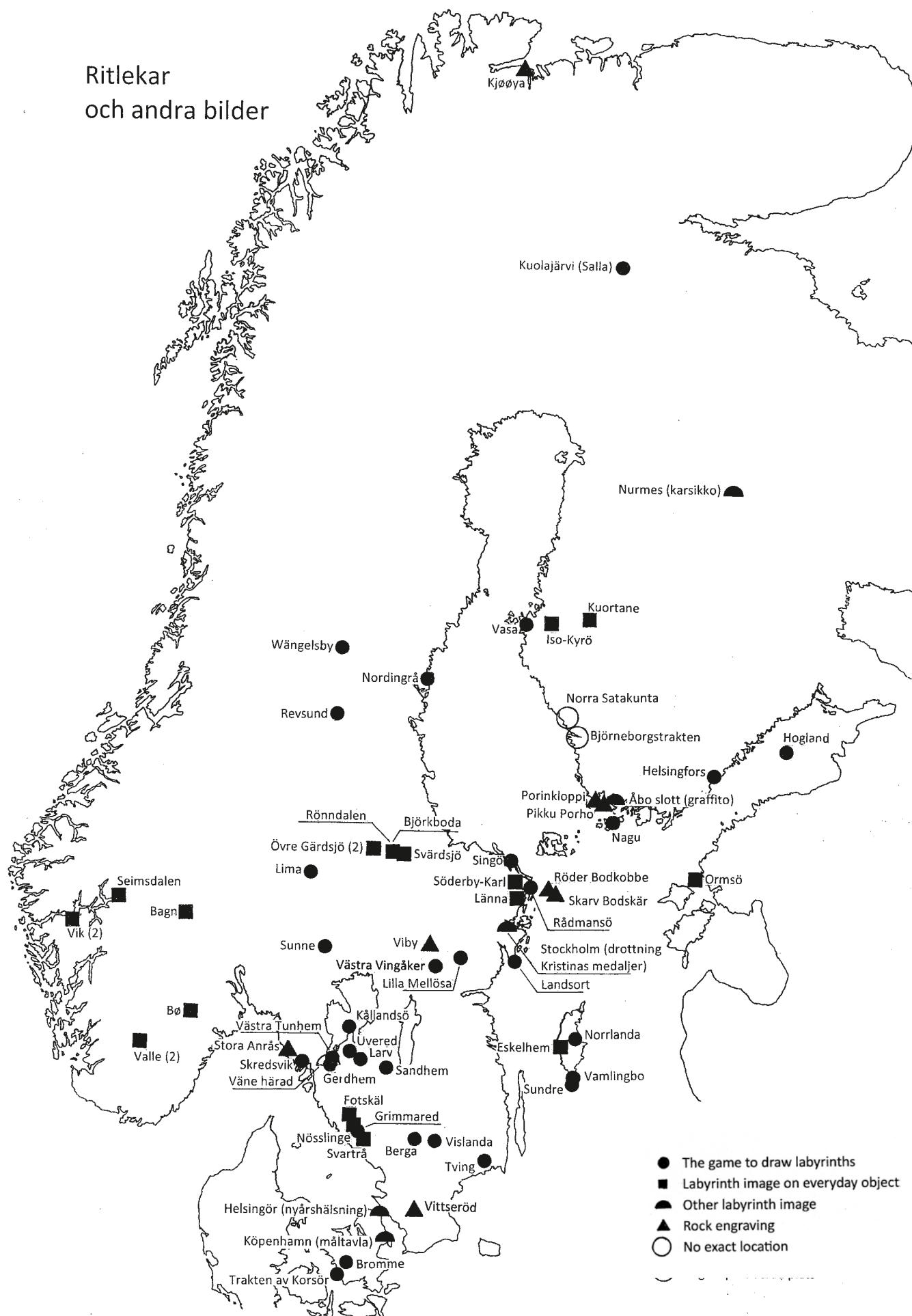
Germany is enigmatic. There is almost no information about the game of drawing a labyrinth, despite the fact that there were many turf labyrinths there and despite the fact that there was a great deal of interest in labyrinths and in folklore research in general.

K.E. von Baer, from Dorpat in Livonia, wrote in 1844 that this game seemed to be little known in Germany.<sup>71</sup> However, in 1882, Wilhelm Meyer mentions one person who reported that in his youth he had drawn labyrinth figures that children called *the walls of the City of Jericho*.<sup>72</sup>

No everyday objects with labyrinth images are known from Germany. However, in Marmke in the Sauerland in western Germany, there was until 1939 on the outside of a house, above a door, some labyrinth-like figures and a few words that are apparently an incantation to prevent fire (see figure 34:6). So, it seems that in some places in Germany there were still lingering labyrinth lore, but the examples are remarkably few.

There are thus many examples from Sweden and several from Finland and Denmark of the game of drawing angle-type figures on paper or other available surfaces. In Sweden, the examples range from the

## Ritlekar och andra bilder



12:33 The Labyrinth drawing game, labyrinth pictures on everyday objects and other objects.

16th to the 20th century. There is no information from Norway about the game of drawing a labyrinth, but there are everyday objects which show that the angle-type was well known.

This fits well with what the Swedish labyrinth expert Simon Nordström wrote in the dictionary *Nordisk familjebok* in 1885: “The art of drawing labyrinths has survived to this day among schoolchildren in many different parts of Sweden, Norway, Finland, the Baltic provinces and Russia.” It is worth noting that Nordström does not mention Germany.

The labyrinth figures on vernacular objects show some local characteristics. In southern Norway there are several carved labyrinths on the lids of wooden boxes. In Dalarna there are six labyrinths painted on the inside of chest lids. On the border between Västergötland and Halland there are carved labyrinths in three cheese moulds, where the intention was obviously to stamp labyrinth figures on the cheese. The same idea lies behind a bread stamp from Småland. Further east, incised labyrinths can be found on mangle boards from Gotland, Roslagen and southern Österbotten. In Iceland, labyrinth images have been carved into three bed boards.

It is remarkable that no old vernacular objects with labyrinth images have been preserved in Denmark and that so few are known in Finland. However, the overall impression is that the ancient technique of constructing angle-type figures was known in large parts of the Nordic region until late times.

Six of the eight labyrinth carvings on rock faces (Röder, Skarv, Pikku Porho, Porinkloppi and Kjööya) are located within the same distribution area as the coast labyrinths. They all seem to date from a fairly late period. There is also a field labyrinth on Kjööya and there are three field labyrinths on the island of Palva, next to Porinkloppi.

All other labyrinth images presented here seem to lack close contact with the coast labyrinths. This is remarkable and interesting. Those who built and used stone labyrinths along the Nordic coasts do not seem to have been in the habit of drawing them on paper or other materials.

In Finland, a large number of stone labyrinths are located in coastal areas where the inhabitants were Swedish-speaking, but the game of drawing labyrinths is mainly known from inland areas where Finnish was spoken. Everyday objects with angle-type figures have also been found mainly in Finnish-speaking settlements.

In southern Norway, it can be seen that church labyrinths are in the same distribution zone as labyrinth images on everyday objects. I suspect that in churches as well as in folk art, the labyrinth figures were thought to have magical powers.

Most of the church labyrinths seem to date from the late 15th century, but two of them in Denmark, both in Gevninge, were painted before the vaulting, which means they may date from the 14th century. Some other church labyrinths may be as late as the early

16th century. The oldest preserved labyrinth drawings on paper in Sweden are from the latter half of the 16th century, after which the examples increase over time. Thus, in the Nordic countries, popular labyrinth traditions can be traced from the 14th century to the 20th century.

I suspect that the game of drawing labyrinths was very mobile, especially after children received organised schooling. It may then have spread over large distances in a relatively short time. This means that knowledge of how to construct the angle-type may have been more widespread in the 19th century than in the 15th century.

This could explain the difference between the rather limited zones of distribution of stone labyrinths and the much wider area where late examples of the labyrinth drawing game are encountered. It may also explain the distribution pattern of some labyrinth names. And possibly it may help to explain why no pre-Christian labyrinth images have been found in the North. Before Christianisation, the trick of constructing the angle type was perhaps not the property of every man. It may have been a secret that only a few were initiated into and that was not exposed without restraint.

I would be surprised if those who drew labyrinths on paper, since the 16th century, attributed any magical significance to the figures. All of them, or most of them, were probably drawn as a kind of harmless game or pastime.

The everyday objects are more difficult to assess. Several labyrinth images on vernacular artefacts may have had a magical purpose. But as a rule, one has to be satisfied with suspicions because magical intentions are difficult to prove.

It is hard to imagine that labyrinth images in churches did not have a serious purpose. Most of them were probably attributed magical significance. Maybe the figures were simply expected to bring luck in a wide sense. Anyway, the magic connected with church labyrinths must have been so harmless that the clergy tolerated the symbols.

The labyrinth figures in rock carvings, if found on small islands with fishing sites, probably had magical significance. My guess is that they had the same purpose as the stone labyrinths in similar locations along the coasts in the north.

## Appendix 13. Labyrinth Magic

Over the years I have collected and compiled a lot of labyrinth lore that illustrates the use and purpose of the figures.<sup>1</sup> The information value of the data varies, and much should perhaps be discarded as too vague. But I choose to report most of what I have encountered, since it is probably better that everything is put on the table, rather than the reader should have to ponder what I have withheld. I have only excluded such information that is obviously the informants' own speculations.

### Appease the forces of weather

The local historian Johan A. Udde in Haparanda has told me that he had heard that labyrinths in Luleå archipelago and the central Norrland archipelago were built to *combat strong winds*. If you had a labyrinth with seven windings, you went in and out of the figure seven times. If you had one with eleven windings, you went through it a corresponding number of times. According to Udde, similar observations had also been made in Mattila by the Torne River just north of Haparanda and on islands in the outer archipelago in Nedertorneå parish. Often the children were set out to “walk the labyrinth”, because it was difficult for older people to walk through the labyrinths as they were often built on gravel ridges<sup>2</sup> (he probably meant pebbles).

Labyrinth researcher Eva Eskilsson in Härnösand has shown me a letter she received from Udde in 1974. He says there that he heard from the neighbourhood of Nederluleå that people went in and out of the labyrinth seven times to get *the wind to calm down*. This would have happened if the wind was persistent for several days in a row.

When I interviewed Udde in 1982, he said, among other things, that labyrinths have entrances in the north because they mainly feared the north wind.

Similar ideas appear in an unsigned newspaper article in 1945.<sup>3</sup> It states that “according to what is told, labyrinths would have been created to *appease the gods or powers of the weather or winds* – especially the god of the northwest.” My research shows that the article was most likely written by pilot foreman Fridolf Engström, who had recently reported three labyrinths on Harskåret in Grundsunda parish in Ångermanland.

Eva Eskilsson writes in a newspaper article in 1973<sup>4</sup> that an old pilot told her that the sailors, when they were stuck in bad weather, used to make labyrinths so that the *wind would blow in and get lost or trapped in them*. In a newspaper article the following year<sup>5</sup> she writes that the local historian Otto Lundström at Husum heard from “the old people” that *the wind could be tied up* by building a labyrinth.

When I later interviewed Otto Lundström, he stated that he had heard stories about wind magic in labyrinths from, among others, Fridolf Engström’s father Erik Engström, who was also a pilot. One can therefore suspect that Fridolf Engström received the information from his father Erik who also gave it to Otto Lundström. But his grandson Per Engström, whom I interviewed, was sceptical. He thought this was more likely to be his father’s theory.

Eva Eskilsson writes in 1975, in an unpublished article which I have seen, that the master pilot Engström on Haraskär told Otto Lundström in Husum 20-25 years ago as a matter of course that the labyrinths were constructed by seafarers *to calm unfavourable winds*.

Hans-Olof Jonsson, who in 1984 was working on a book about the fishing hamlet of Lörudden outside Sundsvall, told me that there were three legends about the labyrinths there. According to the first, the labyrinths were built when Queen Christina was visiting the place. The second legend claimed that the labyrinths *would trap the winds so that you could fish in peace*. The third was that the labyrinths would *catch what was “unknowable” (oknytt)* so that it would not come along in the boat when it set sail.

The same idea is also found in Estonia. Labyrinth researcher Mart Rahi told me that older fishermen remembered that a labyrinth could be used to *exorcise bad weather and storms*.<sup>6</sup> Urmas Selirand, the director of the museum on Dagö, told me that in 1986 he interviewed Oskar Kaibalt on Kootsaare, who said that there had been three labyrinths there long ago. He had heard that sailors played in the labyrinth before going out to sea, *to ensure favourable winds and a good journey*. It was easy to get into the labyrinth but impossible to get out of it.<sup>7</sup>

### Luck in fishing

Erling Matz states in a book 1979 that running through a labyrinth without touching the stones and without jumping over any ‘walls’ would *bring good luck in fishing*. He writes that a fisherman from Södermöja in the Stockholm archipelago told him that he once saw an old fisherman running through a labyrinth at the fishing hamlet of Hölick outside Hudiksvall. “He ran and kept spitting over his shoulder. That would bring good luck in fishing.”<sup>8</sup>

My interview with the fisherman Magnus Pettersson at Södermöja shows that this took place in 1955, not at Hölick, but at the Kuggören fishing hamlet not far away. The old man apparently did not believe that anyone was watching him as he walked through the labyrinth. He would spit in his hand, or on something in his hand, and then throw it over his shoulder. The information about luck in fishing turned out to come from another fisherman at Kuggören who said that “it was superstition with *the purpose to get fishing luck*.”<sup>9</sup> However, that day in 1955 the weather was bad and the old man’s sons were out at sea, so I suspect that the purpose of the labyrinth magic was to provide protection from the dangers of the sea rather than to bring fishing luck. The most reasonable guess is that labyrinth magic could be used both to bring fishing luck and to allay winds.

The old fisherman died in 1963, so I never got to meet him. The inhabitants of Kuggören, whom I later spoke to, could not verify his labyrinth magic, but they unanimously confirmed that he was a bit “magical.” He was often called upon when animals became ill, he could “stem blood” and was considered a “wise old man.” He often walked the labyrinth but did not tell anyone why. When he got old, he wanted to teach his tricks to his sons, but none of them were interested.

The labyrinth researcher Alf Uddholm wrote in 1975 about the labyrinth at Kuggören in an unpublished article, “that the fishermen used to walk in it in the past *to get good fishing luck and be protected from the temptations of the sea-nymph* (havsfrun).”

In a book published in 1962, Gunnar Westin, county antiquarian in Umeå at the time, writes that, according to a recent report, there was a living tradition of labyrinths being used *to promote fishing*.<sup>10</sup>

The journalist Olle Wikström writes in a book about an old fisherman, Kalle Åman, who said that in the old days people believed that there were *smågubbar* or *otursgubbar* ‘small guys’ or ‘bad luck guys’ who could bring *bad luck in fishing* if you got them in the boat when the gear was about to be weighed: “If you, before you went into the boat, first walked the labyrinth to the centre, the small guys trotted along. From the centre you ran fast straight down to the boat and pushed out, then the small guys had to seek out the same way they came in and then they couldn’t catch up. That was the old saying. But I don’t believe that, he said thoughtfully. But then he hastened to add, but I did try it once and I got a good catch!” My interview with the author shows that the old fisherman lived on the so-called Åmansholmen outside Axelvik in Nederkalix parish.<sup>11</sup>

The artist and labyrinth researcher Björn Ola Lind from Änåset in Västerbotten relates a story from the neighbouring parish of Lövånger, that people *got rid of the evil demon* (*den onde demonen*) by entering the labyrinth and then jumping out. He also relates a story from Nora parish in Ångermanland in the 1930s, where an elderly fisherman entered the labyrinth, certain that the devil (*Hin håle*) was following him. Once at the centre of the labyrinth, the fisherman could step over the innermost stone to get to the entrance, while the devil had to walk all the way back. In the meantime, the fisherman could launch the boat knowing that the devil was still on the shore. In this way, he *secured his fishing luck*.<sup>12</sup>

As already mentioned, the same idea seems to have been used at the fishing hamlet of Lörudden outside Sundsvall.

Some other interesting information comes from the Stockholm archipelago. The photographer Gösta Jansson, born in Räfsnäs near Norrtälje, has told me that he had heard that “when they were working, they walked in such passages *to drive out evil spirits and get a good catch. And then to get lucky with weather and good winds*.” Jansson had heard this in many places, but not from his father or anyone else in Räfsnäs.

Åke Janhem, who wrote several books about the Stockholm archipelago, wrote in 1965 about a labyrinth on the island Svenska högarna: “You have to follow the paths of the labyrinth until you reach the innermost chamber and then find your way out again.

If you succeed, it brings good *luck and success*, but for those who jump over the rows of stones, things go badly!”<sup>13</sup>

The journalist Anders Öhman expressed much the same idea in a newspaper article in 1977: “If you manage to find your way to the centre of the labyrinth without jumping over any of the stones and then find your way out again, then according to archipelago tradition you can count yourself *lucky and successful*.”<sup>14</sup> When I contacted Öhman shortly afterwards, he informed me that his father, who was a fisherman’s son from Trosa, had told him this: “It went well if you went the right way in the labyrinth. But if you went the wrong way, things went badly.”

The labyrinth at Svenska högarna has also been noted by the author Einar Malm in a book 1952, which describes it as “a stone labyrinth that *gave magical happiness* to those who managed to get through the concentric windings without disturbing a stone.”<sup>15</sup> At my request, however, he could not recall the origin of the information.

Labyrinth researcher Bo Stjernström, who has studied a labyrinth on the island of Borgen in Stockholm’s southern archipelago, says that people on the island of Ornö have heard “the old people” say that they went through the labyrinth to get *good luck with fishing*. “Several archipelago residents say they have heard that one could count on *luck and success in general* after going through a labyrinth without missing the path.”<sup>16</sup>

Håkan Slotte writes about a now lost labyrinth on Lågskär in the Åland Sea. He had heard that it was *considered to bring luck* “to run through a labyrinth without touching the stones.” For sailors it provided “*a safe and fast crossing*”, for fishermen it provided “*good catches*.”<sup>17</sup>

A local resident has said that on Helgskär in Houtskär parish outside Åbo there was a labyrinth “which the fishermen had laid when they were there hauling nets.”<sup>18</sup> There are many other places where the locations of the labyrinths indicate that they were more related to fishing than to the weather.

A local resident in the fishing hamlet of Kuggören, for example, says that the labyrinths on some of the neighbouring islands, Bålsön and Hästholmen, are located at old ‘varp’, i.e. places suitable for seine netting, which was the oldest fishing method out there. Hästholmen was known as the best fishing site in the area.<sup>19</sup>

Christer Westerdahl makes a similar observation on Stora Axelön in the Lake Vänern, where there have been at least four labyrinths. Folk tradition has associated them with shipwrecked people, but they are located at a site that in earlier times was known for fishing with seine. As Westerdahl notes, seine fishing was not obviously a dangerous activity.<sup>20</sup> In my opinion, these locations rather indicate that people hoped to improve their fishing luck by walking in labyrinths.

Thus, a number of records show that people built labyrinths and walked through them for luck or success in fishing. There are other indications that the labyrinths were simply for entertainment, but they are few and far between. For example, in 1895, Rector Agarius in Växjö told the Danish folklorist H.F. Feilberg that fishermen in Sweden “when they had set their nets, amused themselves, passing the time, by building labyrinths; they were called *Trojaborg*, *Trinaborg*, *Trelleborg*.”<sup>21</sup>

### River fishing

Around the Gulf of Bothnia there are also labyrinths in the hinterland, by large rivers, in several cases clearly linked to seasonal salmon-fishing. In such places there could not have been any need to tame the forces of weather, more likely they hoped to improve their fishing luck.

On Laxholmen in the Lule River, near the Laxede power station, there is a labyrinth. It is situated just eight metres from an 18th century fishing shed. There is evidence of salmon fishing there as early as 1331.<sup>22</sup> In the 17th century, Queen Christina donated the fishing at Laxholmen to the citizens of Luleå.<sup>23</sup> My guess is that the inhabitants of Luleå, who also fished in the Norrbotten archipelago, brought the labyrinth idea from the archipelago to Laxholmen. This gives a hint that the main purpose of the labyrinths in the archipelago was probably also to ensure fishing success, not to influence the weather and wind.

The local historian Johan A. Udde told me in 1982 that in the 1950s he was told by two brothers at the hamlet of Mattila on the Torne River, just north of Haparanda, that their neighbours had used to walk in a nearby labyrinth before taking up the nets. This should have happened around the turn of the century 1900.<sup>24</sup> According to a person from Revonsaari, between Övre Vojakkala and Mattila, whom I interviewed in 1982, there were two opinions in Mattila about labyrinths. Some believed that they were built by the military. Others believed that they were used for invocations, you went into the labyrinth when nets were laid in the river or catching tools were laid out in the forest.<sup>25</sup>

A little further up the Torne River, at Övre Vojakkala, there is a labyrinth about 200 metres from the river bank. According to local legend, it was built by Russian prisoners of war in the 1808-09 war. But it is also said that it was built by raftsmen who rested here. According to a third tradition, it was built by a wizard, Abraham Erro, who lived in the early 19th century. During the 1947 inventory, it was noted that the labyrinth was probably built 130-140 years ago and that the builder of the labyrinth walked through it when he had important business to attend to.<sup>26</sup>

However, in three long letters to me in 1982, the local historian Orvar Lundbäck at Vojakkala has dismissed the legends about Erro, who according to him has probably been confused with another person. However, he confirms that an old couple in the vil-

lage, born in 1822 and 1827, stated that the labyrinth existed in their childhood.

### Magic in the hinterland

The Sami also built labyrinths. A few records suggest that they wanted to gain power over the animals. In a text from the 18th century, In a rhyme-chronicle about the Lapps, which is kept in the Linnean archive in London, there is a verse about the Sami's use of labyrinths *to give protection against the wolverine's ravages among the reindeer*. K.B. Wiklund assumes that it was written sometime in 1723-32 by the vicar at Kvikkjokk, Per Alstadius.<sup>27</sup>

According to a record from Juotsarova in Gällivare, three old Sami people stated that “the belief in divination within a labyrinth castle (*labyrinthborg*) is considered to have been strong to *move other people's reindeer* long distances.”<sup>28</sup> The distance between the church of Kvikkjokk and Juotsarova is about 100 kilometres, which is not very far in the vastness of Lapland.

A similar motif has been found in Västergötland. In 1978 I uncovered and drew a spiral-shaped labyrinth, *Tröenborgen*, at Spisakullen, belonging to Älvsgården in Hedared, north-west of Borås. According to one record, it was built by shepherd boys, who played there, in the 1700s or early 1800s.<sup>29</sup> An old local man who showed me the place said that he had played in the labyrinth as a small child. He also recounted a tradition he had heard from his grandfather. According to it, the labyrinth had been built by “vallhulingar” ‘shepherd boys’ who used it as *protection against the wolf*. The wolf would have been confused by the path system.<sup>30</sup>

At Skår, just south of Vikaryd, five kilometres west of Alingsås, there are records of stone figures which, judging by a drawing, may have been labyrinths. They were called *trolleirklar* ‘magic circles’ and were laid out *to frighten evil goblins and provide protection against 'evil'*.<sup>31</sup> I have searched for them, but without success.

Another variant of protective magic is evident in Fridlevstad parish in Blekinge. There are records of eight labyrinths, most of which seem to have been built quite late (see Appendix 9). One of them, at Tvingelshed, cannot be older than the 1870s because it contains blasted stones from an adjacent quarry that was used when the railway was built in 1872-74. The labyrinth is said to have been used by people seeking *a cure for illnesses*, most likely mental problems that people went to the stone figure to get rid of. The old man who told this story stressed that the labyrinth was not something to play with and that it was a place that children should not bother with.<sup>32</sup>

Another person in Fridlevstad told me in 1982 that 50 years earlier, as a small boy, he had heard a local tradition that labyrinths were used for *occult purposes at Midsummer and in connection with weddings*.<sup>33</sup>

Oscar Reuterswärd (1915-2002), a professor of art history in Lund, was interested in labyrinths. He designed many imaginative layouts and has created several labyrinths built in public places. His interest was sparked when he was a young boy. His father, who was also interested in labyrinths, persuaded the management of the Skansen open-air museum in Stockholm to build a labyrinth there, a copy of the labyrinth at Visby on Gotland. Father and son were there when the last stone was put in place and little Oscar inaugurated it by running through the windings.

Oscar said that his father, who lived in the USA for 18 years and travelled extensively, had met immigrants from Sweden and Finland who brought labyrinth traditions to their new country. They made stone labyrinths and they would walk through them before making important journeys or doing anything else, believing that *this would bring them luck*.<sup>34</sup>

Around 1987 and 1990, the Norwegian labyrinth researcher Tora Sandal Bøhn searched for labyrinth traditions in Finnmark in northern Norway. In 1987, near Kirkenes, she heard a woman in her 40s tell her that “if they played in such stone figures as children, they were warned by older people not to touch the stones because it would bring misfortune.” At Omganglandet in northernmost Finnmark, 100 kilometres east of Nordkapp, a woman had said “that the labyrinths were often used in connection with *important social events*. She hinted for example that they were used at weddings. Could it also have been at funerals? They were also used to *mislead evil spirits* by luring them into the labyrinth, and then possibly using spells to make them ‘disappear’ or be neutralised.”<sup>35</sup>

I have also found a piece of information pointing in a similar direction in Denmark. Johannes Munch-Petersen, who at the age of eight learnt to draw labyrinths from his grandmother in the 1930s, writes in an unpublished essay that walking through a labyrinth *would bring good luck later in the day*.<sup>36</sup>

Labyrinth researcher Åse Sørgård recounts from a trip to a labyrinth near Umba on the Kola Peninsula that a 60-year-old man stated that his father often fished in the bay outside the labyrinth: “It was well known that old fishermen from Umba talked about the necessity of walking through the labyrinth. Otherwise they could risk not getting out of there.”<sup>37</sup>

In Finland, some labyrinth figures have been carved into trees, called *karsikko* or *karsikko lauta*, which are a kind of memorial tree. On the way to funerals, the deceased’s initials, year of birth and death and a cross were carved into a tree, or a board was nailed to the tree with these details. It was hoped that this would prevent the deceased from becoming revenants. As a rule, such tree carvings have no labyrinth figures,<sup>38</sup> but Bo Stjernström has found two that have angle-type figures, one from Nurmes in northern Karelia and another from northern Finland.<sup>39</sup>

In Närpes, western Finland, there are some inland labyrinths. On Mattberget, 18 kilometres from the coast, there are two labyrinths just a stone’s throw from each other. One labyrinth has been destroyed by a footpath, an old trail between Närpes and Östermark (Teuva), and next to the other is a pine tree with carved *karsikko* (but no labyrinth figures). In the centre of one of the stone labyrinths is a large stone under which coins have been deposited.<sup>40</sup>

Håkan Gullmets has written that when he was 12-14 years old, sometime in 1942-1944, he and other boys found coins in a birch-bark-parcel under the centre stone of a labyrinth at Svartliden in Närpes, 15 kilometres from the coast. There were a number of copper coins, some of which were large and had a big N on one side, the monogram of Emperor Nicholas II who ruled Finland from 1894 to 1917. They also found coins under the centre stone of a labyrinth at Mattberget. When Gullmets visited the labyrinths 70 years later, the old copper coins had been replaced by modern coins!

In 2016, local historians Per Lytz and Charlie Nyberg examined the labyrinth in Svartliden with a metal detector. They found coins under the centre stone.<sup>41</sup> In all likelihood, the stone figures in Närpes were used for sacrifice, but it is unclear what the purpose of the coin offerings was.

The coin deposits in Närpes can be compared with a report by Zacharias Castrén in 1894 about a couple of labyrinths, in Hannuksenvaara and Pajarin kangas, in Tervola on the Kemi river.<sup>42</sup> Bits of bone had been found under their centre stones.<sup>43</sup> I suspect that offerings were made in the labyrinths there too.

Finally, a piece of information whose importance I find it difficult to assess. The Swedish folklorist Birgit Hamrin wrote in a newspaper article in Sweden in 1933 that labyrinths in Finland are sometimes called *Hiisis gårdar* ‘the devil’s courts’ and are the object of superstitious fear. “Anyone who unwittingly entered the magical circles would get lost and then be abducted by the wood-nymph, (*skogsrådet*) it was believed.”<sup>44</sup> No other information that I am aware of confirms the tradition of the wood-nymph.

## Appendix 14. Domarringar?

The *Swedish Conversation Dictionary* from 1850 tells about the stone labyrinth in Ulmekärr near Grebbestad in Bohuslän, and that “a legend is that the accused, against whom there was no full evidence, were in ancient times acquitted if he could, without getting lost or stepping on any stones, find the way out of these labyrinths.”<sup>1</sup>

The legend has lived on in the neighbourhood of Ulmekärr. When I interviewed the farm’s owner Sven Ulmefors (born 1918) in 1983, he said that his father had told him that in the past it was considered that if someone accused did not confess to the crime, he could be tried in the labyrinth. He would then be blindfolded and try to walk through the passages of the labyrinth. If he did not succeed, he was found guilty of the offence.

Another person from the area told me that he had heard that the ordeal consisted of crawling through the passageways blindfolded and that the labyrinth was sometimes called *Domarringen* 'the Ring of Judgement.' Ulmefors has confirmed to me that the labyrinth was sometimes called *Domarringen*.

A similar legend has probably been linked to the labyrinth at the crest of Storeberg in Gothenburg. There is a labyrinth that was partly destroyed by digging a trench in its centre during the time when Storeberg was part of a military training field. The labyrinth had been known before, but the surveyors could not find it again. After I found the labyrinth, it was restored in the late summer of 1982 by archaeologists from the museum in Gothenburg.

A journalist at Göteborgs-Posten, who was writing an article about the labyrinth, told me afterwards that she had asked a couple of cemetery caretakers about the road. They had their workplace at the nearby cemetery that replaced the training field and they

stated that they had always called the place on the top of Storeberg *Domarringen*. However, they had not known about the labyrinth, probably because it had long been overgrown and could not be seen.

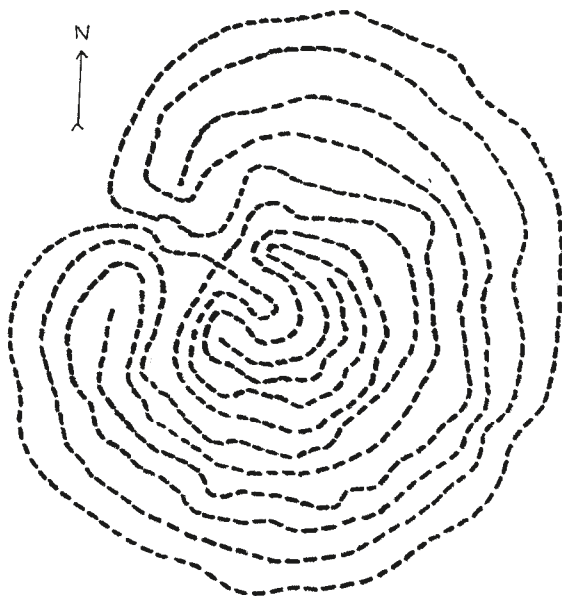
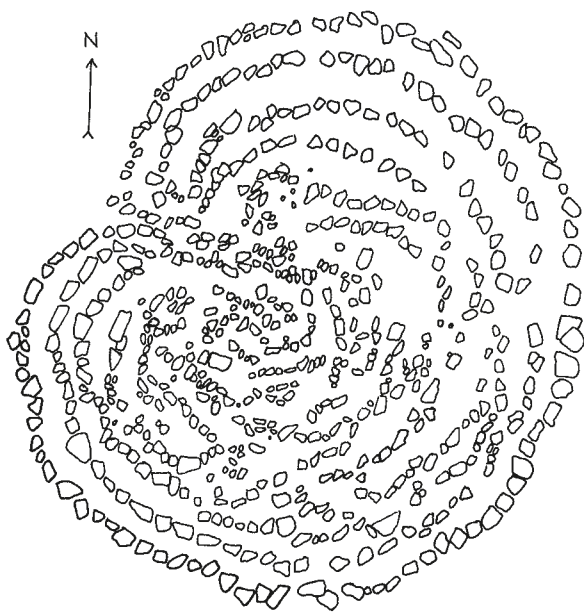
A labyrinth on Vrångö near Gothenburg has been called *Trödenborg*, *the Labyrinth* or *Domareringen*.<sup>2</sup>

At Hedared in Västergötland, just two kilometres southeast of the famous stave church Hedared Chapel, there is a spiral stone loop that is probably not very old. The local name *Tröenborg* confirms that it has been regarded as a labyrinth. But it has also been called *Domarringen*.<sup>3</sup>

In a book about Gotland, Carl Johan Bergman writes in 1882 about the Labyrinth at Visby and makes a brief reference to other stone labyrinths. He says that "it has been stated that the aforementioned stone figures were created to provide forgiveness and redemption for people who had committed themselves to, but were prevented from making penitential jour-



14:1 The labyrinth at Lindbäck.



14:2 *Den julianske borg* 'The Julian castle' on Mount Grøthorn in Ørsta parish, Sunnmøre, with my proposed reconstruction of the original layout.

neys to Jerusalem – or also for those who have been accused of offences, but against whom there was no full evidence, these people had to crawl to the centre during endless prayers and then back through all the windings without getting lost and without touching any of the stones.”<sup>74</sup>

A report on the labyrinth at Lindbacke, south-west of Nyköping, relates a local story that “a prisoner sentenced to death was said to have been bound in the labyrinth, but was freed after finding the exit.” The informant’s sister added that it was “a king or something like that” who was bound with chains. An old woman briefly claimed that “a prisoner has been standing there, by the way he was acquitted.”<sup>75</sup>

I encountered the same legendary motif when I was making a drawing of a labyrinth on Högberget in Hortlax parish 20 kilometres south of Piteå in 1982. The high level offered a breathtaking view of the

Baltic and the archipelago. During some long summer evenings, when the sun seemingly didn’t want to set, several hikers passed by the labyrinth on pleasure walks. A local man told his party that when someone was accused of something, they let the accused walk the labyrinth. If he passed this test, he was free; if he failed, he was punished.

When I followed up this trail with telephone interviews, one person in the nearby village of Jävrebryn stated that when he was a boy 40-50 years ago, he heard more than one person say that stone figures of this kind were called *Domarringar* ‘Rings of judgement.’ If someone was accused of something, he had to go through the loops. If he made it without touching a stone, he was innocent. However, if a stone was touched, it showed that he was guilty.

Another example of the same theme is mentioned in a newspaper article from 1953, which describes a boat trip to the island of Storrebbyn about 20 kilometres east of Jävre in Norrbotten. The island has several labyrinths and the author of the article states that folk tradition gives different explanations for their creation. Some claim that they were built by sailors who had been shipwrecked, others claim that they were built for fun so that people had something to do in their spare time.

However, the proofreader has added a few lines to this: “Many people believe that labyrinths are *Domarringar* or at least originate from them. When there was doubt as to whether an accused had committed a crime, the labyrinth was used to decide the outcome. If the accused touched a stone during the walk, he was considered guilty, otherwise not. There is quite a lot of space between the rows of stones, but walking the winding paths affects the sense of balance, so it is easy to get lost. For a labyrinth walker, where the outcome determined the sentence, it must have been particularly tricky. Proofreader’s note.”<sup>76</sup>

In Ørsta in Sunnmøre on the west coast of Norway there are two labyrinths situated in the mountains. One is situated on a plateau about 900 metres above sea level. The other, situated at 1000 metres on the mountain Grøthorn, is called *Den julianske borg* ‘The Julian Castle.’ It is said that criminals were set free if they entered the labyrinth.<sup>77</sup> An 81-year-old woman told a newspaper in 1985 that “the legend said” that if a criminal managed to enter the labyrinth before being caught, he could leave as a free man.<sup>78</sup>

Historian Einar Niemi tells of a labyrinth at Mikkilbergodden in Finnmark, 90 kilometres east of the North Cape, that according to local tradition, Russian fishermen had used the labyrinth as a means of punishment. A suspect or convicted person was blindfolded and had to walk through the labyrinth without getting lost.<sup>79</sup> According to a somewhat more detailed version, the labyrinth was used as a local “place of punishment”: “The criminal was blindfolded and led into the labyrinth. He then had to find his way out, and a guard made sure that he followed the paths

and did not rest. If he fell, he was beaten until he continued. The labyrinth was difficult, so few people found their way out. Most people failed.”<sup>10</sup>

In 1990, Tora Sandal Bøhn says that a teacher stated about a labyrinth at Omganglandet, just 18 kilometres east of the aforementioned labyrinth at Mikkilbergodden, that he had heard that labyrinths “were used to solve disputes between people. Those who disagreed went blindfolded into the labyrinth, and whoever managed to go through the passages without getting stuck in the stones was considered the winner by the judges, presumably via a higher power.”<sup>11</sup>

It is unlikely that folk traditions about the use of labyrinths as domarringar had any basis in reality. Rather, they are explanatory legends that arose in popular imagination and then spread over great distances. It is possible that the idea became more widespread with the publication of the *Swedish Conversation Dictionary* in 1850, but obviously the tradition already existed earlier in northern Bohuslän. And the term *domarring*, which occurs both on the west coast and in Norrbotten is not mentioned in the Dictionary.

However, it is clear that the information provided by Carl Johan Bergman in 1882 was influenced by the Dictionary. Bergman was well at home in the world of books. During his student years at Uppsala University, he was known for his poetry. For ten years he was the editor of the newspaper *Gotlands Läns Tidning*, later he was a Latin teacher at the school in Visby and eventually became a member of parliament.

His words “it has been stated” indicates that he had read the information and his formulation “those who have been accused of offences, but against whom there was no full evidence” is borrowed almost verbatim from the dictionary.

Bergman’s information has been echoed in Germany. Willy Pastor, who visited Gotland and wrote about the Visby labyrinth in a book in 1906, faithfully reproduces Bergman’s text.<sup>12</sup> Pastor writes without proper source references, but mentions that he has taken this from a collection of legends “*Gotländiska sagor och visor*” compiled by a “gotländischer Geistlicher”, i.e. a clergyman from Gotland. Even if Pastor got a few things wrong, it must be Bergman’s book *Gotländska skildringar och minnen* from 1882 that he is referring to (see Appendix 23).

## Appendix 15. Trojeborg Names

Many labyrinths in Sweden and Norway have had names such as *Trojeborg*, *Trojenborg*, *Trojaborg*, *Trögenborg* or *Tröborg*. In Denmark, there are no preserved turf or stone labyrinths, but there are many place names of the Trojeborg type that could mark places where turf labyrinths once existed.

The Trojeborg names can be traced back to the middle of the 14th century, i.e. as far back in time as there are plenty of preserved written sources in the Nordic countries. No other labyrinth name in

the Nordic region has so many early records. It was not until quite late that the names of Trojeborg were superseded by the term *Labyrint*.

## Sweden

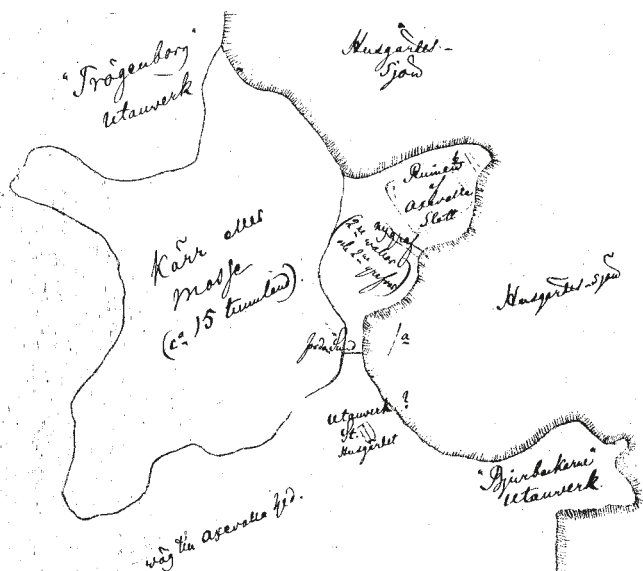
Variants of Trojeborg were long the common name for labyrinths in Sweden. This is evident from the fact that the garden labyrinths which were built at royal palaces from the mid-16th century were consistently called Trojeborg, even though the gardeners who built them were called in from the continent, where the term Trojeborg was probably unknown. It is said that Erik XIV (1510-1568) *löpte Trojenborg* ‘was running Trojenborg’ in the castle gardens of Uppsala and Svartsjö.<sup>1</sup> When the King’s Garden (Kungsträdgården) in Stockholm was given a labyrinth in 1565, the King and the new gardener Jean Allard are said to have run *tröge Borgh* in it.<sup>2</sup> An inventory from Kungsträdgården in 1648 mentions *Tröijenburgz Qwarteret*.<sup>3</sup> The labyrinth researcher Rolf Johansson has recently found another example: The castle Rosersberg, north of Stockholm, built 1634-1638, had a garden where a part was called *Trojenborgskvarteret*, no doubt a trace of a garden labyrinth.

However, in a handbook for young noblemen published in Sweden in 1599, the word *labyrint* is used to refer to garden labyrinths.<sup>4</sup> But this says nothing about the Swedish naming system, since the book is a translation that reproduces the original German name.

- The oldest record of the name Trojeborg in Sweden is from the 14th century. A house in Sankt Mogens parish in the city of Lund was called *Curia Troyæborg* in 1348<sup>5</sup> and *Troyborgh* in 1358.<sup>6</sup> Then the name disappears, and no labyrinth is known from Lund. It is conceivable that there was a labyrinth of turf which then disappeared without trace, but it is more likely that the neighbours gave the farm this name after the owner’s profession. The record from 1348 shows that the farm was owned by *Sune Troiæstikkæræ*, a craftsman who knitted *tröjor* ‘sweaters.’ This could explain why the name never appears in later documents.<sup>7</sup> The humorous naming, however, reveals that people in Lund were well acquainted with Trojeborg names in Lund in the 14th century.

- In Viby church village in Östergötland there were two farms with the Trojeborg names in the 1400s: *Trøiaborgh* 1421, *Trøghiaborgh* 1447, *Thrøiaborgh* 1457, *Trøyaborgh* 1461, *Trøyaborgh* 1502, *Trøienborg* 1640, *Troieborg* 1655, *Tröberg* 1696, *Tröberg* 1773, *Trøyenborg* 1838-39.<sup>8</sup>

The two farms were donated to Vadstena Monastery in 1421. The local name researcher Jöran Sahlgren, who found the name *Thrøghiaborgh* in Vadstena Monastery’s land register from 1447, guessed that the name came about because the monks and nuns in Vadstena were familiar with the medieval versions of the Trojan saga.<sup>9</sup>



15:1 Map of Axevalla Castle ruin and its surroundings by Oscar Montelius in 1872. On a promontory in Husgärdessjön lies the rectangular ruin of Axevalla Castle. To the west is a marsh of about 15 acres. North of the marsh is the name Trögenborg.

Placename researcher Thorsten Andersson, however, found Sahlgren's conclusions premature. An older name, from 1421, shows that the two farms in Viby were already called *Tröioborgh* when they were donated to the monastery, so the name cannot have been invented by the monks, it must be older. Andersson suspects that it belonged to an old labyrinth.<sup>10</sup>

- Near the ruins of the medieval castle of Axevalla in Västergötland, at the turn-off to Hushagen, at a croft called Rospiggstorp, there were still in 1939 "a number of stone settings .... called *Trojenborg*." Previously, there had been large stone circles there, but these were removed when Axevalla moor was turned into a military training area at the beginning of the 19th century. The site was located 300 metres from Husgärdessjön and 500 metres from the ruins of Axevalla Castle, next to a bog called Flaxamossen.<sup>11</sup> The name and the references to "stone circles" suggest that there was a labyrinth there.

In a report from the archaeologist Oscar Montelius in 1872, the name *Trögenborg* is included on a sketch as an "outwork" of the castle Axevalla, which was destroyed in 1469.<sup>12</sup> The name *Trägenborgh* is included on a modern map from 1942, which is said to have been drawn from a copy of a map from 1692.<sup>13</sup> There the name has been placed immediately north-west of the outwork called *gammal wall* "old wall."

Georg Arninge linked the name of Trogenborg to the ruins. In a sketch of the area, he places the name *Trogenborg* on a circular raised mound some distance from the castle ruins. He interprets the mound as a "donjon" - the oldest type of medieval fortress with wooden buildings and palisades. I have previously agreed with this interpretation,<sup>14</sup> but since finding the 1939 report mentioned above, I am now more inclined to believe that there really was a stone labyrinth.

The name has many early records. *Tröborg(h)* is recorded in 1564, 1566 and 1570. *Trögieborgh* is mentioned in 1578 and 1590, *Tröiebårgh* in 1600.

*T(h)rögenborg(h)* appears in 1612 and 1628. In 1685 we find *Trägenborgh* and in 1715-1874 *Trägenborg*. Today the place is called *Trägenborg*,<sup>15</sup> but the spellings *Trojenborg* and *Trogenborg* also occur. These examples show how easily Trojeborg names can be transformed into similar variants.

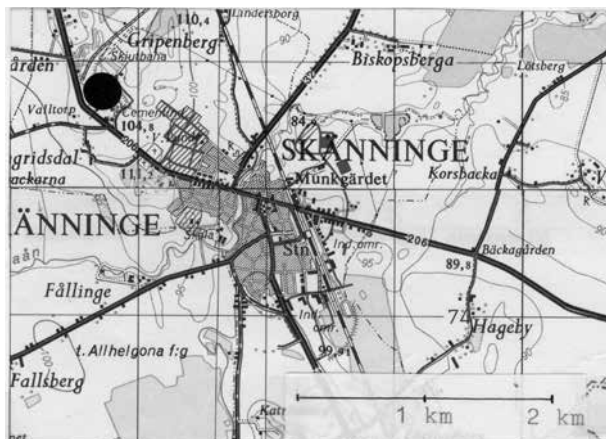
- The historian Lars Gahrn has drawn my attention to another early example. Johannes Messenius (1579-1636) spent 1595-1608 abroad, including eight years at a Jesuit school at Braunsberg, Poland. Despite his Catholic background, he became professor of law at Uppsala in 1609, published a number of works but soon fell out with the influential Uppsala professor Johannes Rudbeckius. From 1613 he was put in charge of the kingdom's archives and in 1614 became an assessor in the newly established Svea Court of Appeal. In 1616 he was sentenced to death but was pardoned and instead imprisoned until 1636. While in prison he wrote a major work of history, *Scondia illustrata*. Between 1611 and 1614 he wrote several dramas with historical themes which were performed by his students. In one of them, *Blanckamäreta* from 1614, he mentions a *Tröijenborgh* that is associated with the so-called "Håtuna game" that took place in 1306.<sup>16</sup>

It is unclear where Messenius got the idea of the Trojeborg. His information does not agree with the more well-known account, which was written down in the 1320s in the *Erik's Chronicle*. Strinnholm mentions in a footnote in *Svenska folkets historia* in 1854 that the Palmskiöld collection<sup>17</sup> contains a "recorded legend" according to which King Birger was cunningly captured by his brothers, the dukes Erik and Valdemar. They asked that the king and queen and their young son should walk "to a green place by the forest and there in a *Troiienborg*, recently built and prepared with great art." But when the king and queen arrived there, the dukes' servants came out of the forest and took them prisoner. Strinnholm also refers to a 1749 treatise, *De antiquitate Håtunensi*, by Olof Celsius the younger and Erik Hedenberg.<sup>18</sup>

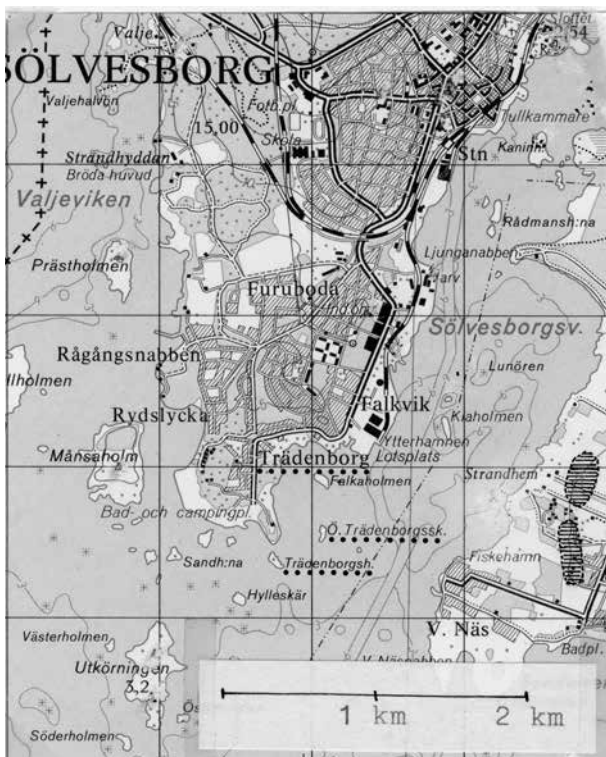
Verner von Heidenstam may have been inspired by Strinnholm when he writes in *Folkungaträdet* II about the Håtuna game that "most of them got lost playing in a labyrinth made of half-sized stones and called Trojeborg. Erik led the queen, and at first they got lost in the labyrinth, but eventually managed to find their way to the centre roundel, which was called the *Minotaur's bedchamber*."<sup>19</sup>

There are no other records of a labyrinth at Håtuna. What is most interesting here is that Messenius, who was a scholar and spent a long time abroad, does not use the word *labyrinth* but writes *Tröijenborgh*.

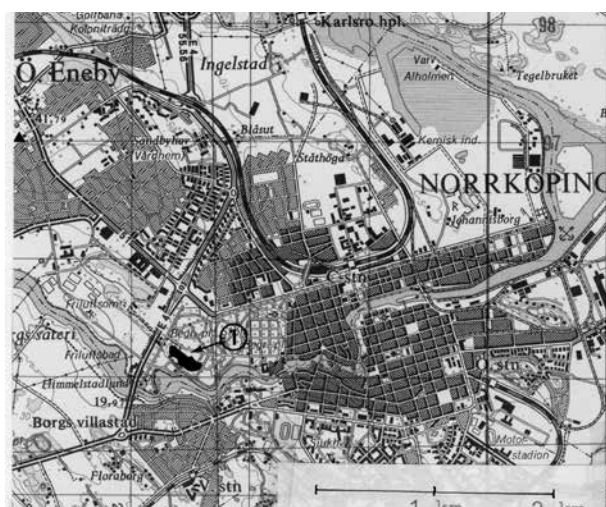
- A map of Skänninge from 1638-39<sup>20</sup> shows just west of the town three parcels of land called *Trojenbårgzgärdeth*. The name *Troyenborg gårdet* appears again on a map 1691. *Trögenborgsgärdet* is mentioned 1699 and *Trollenborgs or Östra Giärdet* 1712.<sup>21</sup>



15:2 Probable location of the Trojeborg at Skänninge, according to Olle Lorin 2006.



15:3 The headland in the sea south of Sölvesborg is called Trädenborg on modern maps.



15:4 Troienborgs Bergh marked in black (at 1) on a modern map of Norrköping.

The name apparently belongs to a labyrinth described by Johan Hadorph in a report in 1678.<sup>22</sup> For a long time it was not known exactly where it was located, but in 2006 Olle Lorin was able to locate the site to the so-called Galgbacken or Karlsborgsbacken west of the city. The labyrinth probably disappeared before the middle of the 18th century.<sup>23</sup>

- In 1672 Johan Hadorph mentions two *Trøyenborgar* at Köping church on Öland.<sup>24</sup> It cannot be excluded that he reproduced the local names of the stone figures, but it is most likely that he chose the common name of the standard language.

- The labyrinth in Rösaring, Låssa parish in Uppland, is called *Trøyenborgh* in a report 1672.<sup>25</sup> Johan Hadorph also mentions it, as a *Troijenborg*, probably in 1684.<sup>26</sup> It is difficult to judge whether these names were local or whether they merely reflected the standard language.

- In a letter of 1683 to Professor Olof Rudbeck, Erik Teet, the local judge at Selånger, tells of a *Trojeborg* at the old church of Sundsvall.<sup>27</sup> It is most likely that Teet does not reproduce the local name but follows the standard language.

- Olof Rudbeck tells us nothing about labyrinths,<sup>28</sup> but in his imaginative historical work *Atland* or *Manheim*, often called the *Atlantica*, he argued that the original home of the Trojans was in Sweden. On his maps he marked the name *Troja* 'Troy' at several places north of Uppsala. Among other things, he fantasised about a "castle and fortress in Uppsala called *Troia*, *Trojenborgh*."<sup>29</sup> He did not hesitate to search the Swedish language for the derivation of the names: "*Troy* was called the fortified city of the Phrygians, which endured 10 years of war and siege. *Træggia* is a well-guarded room... *Traka* is a fence, *Hakelwärke*... safeguarding those who sit free from bullets and other dangers... *Troja* and *Trojenborg* a firm and permanent fortress, castle or mountain. *Tröja* is the clothing that surrounds the body, *Pantzer Tröja Harnisk*."<sup>30</sup> In another context he mentions *Troja* and *Trojåborg* as synonyms.<sup>31</sup> For Rudbeck, then, *Troja* and *Trojenborg* were obviously interchangeable names, both referring to the city of Troy. No stone labyrinth has been found where Rudbeck marked Troy names on his maps.

- On Peter Gedda's map of Sweden from 1684 there is a headland in the sea just south of Sölvesborg called *Trojeborg udd*. It is called *Trøyenborgz Nabbe* in 1725, *Troienborgsnabb* in 1735, *Troijenborge nabben* in 1754, *Tredenborgsslätten* in 1874. A later form of the name is *Tredenborgsnabben*. There must have been a labyrinth there, because in the early 1800s, S.W. Gynther mentions in his description of Blekinge's ancient monuments a "kind of stone settings" called labyrinths. "One such is found in Fridlevstad and one near Sölvesborg. They are probably for play and exercise for the youth of the place, who have gathered there."<sup>32</sup> His wording suggests that the labyrinth at Sölvesborg still existed at the beginning of the 19th century.

- A map from 1691 of Himmelstalund, just west of Norrköping, shows a flat little hill called *Troijenborgs Bergh*.<sup>33</sup> The name can be traced in the 1860s and has remained long afterwards. Arthur Nördén suspected that there was a labyrinth there.<sup>34</sup>

- A labyrinth on Jägaråsen near Kungsör is called *Trögenborgh* on a map from 1694-95.<sup>35</sup> According to tradition, it was built by Queen Christina, who is said to have walked or ridden her horse in it.<sup>36</sup> Other names for this labyrinth are *Drottning Kristinas ridbana* 'riding-ground', *Drottning Kristinas gångborg* 'walking castle', *Rundelborg*, *Drottning Kristinas ridstig* 'riding path',<sup>37</sup> and *Jerusalem's väg* 'Jerusalem's road'.<sup>38</sup> It is very possible, perhaps likely, that the name *Trögenborgh* does not reflect the local naming convention but was borrowed from the standard language by the surveyor who drew the map.

- Erland Hofsten (1651-1717), who was the vicar of Hammarö parish in Värmland, made a description and drawings of two labyrinths on Stora Axelön not far from Karlstad. He states that they are called *Trojenborg*.<sup>39</sup>

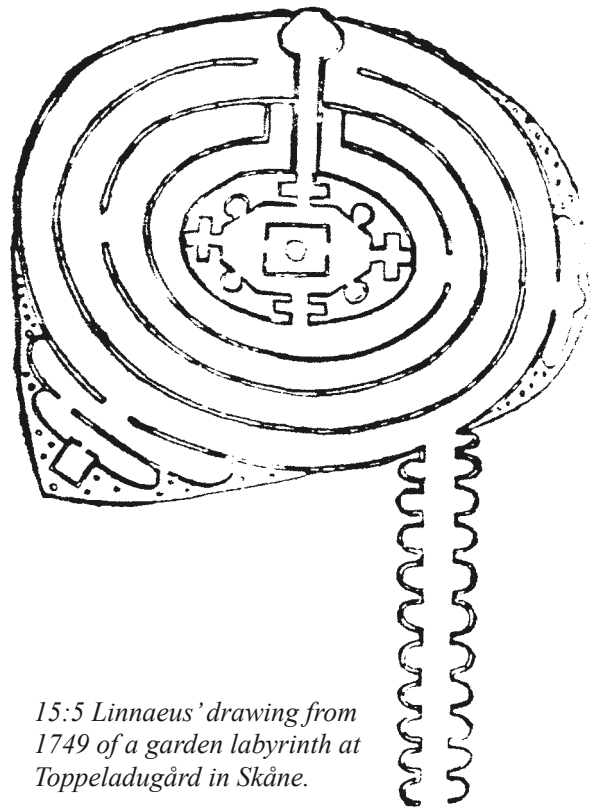
- In an unpublished manuscript, the vicar Jacob Benjamin Lohman (1708-1782) from Arboga<sup>40</sup> writes about the iron age fort Halvardsborg near Arboga, where in the "Castle court" there was "a large stone setting, which of alleged similarity with Troy should be called *Trojenborg*."<sup>41</sup> I have looked for this labyrinth without finding it, but the name from the 18th century has been preserved.

- On a city map of Linköping drawn in 1734 by Jonas Silfverling and printed in 1735 there is a small drawing of a labyrinth of simple angle-type in the garden of the old bishop's castle.<sup>42</sup> On another map of Linköping from 1750, the location of the labyrinth is marked with the text "the so-called *Trojæborg*."<sup>43</sup> The wording suggests that this may have been the local name. There is no later information about this labyrinth. A modern labyrinth, designed by an artist, was built a short distance away in the late 1980s.

- The famous labyrinth below Galbergerget near Visby is called *Trojaborg* and *Tråjaborg* by the Gotland researcher P.A. Säve (1811-1887). It is marked on a map from 1740-1744.<sup>44</sup> In later literature, names such as *Tröjeborg*, *Tröborg* and *Trojeborg* also appear.<sup>45</sup>

- The labyrinth at Tibble near Västerås is marked with three concentric rings on a 1764 map with the text *Troijenborg*.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to assess whether this name was local or whether it was borrowed from the standard language by the surveyor who drew the map.

- The famous botanist Carl Linnaeus left three pieces of information about labyrinths. In his archive, which is now kept in London, there is a poem about how the Sami protected themselves against the ravages of the wolverine with the help of a *Labyrinth*. K.B. Wiklund guesses that it was written sometime in 1723-32 by the vicar of Kvikkjokk, Per Alstadius.<sup>47</sup> This is the earliest example of the term labyrinth in a preserved text of Swedish origin.



15:5 Linnaeus' drawing from 1749 of a garden labyrinth at Toppeladugård in Skåne.

- During his trip to Öland in 1741, Linnaeus visited the island of Blå Jungfrun in the Kalmar Strait. He says that he saw a *Trojeborg* there.<sup>48</sup> I suspect that Linnaeus used the common name of the standard language. The island Blå Jungfrun was uninhabited, so there was probably no one there who could tell him about the local naming customs. In Högby parish on northern Öland there is a labyrinth, probably from the late 18th century, called *Trelleborg*. On the mainland, in the parish of Misterhult, to which Blå Jungfrun belonged, there are a couple of examples of the place name *Trelleborg*, but with no known connection to labyrinths. It is therefore most likely that the locals called the labyrinth at Blå Jungfrun *Trelleborg*.

- During Linnaeus' trip to Skåne in 1749, he described "a beautiful garden" at Toppeladugård, 20 kilometres east of Malmö. There he saw a "*labyrint eller irrgång* 'labyrinth or maze'... 65 cubits in diameter with 6 rounds of hornbeam hedges..."<sup>49</sup>

This catalogue of early name evidence can be supplemented by some labyrinths whose *Trojeborg* names cannot be traced as far back in time.

The labyrinth at the church in Enköping was called *Trojenborg* according to Simon Nordström in 1877. It was covered with gravel when the cemetery was expanded in 1883 and has probably since been destroyed by graves. Somewhat earlier, a plan of the stone figure was made, which is known through Hildebrand's publication in 1872. The original drawing has since been lost.

The site of a labyrinth at Storeberg in Gothenburg was called *Troyenborgs Slätt* in 1827 and a map from 1855 has the name *Froijenborg*.<sup>50</sup> Both names are probably misspellings, in one case of *Troyenborgs Slott* and in the other example of *Troijenborg*.

Some place names without early evidence can be suspected to have belonged to now disappeared labyrinths. These include *Trögenbergs slott* at Ellös in Morlanda parish on Orust. The sea cove *Trögenberg's hål* 'hole' at Gåsö in Skaftö parish near Lysekil may also testify to a lost labyrinth.

In Skållerud parish in Dalsland there is a farm called *Trögenborg*. The name comes from a soldier's croft whose name was recorded in 1791.

On the Hållerum estate in Tuna parish in eastern Småland, there was a small farm called *Trogenborg*.

On property belonging to Medinge in Fellingsbro parish in Närke there used to be a cottage called *Trögenborg* or *Tryggenborg*.<sup>51</sup>

In Skagershult in Närke, between Bålby and the old church, there is an area called *Trojeborg*, *Tränneborg* or *Trelleborg*. I have searched the area but could not find any labyrinth.<sup>52</sup>

It is, of course, highly uncertain whether the latter six sites really had labyrinths. And it is interesting that there are not more crofts and cottages or estates with *Trojeborg* names.

It is remarkable that the first known evidence that stone labyrinths in Sweden were called *labyrinths* seems to come from a vicar in Lapland. The 18th century was obviously a time of change. By the time Linnaeus visited Skåne, the term labyrinth had probably had some impact, at least among the estates of Skåne. But the labyrinth at Blå Jungfrun was described by Linnaeus as a *Trojeborg*. At the beginning of the 19th century, S.W. Gynther from Blekinge describes a "kind of stonework" called "*labyrinter*."

Today, most people take it for granted that labyrinths are labyrinths. But it wasn't long ago that the term *Trojeborg* was pushed into the background.

The popular naming is reflected in some information from the 1860s: The antiquarian N.G. Djurklou points out in a travel report from Värmland in 1866-67 regarding the labyrinths on Axelön in Lake Vänern that "in Södermanland as well as in Wermland and Norway they are always called *Trojenborgar* or *Tröjenborgar*."<sup>53</sup> In a report from the 1860s, the antiquarian Olof Hermelin states that in Småland it was a common children's game to draw walkways in the sand similar to this one (he attaches a beautiful drawing of the stone labyrinth at Kungsör) "They were called *Trög-borgar*, probably a distortion of *Trojenborg*."<sup>54</sup>

Hermelin's information about *Trojeborg* names in Småland is confirmed by a bread stamp from Småland with an incised figure of simple angle-type and the text *Troinbor*.<sup>55</sup>

Around the period 1860-1870, archaeologists seem to have switched to talking about *labyrinths*. When Hans Hildebrand (national antiquarian in Sweden 1879-1907) gave a speech at the newly formed Historiska Föreningen in 1862, he chose the theme "*Labyrint-*

*shaped stone settings*."<sup>56</sup> In an article on labyrinths in 1872, he writes about *labyrinths* throughout and only mentions in passing that the stone figures in Sweden are also called *Trojaborg* or *Trögborg*.<sup>57</sup>

Gustaf Brusewitz, who in 1865-1891 was curator of the historical department at the Gothenburg Museum, states in a travel report in 1865 that he visited the site of the "so-called *Labyrint*" in Asige in Halland.<sup>58</sup>

At a meeting of archaeologists in Strängnäs in 1877, a lecture was given by the labyrinth expert Simon Nordström entitled *Om labyrinter* 'On labyrinths.' The names of the *Trojeborg* type are of course mentioned, but it is clear that experts now generally referred to the figures as labyrinths.<sup>59</sup>

In 1901, the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Almgren briefly mentions "a kind of labyrinthine stonework, which occurs here and there and is often called *Trojeborg* or similar by the people."<sup>60</sup> Three years later he is more detailed: "These ancient monuments are called labyrinths by researchers. The people again call them '*Trojeborg*, *Trelleborg*, *Tröborg*, *Trinneberg*' or similar."<sup>61</sup>

## Norway

The earliest evidence of labyrinths in Norway being called *Troiborg* comes from Finnmark in the north. Christen Bertelsson Harøe reported in 1683 on "two *Troiborg*" at Stikkelsvåg at Magerøysundet in western Finnmark. The bailiff Niels Knag wrote in 1694 about the same place that there are "*trøyborg* of stone from old time." Around 1690 Knag describes another "*trøiburg* made of stone" in eastern Finnmark.<sup>62</sup>

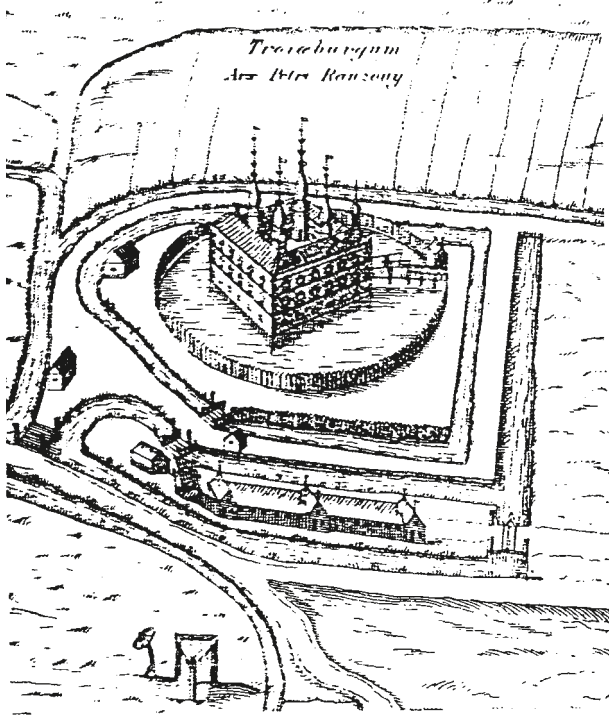
Jens Kraft mentioned in 1835 "a now almost overgrown so called *Troiborg-Slot*" on Grimsholmen in Finnmark.<sup>63</sup> But when Johan Fritzner, who was vicar at Vadsö in 1838-45, made a drawing of a labyrinth at Indre Kiberg in eastern Finnmark, he called it "*A Labyrint* laid by small stones."<sup>64</sup> As in Sweden, the term 'labyrinth' subsequently dominates.

I believe that Harøe, Knag and Kraft did not reflect any local naming practice in the north, but simply used the standard Norwegian term at the time.

In southern Norway, as in Sweden, variants of *Trojeborg* have probably been the old, popular name for labyrinths. In 1784 Hans Strøm listed some so-called *Troyborge* in southern Norway (according to a footnote also called *Troyborg-Slot* or simply *Slottet*). Traces of them were found at Bragnæs (Drammen), Hougsund (Hokksund) and Kongsberg.<sup>65</sup>

A. Kjær mentions a farm in Vanse called *Troiborg* (*Troye borrig* 1668, *Trøyborg* 1723).<sup>66</sup> But he does not mention any labyrinth. A labyrinth on the island of Hydra near Flekkefjord, only recently discovered, is called *Trøybor*.<sup>67</sup>

In addition, some of the names of labyrinths seem to have been slightly remodelled. At Tönsborg tønne at the mouth of the Oslofjord, there were once some stone circles called *Treiborgen* (*Tröiborg*).<sup>68</sup> The same stone figure has also been called *Truber Slot*.<sup>69</sup>



15:6 Trøjborg Castle in Visby parish near Tønder in Jutland.

Approximately 60 kilometres southeast of Oslo is the parish of *Trömborg* which was named after a farm (*Treginsborg*, *Treiginsborg* 1364, *Treiginborg* 1369, *Treginborg* 1409, *Trømborg* 1452, *Treinborg*, *broinborg* 1481, *Trøgienborg* 1497).<sup>70</sup> Some of these names from the 15th century shows similarities with the names of Trojeborg, but the oldest evidence does not indicate that there was a labyrinth.

## Denmark

In Denmark there are many place names of the Trojeborg type which give a hint of where labyrinths may have existed. Quite a few of these traces go back to the 17th and 18th centuries. But no field labyrinths have survived in Denmark, probably because they were made of turf, which means that the figures disappear within a few decades if you stop maintaining them.

In 1948 Gunnar Knudsen compiled a catalogue of 31 places with Trojeborg names in Denmark. I have been able to add three more.<sup>71</sup> 22 of them are mentioned in written sources before 1800.<sup>72</sup>

The Knudsen catalogue includes three park labyrinths: Rosenborg Castle Park in Copenhagen in 1610-11, the Benzonseje mansion in Ørsted parish on Zealand in 1777 and Vejlegaard in Vejle parish on Funen in 1683.

In three cases, Danish Trojeborg names have been associated with castles or castle ruins. The most obvious example is Trøjborg Castle in Visby parish, near Tønder in southern Jutland, whose name is recorded

as early as 1347 (*Trøyborgh*). The other two examples are debatable: the Viking age ring fort Trelleborg in western Zealand is called *Trøyborg* in one source, and Gamleborg in Gamborg parish on western Funen is once called *Troiborg*.

One Trojeborg name has a special background. There was apparently a labyrinth in the form of a stone pavement in a square in the town of Viborg in Jutland. It is described in 1743 as “a *Labyrinth* or *Troiborg*.”<sup>73</sup> The information from Viborg shows that the term *labyrinth* also started to appear in Denmark in the 18th century.

This leaves 27 sites in Denmark with Trojeborg names that may have belonged to labyrinths.<sup>74</sup> It is difficult to believe that all these Trojeborg names belonged to now disappeared field labyrinths, but it is an impossible task to separate the wheat from the chaff.

In some cases, the names may have been inspired by the popular folk song about Paris and Queen Ellen, which was a late and much distorted version of the Troy legend. In the song, the city of Troy is called *Tryøborg*, *Thrøborg* and *Trøyeborrig*.<sup>75</sup> Some Trojeborg names in western Jutland could have been named after the famous castle Trøjborg near Tønder.

## Appendix 16. Trelleborg Names

In Denmark, as well as in southern and western Sweden, there are many Trelleborg names. Some of those found in Sweden are associated with labyrinths.

- A stone labyrinth at Munkegård in Högbys parish on Öland is popularly known as *Trelleborg* and *Trelleborgs gata* ‘street.’ Through interviews with local residents and some genealogical research, I have been able to find the person who probably built the labyrinth. He moved in from Misterhult parish on the mainland and may have laid the labyrinth at Munkegård sometime in 1785-1790.<sup>1</sup>

- At Vislanda, Småland, angle-type figures used to be called *Trelleborgs gata*.<sup>2</sup>

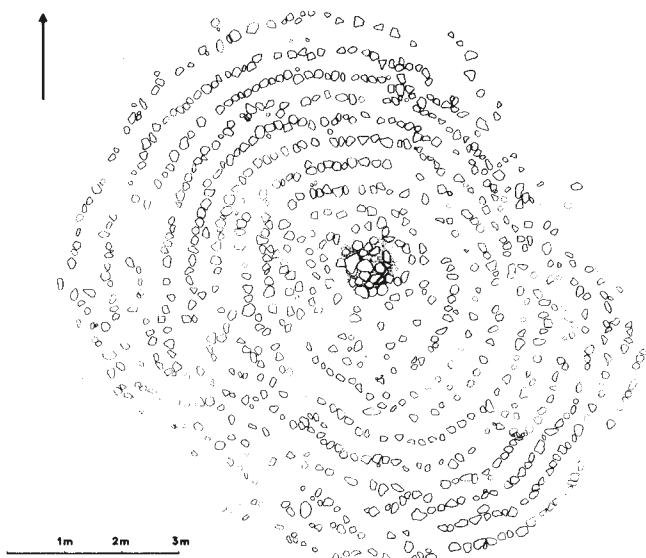
A probably prehistoric stone labyrinth at Vittaryd north of Ljungby has been called *Trelleborg* by the local population.<sup>3</sup>

- A labyrinth on Hallands Väderö has been called *Trelleborg*.<sup>4</sup>

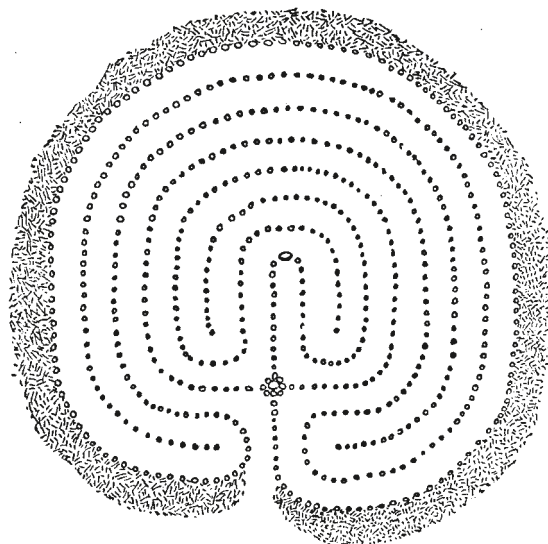
- In Kungsbackafjorden, on the island of Yttre Lön, there is a labyrinth which, according to the Gothenburg inventory, was called *Trelleborgs slott* ‘castle’ by the locals.<sup>5</sup>

- In the inventory of ancient monuments it was recorded that a labyrinth on Ramnö, near Yttre Lön, was called *Trelleborg*.<sup>6</sup> In 1876, Herman Hofberg refers to some labyrinths on the islands of Ramnö and Inre Lön as *Trojenborg*,<sup>7</sup> but probably Hofberg’s naming reflects the standard language and was not the local people’s name for the labyrinths.

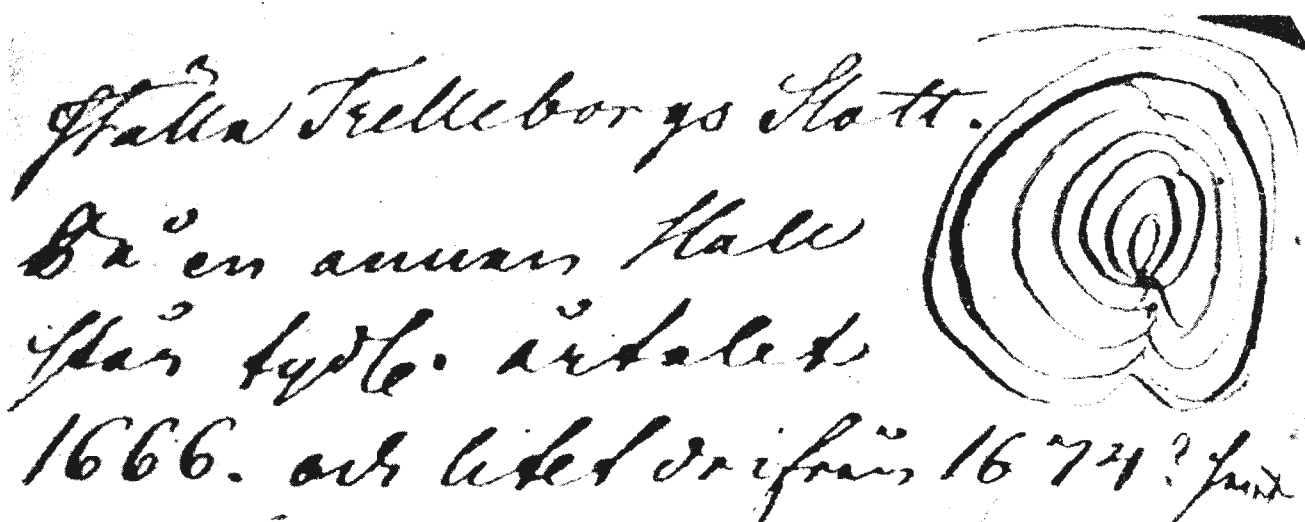
- A now destroyed labyrinth on Risö in Släp parish outside Gothenburg is called *Träle-Borg* in a travel description from 1818.<sup>8</sup> According to the register of place names, the labyrinth was called *Träleborg* or *Trelleborg*.



16:1 Trelleborgs gata 'Trelleborg's street' at Munkegård in Högby parish on Öland.



16:2 Trelleborg, now lost labyrinth on the eastern part of Hallands Väderö.



16:3 Sven Nilsson's 1818-25 drawing of a Trelleborg slott 'Trelleborg's castle' carved on a rock wall in a sandstone quarry at Vittseröd, Skåne.

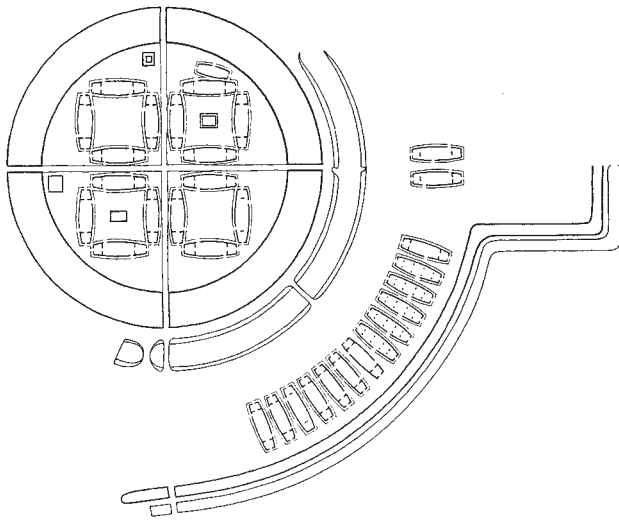
- The probably prehistoric labyrinth at Ulmekärr in Tanum, northern Bohuslän, has been called *Trelleborgs slott*, *Trälleborgs slott*, *Trinneborgs slott*, *Trinneborgs slott* and the short forms *Träbergs slott* and *Tribergs slott*.<sup>9</sup>

- In Fridlevstad parish in Blekinge there is information about eight labyrinths. Most seem to be from quite late times, but a now destroyed labyrinth on Klockarebacken, about 200 metres west of the church, can be suspected to be older. It was called *Trelleborg* in the early 19th century and probably this name in more or less distorted form has been taken up by the younger labyrinths in names such as *Trelleborgstad*, *Trellebostan*, *Trällestad*, *Trillebostad*, *Trollebostad* and *Trollebo stad*.<sup>10</sup>

- Archaeologist Gustaf Hallström mentions labyrinths on Likskäret, Renskäret and Getskäret in Töre parish in Norrbotten. According to a statement he received in 1923 from administrator G Fjällström at Båtskärsnäs, they were called *Trelleborgs stad* 'town'.<sup>11</sup> During the 1949 inventory, it was stated that the labyrinths on Likskäret were called *Trillerborgstäder* 'towns'.<sup>12</sup>

- Professor Sven Nilsson (1787-1883) has written in a notebook from 1818-1825 that during a visit to the sandstone quarries in Vittseröd at Stockamöllan, 12 kilometres north of Eslöv, he saw some inscriptions in rock faces in the so-called Kyrkograven. He mentions a *Trelleborgs slott* and on another rock face the dates 1666 and 1674. In this entry in the notebook, he has sketched a labyrinth figure, so there is no doubt what the name refers to.<sup>13</sup> There is no indication that he picked up the name *Trelleborgs slott* from someone who lived in Vittseröd. It is more likely that this was the common name for such figures in the surroundings where Nilsson lived. He was born in Asmundtorp parish just east of Landskrona and grew up in north-western Skåne. One can thus suspect that labyrinth figures were generally called *Trelleborgs slott* in Skåne towards the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century.

Sven Nilsson was a versatile scholar who had a brilliant research career. Above all, he was a naturalist and became a pioneer in Swedish ornithology. He was professor of zoology in Lund in 1832-56, but also



16:4 The Viking age ringfort Trelleborg in Hejninge parish on western Zealand.

devoted himself to palaeontology and geology. He also specialised in archaeology and has been considered the father of Swedish anthropology.

It is interesting that a person with such intellectual grounding did not call the angle-type figure a *labyrinth* but preferred the local vernacular term *Trelleborgs slott*.

It is only in Sweden that we find labyrinths with Trelleborg names. But since the labyrinths in Denmark and Skåne were probably made of turf, and therefore did not leave any traces other than place names, it is likely that some of these Trelleborg names also belonged to labyrinths. But this is not something we can take for granted.

In Scandinavia, there are also a number of castle ruins with Trelleborg names. The best known is the ring fort of Trelleborg in Hejninge parish on western Zealand, built by King Harald Bluetooth around 980. Five such ring forts have been found so far and there is evidence to suggest a few more. Two of them have been given the name Trelleborg, namely the aforementioned ring fort in Hejninge on Zealand and the town of *Trelleborg* in Skåne, where the remains of a defence wall have been excavated, suggesting that one of Harald Bluetooth's ring fort was located there.

Gunnar Knudsen mentions eleven ruins of castles with Trelleborg names in Denmark, two in Norway and two in Sweden. I have found a further 3-4 examples in Sweden, which gives almost 20 castles or forts with Trelleborg names.

A hill fort near Oslo is mentioned in *Heimskringla* in 1161 as *þrælaborg* and in *Sverris saga* (chapter 136) and in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (chapter 128) as *þrælberg*.<sup>14</sup> Another example comes from the region of Novgorod in Russia, where a place called *Dhrelleborch* is mentioned in a German-Gutenic trade document in 1268. In Charente on the west coast of France, the name *Taillebourg* recalls a castle called *Tralliburg* in 1016, where Vikings lived from 844 to 865.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, real castles seem to have had Trelleborg names since at least the 1160s, probably even earlier. Harald Bluetooth's ring forts were built around 980. It is possible that some of them were already associated with the name Trelleborg when they were built, but it is also possible that the names were added later. The town of Trelleborg in Skåne has name evidence dating back to the 13th century (*Treleburg* 1257 and *Threlæburgh* 1291).

However, there are indications that many of the Trelleborg names were not associated with either castles or labyrinths. Knudsen mentions 16 Trelleborg names in Denmark and 13 in Sweden which did not belong to either known labyrinths or castle ruins. I have found 24 other such names, mostly in southern Sweden. The number is thus significant. Some of these place names may have belonged to labyrinths that have disappeared, but in most cases there is no convincing explanation. The distribution pattern and locations do not fit well with what is known about the labyrinths.

In Denmark and Skåne-Halland, where labyrinths were probably made of turf, which is easily consumed by the ravages of time, it is easy to imagine that labyrinths disappeared and left behind place names of the types Trojeborg and Trelleborg. But this is hardly the case in Småland, where labyrinths were made of stone. And it is precisely in Småland that you find most of the difficult-to-explain Trelleborg names.

In the forest areas, the Trelleborg names are generally not settlement names. In the place name register, designations such as 'terrain', 'property land', 'arable land', 'height' and 'headland' dominate. The Trelleborg names are often peripheral in relation to old settlements. There is only sporadic contact with ancient graves. As a rule, these difficult-to-explain names are probably not very old.

In Skåne, the picture is different. In the old agricultural countryside, Trelleborg names are more likely to mark the sites of lost labyrinths. There are five Trelleborg names which are all settlement names. Four belong to farms and the fifth example is the old town of Trelleborg.

Gunnar Knudsen argued that the Trelleborg names go back to the Viking Age and that the prefix was *træl* 'thrall' with the meaning 'slave.' He paid a lot of attention to the connection between Trelleborg names and Trojeborg names. Both occur as labyrinth names and as names of castles. He believed that the Trelleborg names were the oldest and that the Trojeborg names came from the Troy Saga popular in the Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup>

Knudsen concluded that the mixing and overlapping of the names Trojeborg and Trelleborg does not originate from the Middle Ages, but from a more recent or contemporary period, when these not very common names were being forgotten and could therefore become confused.<sup>17</sup>

I'm sceptical of Knudsen's guess that labyrinths have only been given the Trelleborg names in more recent times or modern times. It is likely that it happened earlier, probably during the Middle Ages. The labyrinths in the Gulf of Bothnia have names such as *Trinteborg*, *Trillerborg* and *Trelleborg*. As I showed in chapter 38, this bouquet of names was probably transferred to the Bay of Bothnia from northern Bohuslän during the last half of the 14th century. Before that, they should have existed on the Swedish west coast.

It is easier to agree with Knudsen's suggestion that the overlap between Trojeborg names and Trelleborg names may originate from a time when the original meaning of the two name types began to be forgotten and they could therefore become confused.<sup>18</sup> The superficial similarities between the name types may have led to the Trelleborg names being borrowed as labyrinth names in the Middle Ages.

Even if Knudsen is right that the Trelleborg names are old, they cannot compare with the ancient labyrinth names referring to the mythical city of Troy. The labyrinths with Troy names have a wide area of distribution across Western Europe (Scandinavia, the British Isles, France, Spain and Italy) and the evidence goes back to Etruscan times. So, a reasonable conclusion is that the labyrinths of Scandinavia were probably associated with the legendary city of Troy long before they were given Trelleborg names.

I am therefore sceptical of Knudsen's guess that the names of Trojeborg in the Nordic countries were adopted by labyrinths from the Troy legend popular in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, Knudsen may be right that the Trelleborg names were borrowed to labyrinths because of the similarities between the words Trojeborg and Trelleborg.

This could explain why labyrinths with Trelleborg names only occur in a limited part of Sweden, while Trojeborg names are more widespread. It may also explain why relatively few of the Trelleborg names have been associated with labyrinths, while the Trojeborg names have generally belonged to labyrinths.

But in that case, it is remarkable that there is almost no example of a labyrinth having both a Trojeborg name and a Trelleborg name. I only know of two such sites, and in both cases the evidence is flimsy.

The vicar Daniel Harbe, who wrote about folklore in Skagershult parish in Närke, stated in 1943 that "at *Trojeborg* (*Tränneborg*) between Bålby and the old church, a Queen Tärna is said to have lived. At *Trojeborg* there was once a gazebo."<sup>19</sup> I have searched this terrain but have not found any labyrinth. However, an old local resident told me that the place was called *Trelleborg* and *Trelleborgsbacken*. Another local, who was not born here, had heard the names *Tränneborg* and *Trelleborg*.<sup>20</sup> I suspect that there was a labyrinth in Skagershult, perhaps it has been called both Trojeborg and Trelleborg. However, this somewhat shaky example does not provide much support for the idea that the names Trojeborg and Trelleborg may have overlapped at the same labyrinth.

Another difficult to evaluate example comes from Fridlevstad in Blekinge. A labyrinth at Tvingelshed has been called *Trellebostan*, *Trällestad* or *Trällstad*. The local historian Rikard Svensson, who was very helpful during my investigations in Fridlevstad, later stated in a letter that his older brother had heard the name *Trelleborgstad* as well as *Trojeborg* (see Appendix 9). However, no other labyrinths in Fridlevstad have been associated with the name Trojeborg. I therefore suspect that the name Trojeborg in this context was not the local name for labyrinths, but that there has been an interference in the folk memories from the standard language.

As Gunnar Knudsen has shown, the Trelleborg names date back to the 12th century and possibly a few centuries earlier. But the Trelleborg names associated with labyrinths do not have such old evidence. A number of Trojeborg names associated with labyrinths can be traced back to the 16th, 17th or 18th century. However, the Trelleborg names of labyrinths can only be traced back to the 19th century. The labyrinths with Trelleborg names at Ulmekärr and Vittaryd are situated next to grave fields, which gives an indication of high age, but one cannot ignore the possibility that the stone figures are much older than the names with which they have been associated in recent times.

The really difficult question is whether the new role of Trelleborg names, as labyrinth names, may have affected the meaning of the word. Could there have been a shift in meaning? Knudsen argued that the first part of the name *Träleborg* was the word *träl* 'thrall.' But has this meaning remained in the new role as a labyrinth name?

Nobody can say anything definite about this, but I suspect that already in the Middle Ages both the names of Trojeborg and Trelleborg began to appear enigmatic to many who used them. A number of transformations into similar words, which had a simpler and more obvious meaning, indicate this. More on this in Appendix 17.

## Appendix 17. Folk Etymological Transformations

There are many examples in Scandinavia of labyrinth names of the types Trojeborg and Trelleborg being transformed so that the prefixes have a more easily understood meaning. Trojeborg, for example, has been transformed into Trolleborg. The reason for this is probably that those who built and used the labyrinths no longer understood the old names. Perhaps not everyone recognised any longer that the angle-type figures represented the city of Troy. And many may have lost sight of the fact that the word Trelleborg probably originally contained the prefix *träl* 'thrall/slave.'

The transformed names resemble Trojeborg or Trelleborg, but the prefixes were replaced by similar but more easily understood words, as in *Trolleborg*, *Tryggeborg*, *Trinneborg*, *Trilleborg* and *Treddeborg*. Such changes are referred to as *folk etymological transformations*.

Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether the new names are transformations of Trojeborg or of Trelleborg, but in many cases it is possible to study the course of the transformation through older name evidence. In cases which are difficult to assess, there is a significant probability that the new names are transformations of Trojeborg rather than Trelleborg, since Trojeborg names have dominated among the labyrinths in Scandinavia, while only ten labyrinths have Trelleborg names.

In a report from 1678, Johan Hadorph writes<sup>1</sup> about a labyrinth at Skänninge that probably disappeared before the middle of the 18th century. A map from 1638-39 identifies three land holdings called *Trojenbårgzgärdeth*. The name *Troyenborg gårdet* (field) appears on a map in 1691 and *Trögenborgsgärdet* is mentioned in 1699. But in 1712 the land is called *Trollenborgs* or *Östra Giärdet*. The names *Trollenborgs* or *Östra giärdet* and *Trållenborgsbacken* appear on a map in 1776. A map from 1815 has the names *Trollenborgs* or *Östra gårdet* and *Trollenborgsbacken*. Here one can see how Trojenborg was transformed into Trolleborg, where the prefix is *troll* 'natural being.'

In Fridlevstad parish in Blekinge there are records of eight labyrinths. The probably oldest of them was situated on Klockarebacken, near the church, and was called *Trelleborg*. The younger labyrinths in Fridlevstad have had names like *Trelleborgstad*, *Trellebostan*, *Trällestad*, *Trillebostad*, *Trollebostad* and *Trollebo stad*.<sup>2</sup>

Apparently, the suffix *-borg* has been transformed into a number of similar forms and the prefix *trelle-* has in some cases been replaced by *trolle-*. Such a transformation may have led to, or been facilitated by, the association of labyrinths with trolls or enchantment. According to an account from Fridlevstad's neighbouring parish of Tving, people used to draw labyrinth figures in the sand on a lake shore. Anyone who went astray in the figure was enchanted so that he never came out.<sup>3</sup> From the neighbourhood of Korsör in Denmark, there is a story about the game of drawing a labyrinth, which was known there as *trække til Trolleborg* 'go to Trolleborg.' According to another account from Zealand, drawn labyrinth figures were called *Fru Trolleborgs Slot* 'Mrs Trolleborg's Castle.'<sup>4</sup>

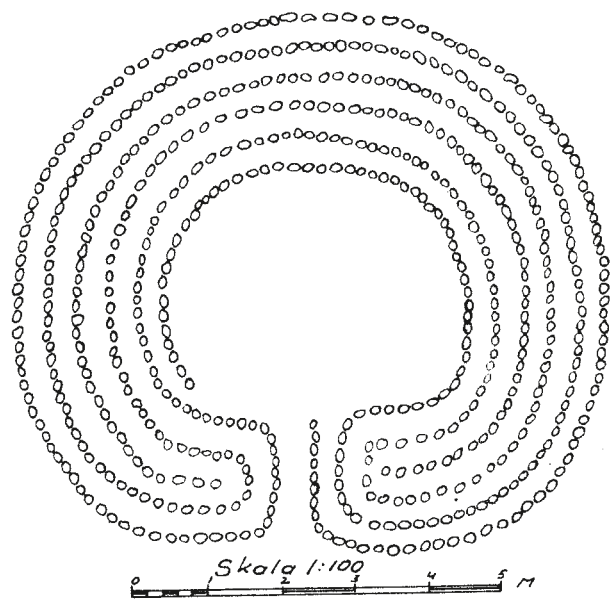
On the west side of Romsø close to Funen there is a place called *Trøjborg*. In the land register of 1682-83 the place was called *Trøjborg Marck*, but according to a folk tradition recorded in 1888 there was a castle (with no visible remains) called *Trolleborg*.<sup>5</sup>

Gunnar Knudsen also mentions a couple of places in Denmark where Trelleborg names, without known labyrinths, occur alternately with variants where the prefix is *trolld* 'troll.'

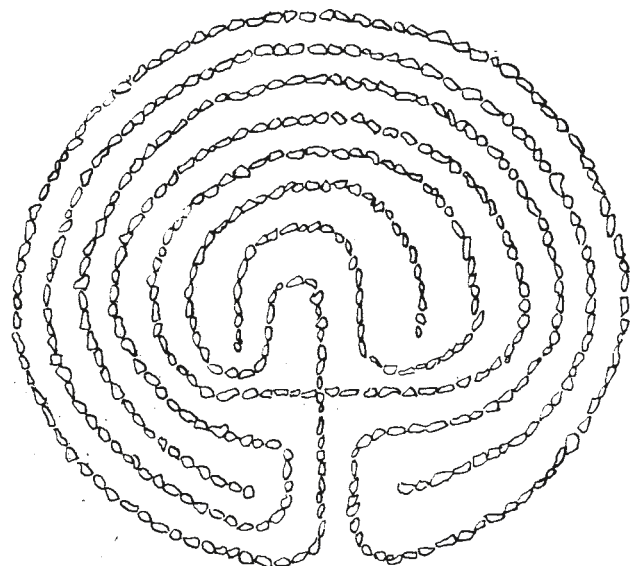
In the early 19th century, S.W. Gynther mentioned a labyrinth "near Sölvesborg"<sup>6</sup> It has not been found, but we get a hint of its location through a series



17:1 One of the labyrinths at the cemetery on Vrångö in Styrsö parish.



17:2 Tryggeberg at Stora Möet on Hönö in Öckerö parish near Gothenburg.



17:3 Trinteborg on Orrskär in Norrsfjärden parish outside Piteå.

of place names on a headland in the sea just south of Sölvesborg: *Trojeborg udd* 1684, *Tröijeborgz Nabbe* 1725, *Troienborgsnabb* 1735 and *Troijeborgsnabben* 1754. But in 1874 the place is called *Tredenborgsslätten* and a later form of the name is *Tredenborgsnabben*. Trojeborg has thus been transformed into Tredenborg. The prefix in Tredenborg probably has the same meaning as in the Swedish words *träda*, *beträda* and *inträda* 'tread/walk.' Tredenborg should therefore have had the meaning of 'walking castle.'

The labyrinth at Högaryd, about a kilometre from Vallda church on the Onsala peninsula in northern Halland, had been ploughed away "some years ago" according to the Gothenburg inventory of 1917. It has been called *Tredenborg*, *Treddeborg* and *Trädenborg*.<sup>7</sup> Elof Lindälv, who participated in the inventory in 1917, mentions in an essay in 1968 that according to L.E. Jansson in Norrbyvalla, his father had told him that in his father's youth, probably in the 1820s, early on Easter Sunday morning they used to go to Högaryd to *gå Trädenborg* 'walk Trädenborg' in the labyrinth.<sup>8</sup>

On Vrångö, just 17 kilometres northwest of Högaryd, there are three labyrinths and a compass rose made of stones close to a modern cemetery wall. The place has been called *Tröteberg* by the locals. Other variations of the name are *Tröneberg*, *Trödenberg* and *Truttenberg*,<sup>9</sup> *Trottenberg* and *Trödenborg*.<sup>10</sup> A local history book states that they were popularly called *Treddeborgarna*, which suggests that they were parallels to the labyrinth names at Högaryd.<sup>11</sup>

The labyrinth at Sölvesborg has thus had a Trojeborg name that was transformed into Tredenborg. The labyrinth in Högaryd and the coastal labyrinths on the island of Vrångö also have Tredenborg names. They may have developed in the same way as in Sölvesborg.

On the Swedish west coast and in Västergötland there are more examples of transformations. For example, the labyrinth at Ulmekärr in Tanum has had many names. The Gothenburg inventory of 1890 noted *Trinnebergs-slott*, *Träbergs-slott*, *Tribergs-slott*, possibly also *Trällebergs-slott*.<sup>12</sup> The *Swedish Conversation Dictionary* from 1850 stated that the stone figure is called *Trinneborgs-slott*.<sup>13</sup> The owner of Ulmekärr farm, Sven Ulmefors (born 1918), has told me that the labyrinth used to be called *Trelleborgs slott*.

On Kalvön, also in the parish of Tanum, there is a labyrinth that is popularly known as *Trinnebergsslott*, *Trillebergsslott* and *Tridjebergsslott*.<sup>14</sup> The 1891 inventory stated that there had been a *Trinnebergs slott* at Rörvik farm in Tanum, which had been built over and destroyed.<sup>15</sup> Also at Laholmen in Lurs parish, the 1904 inventory stated that there had been a *Trinneberg slott* which was at that time destroyed.

Apparently *Trinneberg's slott* was a common name for labyrinths in northern Bohuslän, but other forms

also occur. The prefix *trinne-* is probably a dialectal variant of the adjective *trind* 'round.' The prefix *trille-*, which occurs on Kalvön, probably had a similar meaning, namely 'something round.' Trinneborg and Trilleborg could thus both have meant 'round castle.'

I suspect that all these prefixes (*trinne-*, *trille-* and *trälle-*) were perceived as synonyms by the locals. Otherwise, one would have to imagine that the same labyrinth had several transformations with different meanings, which is unlikely.

Conversions of the suffix *-borg* to *-berg* are common among the labyrinth names on the west coast from the Norwegian border in the north to Vrångö in the south.

In southern Bohuslän the pattern is a bit different. On Tornholmen southeast of Marstrand, there has been a labyrinth called *Tryggebergs slott*.<sup>16</sup> Not far from here, on Hönö, there is a labyrinth called *Tryggeberg* and *Tröggebergs slott*, which should have had identical meaning.<sup>17</sup>

The prefix *trygg-* 'safe' is easy to interpret; the word should have had the same meaning as in modern Swedish. On Risö outside Gothenburg, a labyrinth has been called *Trelleborg*. It is therefore conceivable that the labyrinth name Tryggeberg is a transformation of Trelleborg. But it is also possible that Tryggeberg is a transformation of *Troyenborg*, which was the name of a probably very old inland labyrinth at Storeberg in Gothenburg.

In the interior of Västergötland there are labyrinth names such as *Tröenberg*, *Trägenborg*, *Trodenborg* and *Trajenborg*. At Horn's church in Västergötland there used to be two labyrinths called *Trajenborg* or *Trajenboj*. "Here both young and old enjoyed running Trajenborg. It was easy to get into the centre, to the square, but not many people found their way out."<sup>18</sup> *Trajenborg* can possibly be derived from the local dialectal verb *traja*, 'to walk, trudge, trample.'

A spiral-shaped stone figure on Spisakullen in Hedared in Västergötland was called *Tröenborgen* in a 1943 report. Oskar Bengtsson in Hedared, who wrote the report, had a suggestion for interpreting the prefix: In the local language, the word *tröa* occurs, which means 'to tread, to step', e.g.: "I happened to *tröa* 'step' on a snake, I *tröade* 'stepped' wrongly, you *tröer* 'are stepping' in the grass."<sup>19</sup> Thus, both in Hedared and in Horn, the transformed Trojeborg names may have had the meaning of 'walking castle.'

There are also transformations with more enigmatic meanings. At the ruins of the medieval castle Axevalla hus in Västergötland, there are clear Trojeborg names from the 16th century and during most of the 17th century. But in 1685 the site is called *Trägenborgh* and in 1715-1874 the name *Trägenborg* is written. Today, the site has again been given a name that is fairly close to the original form, namely *Trägenborg*.<sup>20</sup>

A parallel to the name Trägenborg has been found in Ornunga parish 60 kilometres southwest of Axevalla. A labyrinth on Sörgården's outfield, by Lake Ornunga, has been called *Trägenborg*. According to information from old people, shepherd boys should have built it. Old people said that when they were young and came walking along the path, they had the habit of going off the road to "walk Trägenborg." They would follow the paths to see if they found the right way. A nearby croft has also been called *Trägenborg*.<sup>21</sup>

In Värmland there used to be a stone labyrinth at Dalen on the peninsula Södra Örrud in Lake Vänern, now removed. It was called *Trotteborg*<sup>22</sup> which is reminiscent of the labyrinth names *Tröteberg* and *Truttenberg* on Vrångö.

All these names probably developed from Trojeborg, but it is unclear what the meaning of the transformed prefixes was.

On the coasts of the Baltic, there are almost no Trojeborg names. However, there are some interesting transformations. Several are found in Norrbotten and there is one record from southern Finland. Aspelin mentions *Trojeborgs slott* or *Trinneborgs slott* in the Åbo archipelago.<sup>23</sup>

Along the coast of Norrbotten there are some labyrinth names that seem to be modelled on those in northern Bohuslän. Jean Berglund stated in 1908 that a labyrinth on Jävre Sandön in Hortlax parish was called *Trinteborg* by the fishing population.<sup>24</sup> According to the 1945 inventory, a labyrinth on Orrskär in Norrfjärden parish was called *Trinteborg*.<sup>25</sup> Three years later, a place name researcher stated that the labyrinth on Orrskäret was called *Trintenborg*.<sup>26</sup>

In 1924 Gustaf Hallström mentioned two labyrinths on Malören in Nedertorneå parish that a fisherman in Båtskärsnäs had told him about. They were called *Trinderborjs stad*, also *Trilleborjs stad*.<sup>27</sup>

On the island of Likskäret in Töre parish there are some labyrinths called *Trillerborgsstäder*.<sup>28</sup> Gustaf Hallström noted in 1923 that according to a person in Båtskärsnäs, labyrinths on Likskäret, Renskäret and Getskäret were called *Trelleborgs stad*.<sup>29</sup>

There are also similar examples of transformations with no known connection to labyrinths. A medieval fort, Hönshylte skans, on the border between Småland and Blekinge, was called *Trolleborg* 1637, *Trelleborgh* 1667 and *Trulleborg* 1741. Erik Dahlberg (1625-1703) drew attention to the remains of this fort in a well-known book, and called them *Arx Trojenborg*, i.e. 'Trojenborg Castle.' In the spirit of the time, he boldly pointed out the location of the city of Troy next to the castle remains!<sup>30</sup> There was hardly a labyrinth there, but the names show how easily they were transformed.

The well-known Danish ringfort Trelleborg in Hejninge on Zealand also has some interesting name forms: the site was called *Trelborg* 1487, *Trelleborg* 1607, *Trælborj march* in the 17th century and

*Træleborg Mark* on the parcel maps. But in a legend recorded in 1861, the ring wall was called *Trilleborg banke*,<sup>31</sup> which gives an indication that the names Trelleborg and Trilleborg were easily interchangeable.

On Kållandsö in Västergötland I have found some place names not related to labyrinths where *trille-* seems to have been interchangeable with *trälle-* or other similar prefixes. For example, *Trilleholmen* in Otterstad parish is called *Trollön* on a map of the common lands of Sunnergata village. *Trilleviken* at Trollö in Otterstad parish is written *Trellewiken* on a map from 1745. *Trilleskogen* in Kålland parish is written *Trelleskogen* in 1745.

Several place names on Kållandsö written with the prefix *trille-* have also been pronounced as *trelle-* or *trölle-* according to the register of place names. These include *Trilleberg* in Kållandsö parish and *Trillekvarn*, *Trilleslätten* and *Trillegrundet* in Otterstads parish.<sup>32</sup>

A number of labyrinth names thus indicate that the prefixes *trinte-*, *trinder-*, *trinne-* and *trille-* had the meaning 'round' or 'something round' and that these name forms were easily interchangeable with *trelle-*. I suspect that all these prefixes were perceived as synonyms by the coastal population that built, used and named labyrinths.

There are more indications that the prefix *trelle-* in labyrinth names had a similar meaning as the prefixes *trinne-* and *trille-*, i.e. 'round' or 'something round.' An old teacher, who grew up in Byarum parish south of Jönköping, has told me that in his childhood there was a toy called a *trälle*, which consisted of a round wheel on a rod. For him, the word *trälle* meant 'something round.' According to another account, from Öxabäck parish in southern Västergötland, *trelle* meant 'to roll'.<sup>33</sup>

A hint in the same direction can be found in Herman Vendell's dictionary of the East Swedish dialects. There it is stated that both *trill* and *träll* have the meaning 'gear-wheel in a mill.' *Trällhjul* is said to be 'drillhjul (=träll)' while *trillhjul* is explained as 'cogwheel (?) in a mill.' V E V Wessman gives some more examples in his collection of words from East Swedish vernacular: *Trill*, *trillhjul* and *trällhjul* are 'cogwheel in a (wind) mill', *trällbår* has the meaning 'drill.'

The local historian Per Lytz in Närpes, Finland, has given me some more examples. In the Närpes dialect, the verb *trell* has the meaning 'to swing around' or 'to drive for pleasure'.<sup>34</sup>

In reviewing Frederik Knudsen's collections of Danish play traditions, I have come across several examples of the game of *slå trille*, in which two teams tried to push each other back by throwing a hard wooden pulley as far as possible towards each other. The game has also been referred to as *slå trint*. A round disc has thus been called *tril*, but H.F.Feilberg in his dictionary of Jutlandic vernacular languages also mentions the variant *trel* in Elsted's parish near Århus.<sup>35</sup>

As Gunnar Knudsen has suggested, it is conceivable that Trelleborg names became associated with labyrinths after their original meaning had been forgotten. I believe that the folk etymological transformations of Trojeborg and Trelleborg are signs that such loss of tradition was already common in Sweden around 1300.

If the original meaning of Trelleborg names had fallen into oblivion and they had begun to be used as labyrinth names, where transformations have become common, then the step is probably not far from the prefix *trälle-* having undergone a change of meaning. What I mean is that on the fishing islands it was probably easy to imagine that Trelleborg had roughly the same meaning as Trilleborg and Trinteborg, i.e. 'round castle.'

But could we not go one step further and assume that the original meaning of the name Trelleborg was 'round castle', where the prefix *trälle-* meant 'something round'? It is tempting to compare with Harald Bluetooth's Danish ringforts built around 980. They all have perfectly circular walls, rounder forts do not exist, and in at least two cases they have been called Trelleborg.

The idea is intriguing, and it easily leads to the conclusion that Trelleborg is just one of many folk etymological transformations of Trojeborg. This could explain the similarity between the name types Trojeborg and Trelleborg.

I have played with this idea, but I don't dare to believe it. The linguistic-historical objections weigh heavily. Gunnar Knudsen flatly rejects the idea that Trelleborg names may have evolved from Trojeborg names. The oldest examples of Trelleborg, such as the Norwegian *Prælaborg* and the Scanian *Thrælaborgh*, cannot have evolved from a *Trójuborg*. In the early Middle Ages, *T* and *P* were kept strictly apart. The only thing these names have in common is the suffix *-borg*. A confusion of the names can hardly have taken place in ancient times. In Norwegian, *T* and *P* were kept separate throughout the Middle Ages. In Danish, the difference remained until around 1300 and occurs now and then until 1450.<sup>36</sup>

When I wrote a long article about labyrinth names in 1986, the local name researcher Göran Hallberg emphasised that the word *träl* cannot have had the meaning 'round.' He argued that it is one thing with all these 17th, 18th and 19th century names for the labyrinths with the prefix *Trelle-*, *Trille-*, *Trälle-* and so on, and quite another with the medieval documented writings for certain Danish, Norwegian and Swedish names of the type *Trelleborg*. Here the prefix is *præla-* 'thrall', already documented in the 12th century, which must definitively be kept separate from the folk etymologies in the younger, post-medieval material. The adjective *trind* 'round', borrowed from Low German in the Middle Ages, and the noun *trilla* (with the dialectal side form *trill*), also borrowed from Low German, have an initial *t-sound*,

while the noun *träl* 'thrall' in the early medieval place names Trelleborg, has an initial *p* -not *t*-. The words are thus not related. It follows that in these early documented *Trelle-*, *Trälle-* names there can be no question of folk etymological associations to any meaning 'trind, round.' Other explanations are required. Hallberg also pointed to the possibility that the oldest Trelleborg names may be names of some Nordic "Ur-Trelleborg."<sup>37</sup>

The possibility that King Harald's ringforts and some other known castles could have gotten their Trelleborg names from transformed variants of Trojeborg names must therefore be rejected. And the folk etymological transformations into *trinneborg* and *trilleborg* can obviously not have taken place until the Middle Ages, when the precursors of these labyrinth names were borrowed from German.

There are also a number of other indications that suggest that the Trelleborg names hardly evolved from the Trojeborg names. One is the large area of distribution of the Trojeborg names: no transformations of Trojeborg have been so widespread, most transformed labyrinth names are only found in rather limited zones.

Moreover, it is hard to believe that a transformation of the labyrinth name Trojeborg would be associated with some twenty castle ruins and more than 50 place names which have no proven connection with labyrinths.

Trojeborg names are usually associated with labyrinths and the evidence for this goes back a long way in many cases. For example, garden labyrinths in Sweden were called Trojeborg as early as the 16th century.

On the other hand, no garden labyrinths in the Nordic countries have been given Trelleborg names. When Trojeborg names appear without any known connection to labyrinths, one can suspect that they have belonged to labyrinths which have been destroyed or for other reasons can no longer be found. There are not many such place names in Sweden and Norway but many in Denmark. The explanation for this may be that Denmark had plenty of turf labyrinths which have disappeared over time.

Likewise, only a small number (about ten) of the Trelleborg names have been associated with labyrinths, they are all located in Sweden and they have no early name evidence. A larger group (nearly 20) have been associated with hill forts or ruins of medieval castles. A number of them have early name evidence, pointing to the Viking Age or early Middle Ages.

Several of the Trelleborg names with no known connection to castle ruins or labyrinths, have been found in Småland and in two clusters in Jutland. Almost none of them have early name evidence. Some of them may have belonged to now disappeared labyrinths, but most should probably be explained in another way.

Something that also indicates that Trelleborg hardly developed from Trojeborg is that there are hardly any convincing examples of the same labyrinth or site having alternate variants of Trojeborg and Trelleborg.

But how can we explain the fact that the known stone labyrinth in Ulmekärr in northern Bohuslän has been alternately called *Trelleborgs slott* and *Trinneborgs slott*? Some neighbouring graves (erected stones) indicate that the labyrinth may be as old as the early Iron Age. A possible explanation is that the name of Trelleborgs slott was linked to an older labyrinth rather late.

It is difficult to get to grips with these names, but there is much to suggest that the Trelleborg names were early on linked to hillforts or castle ruins. Knudsen's interpretation of the first part of the name *þræla* 'thrall' is probably correct. But over time, these names may have acquired a wider use and changed meaning. Among other things, they have been associated with labyrinths, which are also perceived as castles. On the fishing islands, the labyrinth name Trelleborg has probably been perceived as a synonym for Rundborg 'Round castle.'

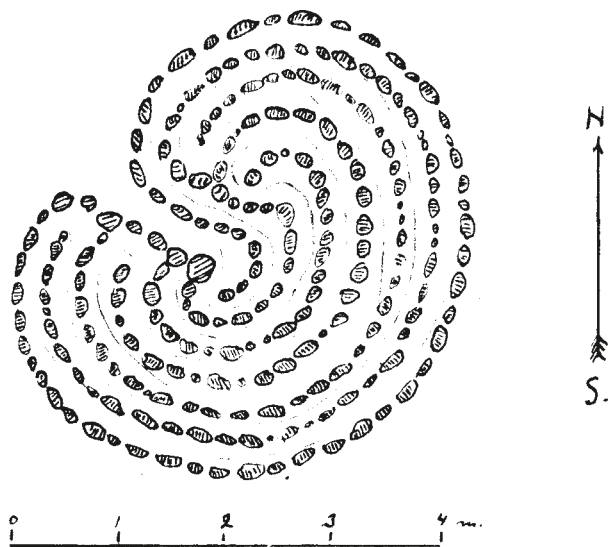
## Appendix 18. Rundborg and Ringborg

Along the Norrland coast there are several labyrinth names that refer to the round shape of the stone figure but have lost all similarities with the prefix Troja: *Rundborgastad*, *Rundborgadestad*, *Ringborgastad*, *Ringborgadestad* and *Rundvall* in Ångermanland and *Rundborgstad*, *Ringborgsstad* and *Rundgårdar* in Norrbotten.

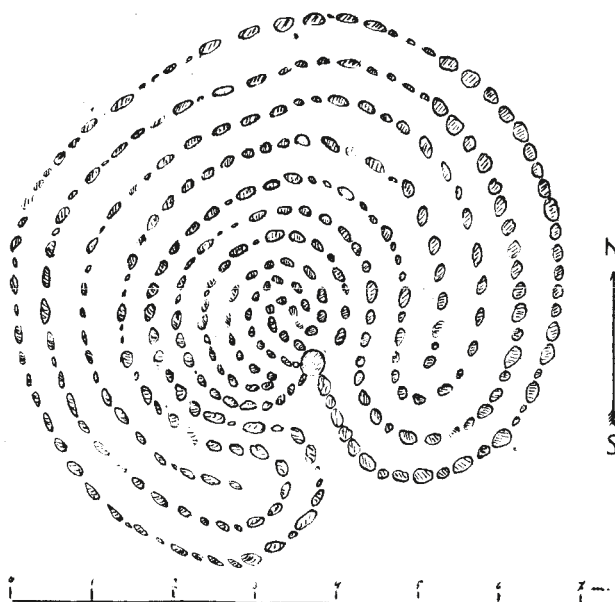
I suspect that the names of the type Rundborgastad 'round-' and Ringborgsstad 'ring-' represent the next stage of transformation of the Trojeborg names. The folk etymological transformation to *trinne* and *trille* disappears, but its probable meaning 'round' remains and is now written out in names like *Rundborgsstad*. Comprehensibility has triumphed. All that remains of the names of Trojeborg or Trelleborg is the suffix *-borg*. Along the Norrland coast, these names are usually given the additional suffix *-stad* 'town', as in the labyrinthine name *Rundborgastad*.

On Rödkallen in the parish of Nedeluleå there are seven stone labyrinths. In 1922 it was stated that one of them was called *Rundborgstad*. On Jävreholmen in Hortlax parish there are two labyrinths which, according to a 1927 report, were called *Rundborgestan*.<sup>1</sup>

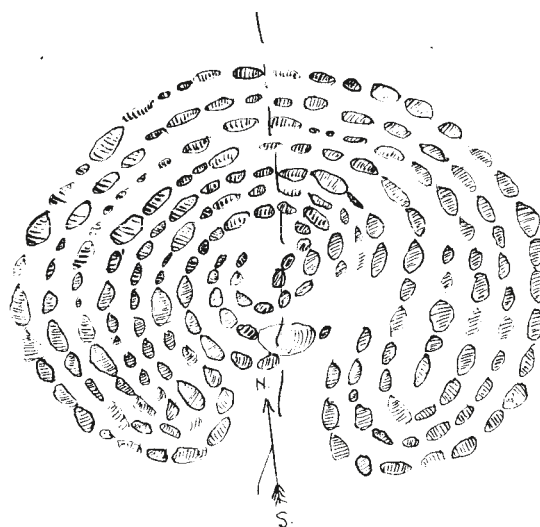
On the island of Pahaluoeto in the parish of Nedertorneå there are two labyrinths which are said to have been built by the Consul Liljebäck at the beginning of the 20th century, probably in 1906. The layout of one of them, which is completely different from the angle-type, was copied from an image in the Allers family journal. A 1934 report states that Swedish speakers used to call the labyrinths *Ringborgsstad* while Finnish speakers called them *Jatulintarha*.<sup>2</sup>



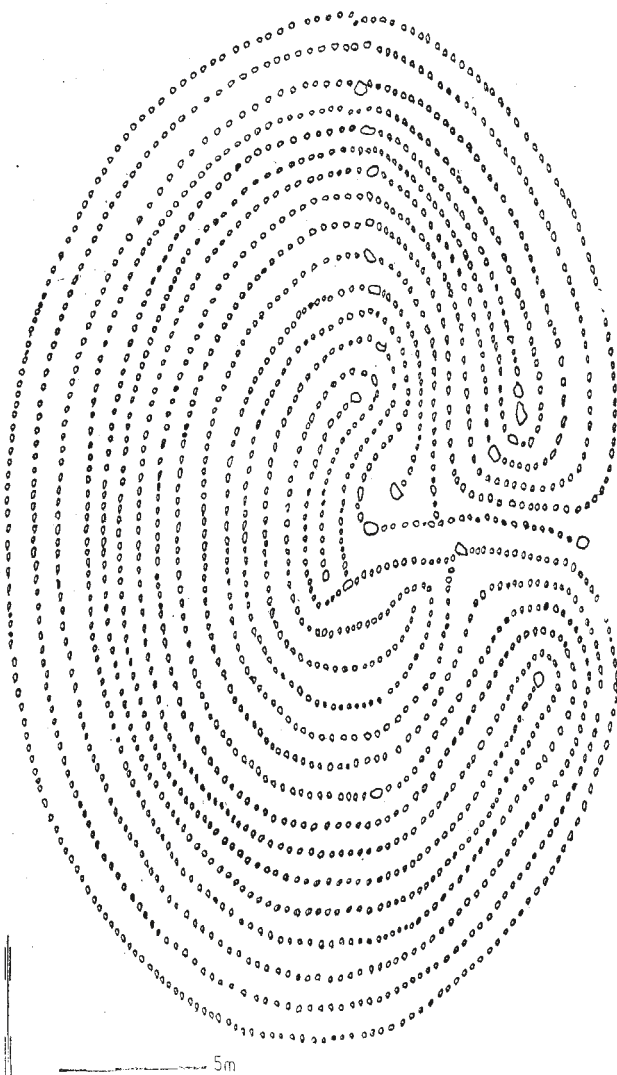
18:1 Rundborgadestad on Långskäret in Nordingrå, Ångermanland (Raä nr 161:2, Nordingrå sn).



18:2 Rundborgadestad on Långskäret in Nordingrå, Ångermanland (Raä nr 161:2, Nordingrå sn).



18:3 Ringborgastad at Homviken on Rävsn in Nordingrå, Ångermanland (Raä nr 46, Nordingrå sn).



18:4 Rundborg on Emskär in Eckerö, Åland. There is a copy at Tullarns äng in Mariehamn.

Even though the labyrinths are late copies, the names probably give a good idea of which labyrinth names dominated in the Torne valley and in the Haparanda archipelago during the early 1900s.

According to a fisherman on Holmön near Umeå, the stone figures were called *Vandring* or *Rundbergska staden*.<sup>3</sup>

At Holma fiskeläge in Grundsunda parish, Ångermanland, there are a couple of labyrinths which, according to a person born in 1846, were called *Staden Rundvall*. ‘the city of round walls.’<sup>4</sup>

In 1934, Emil Nordmark in Nordingrå parish conducted a number of interviews in his village for the ethnological survey. The labyrinths were called *Rundborgadestad* or variants of this term. Nordmark describes in detail a couple of labyrinths on Långskäret which were called *Rundborgastad* or *Rundborgade stad*. It was said that the stones represented ‘the walls of the city.’ The same labyrinths have also been described as *Ryska fästningar* ‘Russian fortresses.’ A labyrinth at Bönhamn in Nordingrå parish that was called the *Ringborgastad*, *Ringborgade staden* or *Ringborgarstaden*. A labyrinth at Rävsön

in the same parish is described as a *Ringborgastad* and it is said that children used ‘to take’ the *Ringborgadestaden* for fun. At school, boys would draw the *Rundborgadestaden* on the blackboard.<sup>5</sup>

The local historian Manfred Ohlson at Gräddö has told me that a now lost stone labyrinth on Gässlingen (Gisslingö) in Rådmansö parish near Norrtälje was called *Ringboslott* by the locals. The same prefix is also found in the older spelling of the parish name Rimbo in Uppland (*Ringbohaeredi* 1270). The parish name probably refers to the peculiar stone circle Tistelkullen, which has been interpreted as an ancient fortress or as a grave enclosure.

In a short article in 1941, Ohlson writes that on islands in the Stockholm archipelago such as ‘Svenska högarna, Gisslingö and Yttre Hamnskär, one finds so-called Trojeborg or Ringboslott.’ He also mentions a ‘destroyed Ringboslott’ on Hamnskär.<sup>6</sup> Apparently, the name *Ringboslott* has occurred in several places in the archipelago near Norrtälje.

Aspelin states in 1877 that labyrinths in Åland were called *Borgen* (Eckerö parish) and *Rundborg* (Saltvik parish).<sup>7</sup> Björn Cederhvarf says that a large stone labyrinth on Emskär in Eckerö parish was called *Rundborg*. He also mentions the labyrinth name *Ringeliborg* on Haverholmen near Borgå, east of Helsinki.<sup>8</sup>

A stone labyrinth at Lindbacke in Sörmland, just one kilometre west of Nyköpingshus, was called *Rundgången*, *Rundborgen* ‘or something similar’ in 1930, according to a local resident.<sup>9</sup>

The archaeologist Bengt Engström states in 1928 that the labyrinths in Västmanland are ‘popularly called *Rundborg*, *Gångborg* or more often *Trojeborg*.’<sup>10</sup> In a memorandum concerning Badelundaåsen, prepared by Erik Floderus in 1949, it is stated that in an anonymous essay submitted to the Vitterhetsakademien in 1850, the stone figure at Tibble is referred to as *Labyrinten* or *Rundborgen*. But on a map 1764 it is called *Troijenborg*. In a report to the ethnological survey in 1943, it is stated that there was no specific name for the Tibble labyrinth, it was just called *Labyrint*.<sup>11</sup>

The labyrinth in Kungsör has many names, one of which is *Rundelborg*. In a letter from the county antiquarian Sven Drakenberg in 1934, he mentions ‘the so-called *Rundelborgen*.’ In 1951, Arvid Hamrin mentions several names, including *Rundelborg*.<sup>12</sup> In a description from 1959, the entire area where the labyrinth is located is referred to as the *Rundelborg area*. In a letter to the Swedish national antiquarian from the county antiquarian in 1965, the stone figure is referred to as *Labyrinten Rundelborg*.

## Appendix 19. Maiden Dances

In the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland, maze names of the type *Jungfrudans* ‘Maiden dance’ predominate. They are found along the Baltic coast in Österbotten, in Åland, in the Åbo archipelago and in the Swedish

speaking settlements along the southern coast of Finland. The term Jungfrudans ‘maiden dance’ has become so established that many people use the term jungfrudans to refer to stone labyrinths in general, much as the term Trojeborg was used in Sweden and Norway in the latter half of the 19th century. This makes sense, because everyone knows what a Jungfrudans is, while the word labyrinth can give different associations.

Aspelin stated in 1877 that labyrinths were called Jungfrudanser in Österbotten, from Gamla Karleby in the north to Kristinestad in the south. He mentions labyrinths on Stubb-Lillskär and Stubb-Storskär in Munsala parish, Stubben in Oravais, Mickelsörarna in Maxmo, Norrskär in Vasa, Rågskär and Storskär in the Malax archipelago, Orrmo in Korsnäs, Grytskär, Kompassberget and Pyhävuoro in Närpes and Kilhamn in Sideby.

On the south coast, Aspelin stated that labyrinths were called jungfrudanser in the neighbourhood of Helsinki and in eastern Nyland. Björn Cederhvarf writes in 1910 that the labyrinths on Åland and those in the parishes of Korpo and Houtskär in the outer archipelago of Åbo were mostly called jungfrudanser.<sup>1</sup>

Kustaa Killinen mentions stone labyrinths called Jungfrudanser at the village of Norrby and at Åselholm, both locations in the parish of Iniö in the Åbo archipelago.<sup>2</sup>

The answers to a questionnaire sent out in 1984 by the Department of Folklore at Åbo Akademi confirms Aspelin’s and Cederhvarf’s information on where the name Jungfrudans has been used, but also adds a few areas. A labyrinth south of Kristinestad, on the island of Domarkobban in Sideby parish, has been called “*Jungfrudansen* on Kåbban.”<sup>3</sup> In Finby in Nagu parish southwest of Åbo there is a stone labyrinth called *Jungfrudans*.<sup>4</sup> In the neighbouring parish of Korpo, stone labyrinths were also called *Jungfrudans*.<sup>5</sup> The same name is also reported from Västankjärds parish north-west of Hangö.<sup>6</sup> A labyrinth at Bolax hamlet in Hitis parish west of Hangö was called *Jungfrudans*.<sup>7</sup> On the southern coast of Finland, the range extends eastwards to the neighbourhood of Borgå. A labyrinth at Skallerhamn just east of Haxalö 20 kilometres south of Borgå is called *Jungfrudans* by the locals.<sup>8</sup>

There are also variants of Jungfrudans and some rather different names. On the islands northwest of Vasa, labyrinths were called *Ringdans* and *Jungfrudans*.<sup>9</sup> Another record, from Björköby parish in the same area, states that older people called labyrinths *Jungfruringar*.<sup>10</sup> From the same parish it is said that the most common name there was *Jungfruringar*, but that they were also called *Jungfrudanser*.<sup>11</sup>

A former sea guard, born in 1908 and raised on Björkholm in Nagu parish southwest of Åbo, says that a labyrinth on Kaiplot was called *Jungfrustigen* ‘Maiden’s Path.’ He also says that he saw many stone labyrinths during his service as a sea guard. At Saltvik, on the highest mountain ridge in Åland,

Orrdalsklint, he had seen stone rings which the locals called *Trohetsdans* ‘Fidelity Dance.’<sup>12</sup>

In the past, the inhabitants of different parishes were often given nicknames. Those who lived in Ingå, 50 kilometres west of Helsinki, were called *Jungfrudansare* ‘maiden dancers.’<sup>13</sup>

Some Finnish labyrinth names, on the west coast of Finland, have also been inspired by the Jungfrudans names. Killinen mentions some stone labyrinths called *junfrutarha* ‘maiden enclosure’ in Velkua parish. At Lehmämaa northwest of Åbo, at the border between the parishes of Kustavi and Lokalahti, there is a labyrinth called *Nunnarinki* ‘nun ring’, where the prefix *nunna* ‘nun’ may be interpreted as a free translation of *jungfru*- ‘virgin/maiden.’ In Masku parish near Åbo, Killinen found the labyrinth names *Nunnatarha*, *Nunna-aitta* and *Hiitteentarha*.<sup>14</sup> As already mentioned, Aspelin stated that along the west coast of Finland, between Kristinestad and Åbo, labyrinths in Finnish were generally called *nunnantarha* ‘nun’s enclosure.’<sup>15</sup>

In Sweden there is only one clear example of labyrinths being called Jungfrudans. Eskil Olsson, in a travel report from Ångermanland in 1909, mentions a labyrinth at Tennudden south of Stubbsandsviken in Grundsunda parish; it was called *Jungfrudansen*.<sup>16</sup> The same name at the same place was confirmed in 1917 by a fisherman’s wife who was born in 1873.<sup>17</sup>

According to a report 1927 there were no legends among the locals as to when the labyrinth at Tennudden was laid or what its original purpose might have been. But “now, however, it has come to have a certain purpose.” It served as a marriage oracle for young girls. Girls who wanted to get married could try their luck in the stone figure. Anyone who could *gå ut Jungfrudansen* ‘walk the Maiden dance’, i.e. pass through the entire walking system without fail, would be married. Anyone who interrupted the walk and took a shortcut out would remain unmarried. The latter would also happen if she lost her balance and took a sidestep over a row of stones.<sup>18</sup> Nowhere else have I come across a labyrinth game or legend with a similar meaning.

Only one similar labyrinth name is known from western Sweden. In Otterstad parish on Kållandsö in Lake Vänern, children drew large labyrinth figures in the snow on the ice, where they then played (more on this in Chapter 40). The figure was called *Trojeborg* or *Jungfruborgen*.<sup>19</sup>

In the northern archipelago of Stockholm I have been able to track down some similar names through interviews. A labyrinth on Kasberget at Köpmanholm is said to have been called *Mariaringen* by the locals. However, my informant stated both *Mariaringen* and *Jungfruringen*. A sketch of the labyrinth from 1885, by a chief pilot at Köpmanholm, bears the inscription *Jungfruringen*,<sup>20</sup> i.e. the same name that occurred in the archipelago near Vasa.

The fisherman Georg Nordström on Rödöga has told me about a labyrinth on Rödöga Storskär, which was destroyed around 1950, that such figures were called *Jungfru Maria-dansen* 'Virgin Mary Dance' and *Jungfru Maria-ringen* 'Virgin Mary Ring' by the locals.

A retired lighthouse keeper who had lived on Svenska högarna for a long time told me that the labyrinth there was called *Jungfruringen* 'Maiden Ring.' Both his father and grandfather worked at Svenska högarna. Magnus Pettersson, a fisherman from Södermöja, told me in 1978 that the labyrinth at Svenska högarna was called *Trojeborg* and *Jungfruringen*. But a lighthouse keeper's daughter from Svenska högarna told me that only people from the mainland who came to visit used the name *Trojeborg*.

It is interesting that in the northern archipelago of Stockholm there is a group of labyrinth names that show a relationship with the labyrinth name *Jungfrudans*, which is common in Finland. A possible explanation is that these names were brought westwards by fishermen from Finland who visited the Stockholm archipelago. This could be consistent with my suspicion that the labyrinths in the Stockholm archipelago may have received their designs of the Köpmanholm-type and the Skarv-type (without a centre cross) from Finland (see chapter 24). Two different kinds of evidence thus indicate that fishermen from Finland introduced the labyrinths in the Stockholm archipelago.

Early on, researchers in Finland associated the names of the *Jungfrudans* type with a labyrinth game in which a boy would retrieve a girl from the centre of the stone figure. A.O. Freudenthal described this game in an 1874 article on the ancient monuments of Eastern Nyland: "At the centre of the labyrinth, a maiden should have her place, to which the others danced forward, following the paths of the stone figure: hence the name *Jungfrudans*."<sup>21</sup>

This explanation has since been supported by many others. It has also been associated with a labyrinth painting in the old church of Sibbo, also in Eastern Nyland, which depicts a woman at the centre of the *Jungfrudans*.<sup>22</sup>

It is remarkable that not more labyrinths in Sweden have been called *Jungfrudans*. However, it can be assumed that the names in the northern archipelago of Stockholm are related to the name *Jungfrudans* in Finland. It is well known that fishermen from Finland often fished in the Swedish archipelago, the distances were not daunting. But only in the northern archipelago of Stockholm does Virgin Mary appear in the labyrinth names. One possible explanation is that Mary has been associated with the labyrinths for the simple reason that when visiting fishermen from Finland talked about *Jungfrudans*, the locals in the Swedish archipelago may have associated the stone figures with the virgin they knew best.

## Appendix 20. Famous Cities

### Viborg

Along the Swedish coast of the Gulf of Bothnia there are a number of labyrinths which have got their names from the city of Viborg. In 1908, Jean Berglund stated that a labyrinth on Orrskär in Norrfjärden parish outside Piteå was "named *Viborgska sta'n* 'the city of Viborg' in popular imagination and is believed to be a drawing of the city of Viborg in Finland." According to Berglund, a labyrinth on Högberget in Jävre parish was also called *Viborgska stan*.<sup>1</sup>

The archaeologist Gustaf Hallström was mainly concerned with exploring the prehistory of Norrland. In a letter from 1931, concerning Likskäret in Töre parish, he mentions "round stone settings, so-called *Rundgårdar* (also called *Viborgska stan*)", which suggests that he understood these names to be common among the local population along the northern coast.<sup>2</sup>

Peter Gustafsson of Skellefteå Museum told me about an interview he conducted in 1974 with a woman born in 1900. When she was a child, she was told by her grandparents, who fished at Skötgrunnan in Bureå parish, that a labyrinth there was called "*Viborgs stad*, it was *the drawing of the city of Viborg* and they then called it *Viborgska staden*."<sup>3</sup> Kurt Boberg, who in 1980 stated that the labyrinth at Skötgrunnan was called *Viborgs stad* and *Ritningen till Viborgs stad* 'the drawing of the city of Viborg',<sup>4</sup> has certainly received the information from Peter Gustafsson.

Nearby, at Vånören in Löfvånger parish, there is a labyrinth which, according to a retired pilot at Bjuröklubb, has been called *Viborgs-stan*.<sup>5</sup>

### Babylon

Along the Russian Arctic coast, labyrinths have been called *Babylon*. No other names are known there. The traces go back a long way. Here are some examples.

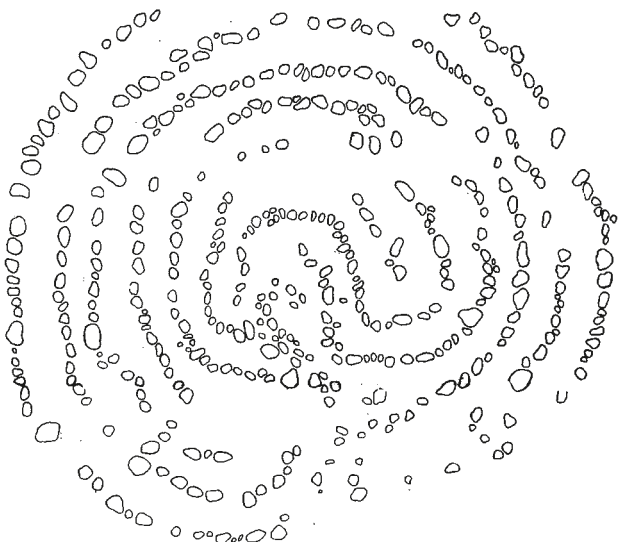
Two Russian diplomats visited the border region with Norway in 1592. At Mortensnes on the Varangerfjord, they saw an erected stone and a stone figure called *Babylon*, with walls laid out "like twelve city walls."<sup>6</sup>

According to an old monk, in 1702, Peter the Great and his ships were stranded on the island of Great Zayatsky in the Solovetsky Archipelago. He went ashore and to keep the crew busy he ordered them to build a *Vavilon* 'Babylon', i.e. a labyrinth.<sup>7</sup>

K.E. von Baer reported in 1844 that during a visit to the town Kem on the White Sea, he heard a local resident say that a labyrinth there was called *Vaviloni*, i.e. *Babylon*.<sup>8</sup>

Gustaf Hallström visited the famous monastery on the Solovetsky Islands in 1910. He was guided by a hermit who told him about the labyrinths that "somewhere in the world there was a city named *Vabilon*, and in memory of it *Vabilons* were laid."<sup>9</sup>

S.N. Durylin stated in 1914 that a labyrinth near Kandalaksha was locally called *Babylon*.<sup>10</sup> Vyacheslav



20:1 Jeruusalem at Kootsaare on Dagö, exposed by Urmas Selirand in 1986.

Mizin has recently told me that the Russian ethnographer Charnolusky stated in 1929 that there was a labyrinth on the Varzuga River in the southern Kola Peninsula, 70 kilometres from the river mouth. It was called *Popkov Babylon*, which should mean that the labyrinth was laid by someone called Popkov.

Through the Bible, Babylon was known to a wide audience. It tells of the Babylonian captivity and the Babylonian confusion of languages. The *Book of Revelation* also mentions the *Babylonian harlot*, which is usually interpreted as an allegorical symbol of evil. The term has been assumed to refer to the Roman Empire, while Luther used it for the papacy. I suspect that labyrinths in Russia may have received this name because they were associated with the city of Rome or with evil, perhaps both.

Vyacheslav Mizin compares the name of the labyrinth with an old folk tale 'Tales of the City of Babylon.' It tells how the royal regalia of decaying Babylon was transferred to Constantinople. Another tale tells how the regalia was moved on to Kiev and then to the Russian city of Vladimir.<sup>11</sup> So in ancient Russia, a fairy-tale city called Babylon was well known. From there, it may not have been far to associate the labyrinths with Babylon.

Labyrinth researcher Ernst Krause gives more examples of Russian fairy tales that may be related to the labyrinth name Babylon. He also refers to information from Yeliseyev that in Russia they used to call all kinds of intricate patterns *Babylon* or *Wawylone*.<sup>12</sup>

K.E. von Baer mentions in 1844 that in South Russia, it was still common in his time to call underground ice cellars *Wawyloni*.<sup>13</sup> The name Babylon may thus have had a meaning associated with underground passages.

## Jerusalem

Local historian Manfred Ohlsson told me about a teacher in Rådmansö near Norrtälje who taught his pupils to draw "cross-shaped labyrinths." He

called this game *Vandra till Jerusalem* 'walking to Jerusalem.'

On the farm Ekholmen in Gunnarsnäs parish, Dalsland, there has been a cottage called Jerusalem. There is said to have been a planted birch grove where paths were laid out "in the form of a labyrinth." This "labyrinth grove" was called *Jeruselems gator* 'The streets of Jerusalem.'<sup>14</sup>

In the Swedish-speaking areas of southern Finland, one comes across a few labyrinth names that allude to famous cities. A.O. Freudenthal stated in 1874 that labyrinths, probably in eastern Nyland, were called, among other things, *Jeruselems stad* 'the city of Jerusalem.'<sup>15</sup>

Aspelin mentions *Jeruselems förstöring* 'the destruction of Jerusalem' in the parish of Borgå in 1877. He also describes how schoolchildren in Helsinki amused themselves by drawing labyrinthine figures called *Jeruselemin kirkko* 'Jerusalem's church.'<sup>16</sup> In 1886 Aspelin visited the Finby mountain outside Borgå and in an unpublished report describes a couple of *Jättekast* 'giant throws' (cairns) and no less than seven labyrinths which he calls *Jeruselemsgator* 'Jerusalem streets.' Almost all were badly damaged, none were of "old construction" by which he seems to mean unaltered angle-type. Aspelin also states that in 1851 there had only been one intact labyrinth, which had been built with "the basic idea of a cross." Bishop Alopæus stated that as a child he had only seen one labyrinth. "When the Tavastehus railway was built, these stones were laid by students and high school students."

Anders Allardt mentions in a book on the history of Borgå in 1925 that the labyrinths there were often called *Jeruselemsborgar* 'Jerusalem castles.' At the farm of Bergsta (on the same mountain that Aspelin mentioned in 1886) there were five such "labyrinth designs, there called *Jeruselemsgator* 'Jerusalem streets.'"<sup>17</sup>

A newspaper article in 1992 states that Borgå parish had labyrinths in four places. At Jungfruberget on Rågskär in Onas there was one intact and one destroyed labyrinth, one called *Jerusalem* and the other *Jungfrudansen*. On Haverholmen in Pellinge there was a *Ringeliborg*. At Högberget in Finnby (the same mountain that Aspelin and Allardt described) there were five labyrinths called *Jeruselemsgator* in 1871.<sup>18</sup> The site of the latter labyrinths was called *Jeruselemsberget* 'Jerusalem mountain.'

A.M. Tallgren wrote in 1912 that a labyrinth on the island of Härö in the Pitkäpaasi archipelago, now on the Russian side of the border, was called *Jerusalem*.<sup>19</sup>

Kustaa Killinen stated in 1885 that in northern Satakunta people drew labyrinth figures called *Jeruselemin temppelin porttikonki* 'Entrance to the Temple of Jerusalem.'<sup>20</sup>

In an 1899 newspaper article, Emil Nervander mentions a labyrinth at Moisio in Elimäki parish, 35 kilometres northwest of Kotka. It was called *Ingången till Jeruselems stad* 'Entrance to the City

of Jerusalem.<sup>21</sup> Lars-Ivar Ringbom mentions in 1938 among the Finnish name forms *Jerusalem hävitys* 'The destruction of Jerusalem.'<sup>22</sup>

In Estonia, a labyrinth at Kootsaare on Dagö has been called *Jerusalem*. Peeter Mey states in a 1931 newspaper article that *Jeruusalemma linn* 'City of Jerusalem' and *Türgi linn* 'City of Turks', made of stones, were common among the coastal population of Estonia in the past.

Mey also writes that schoolchildren in Estonia used to draw the *Jerusalemma mäng* 'the Jerusalem Game' on the blackboard.<sup>23</sup> The game was about travelling to Jerusalem. The participants sit in a circle and one of them gives names to the others, such as Jew, mistress, boy, dog, horse, carriage, whip, etc. One of the participants tells about the Jews' journeys to Jerusalem. During the journey there are several mishaps, for example, the carriage breaks down. Each time the name of a participant is mentioned, he or she must stand up and turn round. When the phrase "How the Jew... walks to Jerusalem..." is uttered, everyone stands up and turns round.<sup>24</sup> Mey's information is enigmatic. The children probably drew angle-type figures on the blackboard, but it is unclear what connection these labyrinth drawings had with the described game.

### Constantinople

From Wängelsby in Fjällsjö parish, northern Ångermanland, it is said that the children used to compete with each other to draw labyrinth figures, which "were supposed to represent the city of *Konstantinopel* and were invented by a stranger who had come here."<sup>25</sup> In the parish of Sunne in Värmland, schoolchildren used to draw labyrinth figures which were called the *Väg in i Konstantinopels stad* 'The road into the city of Constantinople.' It was said that anyone who could walk through Trojeborg without encountering obstacles could redeem someone who had been spirited away.<sup>26</sup>

There are two stone labyrinths on the island of Aksi near Tallinn in Estonia. One has been called *Türgi linn* 'City of Turks' which probably refers to Constantinople.<sup>27</sup>

### Nineveh and Jericho

A labyrinth on Svintaskär in Bråviken<sup>28</sup> is marked on the geological map<sup>29</sup> with the note that "according to folklore it was laid by an old sailor and is supposed to represent *en plan of Ninive* 'a drawing of Nineveh.'"<sup>30</sup>

In Lima parish in Dalarna, angle-type figures were called *Ninive*. In the 19th century, young people used to amuse themselves by drawing such figures on stone tablets, paper and on ice-covered window panes. "On freshly fallen snow on shiny ice, it was easy to draw a *Ninive*."<sup>31</sup>

In 1877 Aspelin mentioned the labyrinth names *Ninives stad* 'the city of Nineveh' in Sibbo parish and *Jerichos ritning* 'Jericho's drawing' in Borgå.<sup>32</sup>

### More cities

Aspelin mentions the labyrinth name *Lissabon* 'Lisbon' in Säkkijärvi parish, now on the Russian side of the border.<sup>33</sup> According to Vyacheslav Mizin, Aspelin was referring to a stone labyrinth on the island of Korkeasaari.<sup>34</sup>

On the island of Hogland in the Gulf of Finland, where Finnish was spoken, it was still common around 1870 for boys on the island to draw labyrinths. They were called *Ranskan Pariisi* 'French Paris.'<sup>35</sup> The small labyrinth on the island of Wier (Södra Virgen, Viirisaari, Viringer), described by K E von Baer in 1844 and by Arne Europeus in 1909, has been called *Ranskan Pariisi* but also *Pariisin linnoitus* 'Fortress Paris.'<sup>36</sup>

On Prästgrundet outside Söderhamn there is a labyrinth called *Trondhjem* after the well-known Norwegian city.<sup>37</sup>

From Västra Vingåker parish in Sörmland it is stated that a labyrinth figure was drawn on paper with the comment that "here you have to look for *Stockholm*."<sup>38</sup> Stockholm as a labyrinth name does not appear in any other records.

At Öregrund there is a small lake called *Träsket* 'The Swamp.' It had three small islands: Snäckan, Björkholmen and *Rom* 'Rome.' The latter was in older times a place where the youth of Öregrund used to come together during the summer. "You went to Rome" on Saturday evenings and Sundays, it was said. There was a stone labyrinth there, which around 1940 was covered in moss and trees. Today everything has changed, in the 1970s Rome and Björkholmen were covered with excavated earth to make way for car parks and the buildings of the fire brigade. The labyrinth is gone. But it is possible that the island's enigmatic name *Rom* was borrowed from the labyrinth.<sup>39</sup>

## Appendix 21. Other Labyrinth Names

Archipelago residents don't say Trojeborg, they say *Kollergång*, a resident of Gräskö, near Kappelskär near Norrtälje, claimed to archipelago author Einar Malm.<sup>1</sup> In a conversation with me Åke Janhem has confirmed that he had "probably heard many times" that labyrinths were called *Kollergång*." He thought it was used throughout the archipelago. A person on Runmarö has also told me that "such stones" used to be called *Kollergångar* by the people of the archipelago.<sup>2</sup>

The word *Kollergång* 'roller mill' usually refers to a type of crushing machine in which two heavy wheels run around a vertical axis and pulverise, for example, paper pulp, asbestos, gypsum, or seeds against the ground. One can only speculate on how paved labyrinths came to be associated with such a device. Perhaps the explanation is simply that a *Kollergång* moves around in circles like a labyrinth.

Another possible explanation is that the name of the labyrinth is related to the expression *kollra bort*

‘turn a person’s head’ Kollergång may then have referred to the fact that people lost their bearings in the labyrinth’s passages and had difficulty finding their way.

There are more enigmatic names in the Stockholm archipelago. A labyrinth on the island of Mällsten<sup>3</sup> was rediscovered in 1939 by a geologist who heard that it was called *Slavdänga*.<sup>4</sup> No other labyrinths have been associated with that name.

A piece of information from Lövånger in Västerbotten is equally difficult to understand. Peter Gustafsson at Skellefteå Museum told me in 1982 that he had heard that labyrinths were called *Hansaborg*. As far as he could remember, this information came from a tape recording with a named person who lived in the neighbourhood of Blackhamn in the parish of Lövånger. No other labyrinths have been associated with this name.

Another enigmatic name that does not seem to be repeated is *Momreek*. A report from Kållandsö in Lake Vänern in 1933 states that children used to draw labyrinths on paper or pieces of wood, sometimes even outdoors in snow or sand. The informant uses the terms *Labyrint* and *Trojeborg* but twice emphasises that they were called *Momreek*.<sup>5</sup>

But there are also easily interpreted names. From Singö outside Östhammar, it is said that in the past people sometimes drew angle-type figures that were called *gångborr* ‘walking castle’.<sup>6</sup> According to a fisherman on Holmön near Umeå, the labyrinths were called *Vandring* or *Rundbergska staden*.<sup>7</sup>

From Nordingrå parish in Ångermanland it is said that the labyrinths on Långskäret were called *Ryska fästningar* ‘Russian fortresses’.<sup>8</sup> Lars

Berglund in Jakobstad has informed me that the term *Kombelringar* was used for labyrinths in the archipelago outside Oravais in Österbotten.<sup>9</sup>

The term *Ringdans* ‘Ring dance’ occurs on the islands north-west of Vasa<sup>10</sup> and *Trohetsdans* ‘Fidelity dance’ is known from Saltvik in Åland.<sup>11</sup>

In Herman Vendell’s dictionary of East Swedish dialects, the word *Blundra* is explained as “a kind of labyrinthine stonework”, a synonym for *Jungfrudans*.

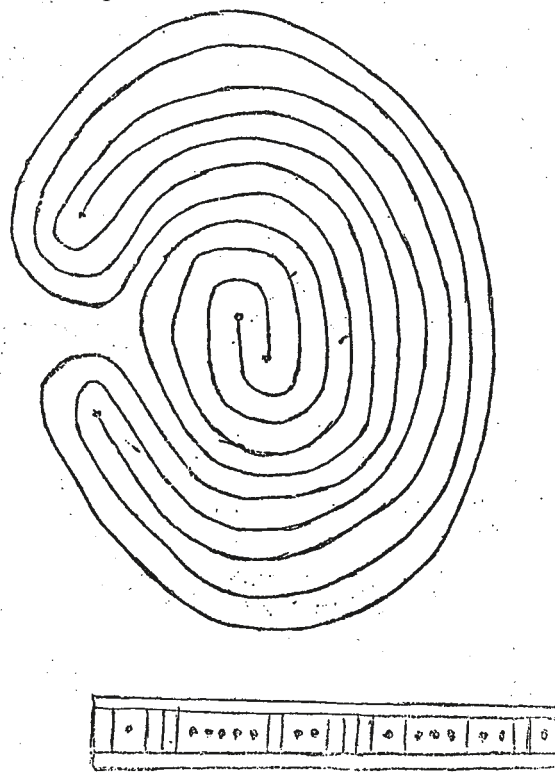
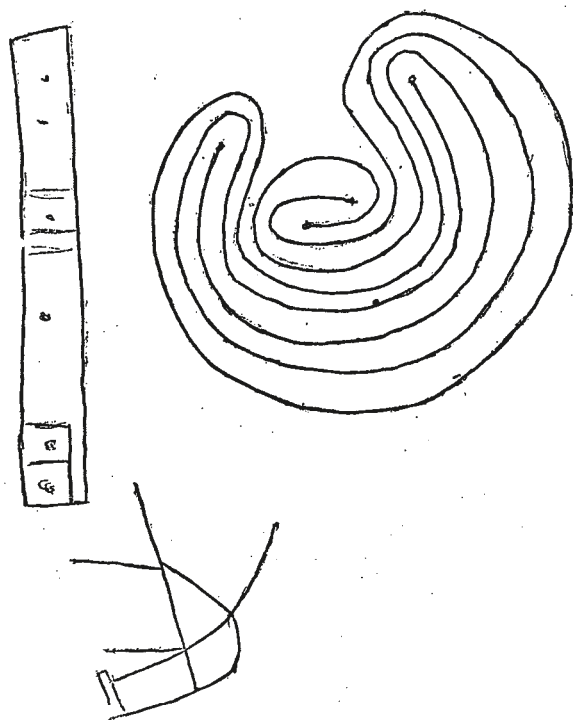
In Örsta in Sunnmøre, Norway, there are a couple of stone labyrinths high up in the mountains. One of them has been called the *Den Julianske Borg*, a name that does not occur anywhere else in the Nordic countries and should correspond to the English labyrinth name *Julian’s Bower*.<sup>12</sup>

### Jatulintarha

The established Finnish term for labyrinths used by researchers in Finland is *Jatulintarha* (*jatuli* ‘a giant’, *tarha* ‘enclosure’). This is what the stone labyrinths were called by the local people in the north, in the parishes of Kemi and Jio.<sup>13</sup>

The labyrinth name *Jatulintarha* also occurs in Sweden’s Finnish-speaking villages in the Torne Valley and the Haparanda archipelago. A labyrinth at Pellikkä in Övre Vojakkala on the Torne River was called *Jatulintarha*.<sup>14</sup>

On the small island of Pahaluoto, south-west of Haparanda, there are two labyrinths that are said to have been built in 1906 by the consuleess Liljebäck in Haparanda together with her two sons. In 1934 it was stated that the two labyrinths were called *Ringborgsstad* by Swedish speakers and *Jatulintarha* by Finnish speakers.<sup>15</sup>



21:1 Labyrinth carvings on Bodskär, Skarv archipelago, Blidö parish.

In Finnmark, Norway, labyrinths have also been called *Jatulintarha*. In 1908 Gustaf Hallström visited Kjøøya on the southern side of the Varangerfjord. There he saw a labyrinth and heard a local person of about 50 years of age with a Finnish (kvänsk) background tell him that the stone figure was called *Jadólándárrha* and was used in a game that involved walking in it. The person claimed that it had been there for a long time and that it was “kvänsk.”<sup>16</sup>

### Other Finnish names

Aspelin stated in 1877 that, according to the folklorist C.A. Gottlund (1796-1877), labyrinth figures were called *Jätinkatu* ‘giant’s street’ in Nurmijärvi, north of Helsinki. In Virolahti, near the Russian border, on the high island of Härö, there was labyrinth ‘built by monks’ called *Kivitarha* ‘stone enclosure.’<sup>17</sup>

Kustaa Killinen reported in 1885 that in Iso-Kyrö parish in southern Österbotten, labyrinth figures were carved into boards, mill doors and forest sauna doors. They were called *Laiskan Jaakon linnaksi* ‘Lazy Jacob’s castle’ or ‘Lazy man’s rings.’<sup>18</sup> Christina Bäcksbacka also mentions the labyrinth name *Laiskanjaakon riitinki* ‘Lazy Jacob’s drawing.’<sup>19</sup>

Killinen states that in northern Satakunta, drawn labyrinth figures were called *Jerusalemmin temppelin porttikonki* ‘Entrance to the Temple of Jerusalem’ and *Friikaupunki* ‘Free City.’ From Masku parish, on the coast 20 kilometres north of Åbo, he mentions *Hiitteentarha*<sup>20</sup> ‘Garden of Giants.’

Björn Cederhvarf mentioned in 1910 that in the Kuolajärvi parish (Salla) in Lapland, labyrinths were designed that were called *Keisarin lystihuone* ‘The Emperor’s gazebo.’<sup>21</sup>

According to a newspaper article by Birgit Hamrin, labyrinths in Finland were sometimes called *Hiisi’s gårdar* ‘the devil’s courts’ and were the object of superstitious fear.<sup>22</sup>

### Pietarin leikki

Aspelin stated in 1877 that in the north along the Finnish coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, from Jio parish south to Gamla Karleby, labyrinths were called *Pietarin leikki* ‘St Peter’s game.’<sup>23</sup> And there are more Finnish labyrinth names that allude to St Peter: Killinen mentions in 1885 that in the Björneborg area, drawn labyrinths were called *Pietarinkaraus* ‘Peter’s flight’ and *Pietarin juoksu* ‘Peter’s run.’<sup>24</sup> Tallgren mentions in 1918 together with *Pietarin leikki* also *Pietarin riitinki* ‘Peter’s drawing.’<sup>25</sup>

As far as I know, labyrinth names alluding to St Peter only occur in Finnish-speaking areas. Aspelin claims that the labyrinth at Kungsör in Västmanland was also called *Sancte Pehrs lek*, but this must be a misunderstanding. The Swedish source he refers to<sup>26</sup> provides no support for his claim.

The question is what connection St Peter had with labyrinths. No one has yet been able to solve this mystery, but Bo Stjernström has made some progress.

On the small island of Bodskär in the Skarv archipelago outside Stockholm, there are a couple of labyrinth images carved into the rock. They are only 3-4 metres above sea level, indicating that they cannot be very old. Next to one of them is a picture of a sailboat with a gaff sail, which dates it to the late 19th or early 20th century.<sup>27</sup> Both labyrinth figures also have carved “staffs” with alternating lines and dots.

Stjernström has been able to show that the staffs depict the codes in an old counting game often referred to in Sweden as *Sankte Pers lek* ‘St Peter’s game.’<sup>28</sup> The game has had many variants. One version involves 30 people, half Christian and half Jewish, who are out at sea in a storm. To prevent the ship from sinking, half of the people must be thrown into the sea. It was decided to sacrifice every ninth person until half were gone. St Peter is said to have lined them up in such a clever order that all the Jews were thrown overboard while the Christians survived.<sup>29</sup>

“Staffs” with alternating long and short lines, showing the correct code, are depicted on several runic staffs in Sweden from the 16th century onwards. Three examples from the 13th century have also been found at Lödöse.<sup>30</sup> And as mentioned Bo Stjernström has found two which are carved into the rock at Skarv together with labyrinth figures.

The counting game is known from many parts of Europe and Asia. For example, it has been found in Japan and in Ceylon it was called the *Massacre of the Moors*. A variant common in Europe is called *ludus Joseph* and relates how the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus saved his life by a similar mathematical trick during the Jewish revolt in 70 AD.<sup>31</sup>

Why has this game been associated with labyrinths? No one has yet been able to solve the mystery. However, the association of the labyrinth figures with the game of arithmetic was probably quite recent.

The term *Domarring*, which occurs on the west coast, in Västergötland and in Norrbotten (see Appendix 14), seems to belong to a migratory legend that was secondarily linked to a number of stone labyrinths. There is thus no reason to believe that these labyrinths were called *Domarringar* from the moment they were built.

Other labyrinth names may have travelled in a similar way. They may have been associated with labyrinths long after the creation of the stone figures. Especially the labyrinth names associated with the pastime of drawing a labyrinth may have travelled long distances. Names that occur only in one place or in a small area can be suspected to be the result of local people’s ingenuity.

The names which are particularly interesting for us who want to get a grip on the history of the labyrinths are those that show early evidence and have large, well-connected areas of distribution. Among these, the Trojeborg names occupy a special position.

## Appendix 22. A Girl at the Centre

From Finland there are five accounts of games in labyrinths and a labyrinth image in a church, all of which testify to a young woman being taken out of the centre of the labyrinth (see chapter 40). The question, however, is whether there may be a certain amount of circularity in these accounts.

The researchers in Finland who were interested in labyrinths should have known each other quite well and may have influenced each other. Four of them were prominent academics in Helsinki; they cannot have been unknown to each other. A.O. Freudenthal (1836-1911) was professor of Swedish language and literature since 1878. During the summers of 1860 and 1861, he and two friends undertook long hikes that took them through all the parishes of Nyland. They surveyed ancient monuments, collected plants and songs, legends, and other folklore material. It may have been then that he came across the game with a girl who was to be taken out of the labyrinth. From 1867 he also had his summer house in eastern Nyland.<sup>1</sup>

J.R. Aspelin (1842-1915) became Finland's first professor of archaeology in 1878. A.M. Tallgren (1885-1945) was also a professor of archaeology (from 1923). The only one who deviates somewhat from the circle of professors is J. Klockars (1867-1932), born in Malax in Österbotten, who was a well-known popular education and temperance activist, active at the national level early on and a member of parliament from 1924.

So, all of them were at some point active in Helsinki, which was a moderately large city at the time. Could they have borrowed information from each other?

There is hardly any reason to question Freudenthal's account from 1874. The record from Munsala in 1984 is probably also reliable, and the labyrinth painting in Sibbo old church is no late addition.

However, a reasonable suspicion is that Aspelin (1877) may have borrowed his shorthand information from Freudenthal (1874). His reference to "eastern Nyland" seems to be taken from Freudenthal. His mention of the "suitors" who would reach the maiden, however, differs a bit from Freudenthal. In Aspelin's essay in Finnish (1877a), Freudenthal is cited several times, but the entry on the labyrinth games in Eastern Nyland has no such reference, which is curious since Aspelin as a rule seems careful to mention the sources of his information.

It is most likely that Aspelin borrowed the information about the game with a woman in the centre of the labyrinth from Freudenthal. However, it cannot be ruled out that Aspelin also knew about such games from his home region. His father was a vicar in Malax parish in Ostrobothnia. This means that as a child he may have come into contact with the labyrinth games that J. Klockars, also from Malax, described in 1930. It is difficult to say anything definite, but it is quite

possible that both Aspelin and Klockars based their descriptions on their own childhood experiences from the same parish.

One cannot rule out the possibility that Klockars took his information from Freudenthal or Aspelin, but it is most likely that he reproduced a local tradition from Österbotten, probably from his home parish of Malax.

However, Tallgren's information from 1938 could be an echo of another researcher's work. His brief account of riding in labyrinths is startling: "The boy who wanted to free her should ride in through the gate and along the windings to the girl, without the horse touching the stones along the paths."

It is hard to believe that people actually rode in coast labyrinths in Eastern Karelia or on the Arctic coast, which is the subject of his paper. In fact, Tallgren does not explicitly say that the folk tradition he mentions is from the Arctic coast. Judging from the wording, it is quite possible that he invokes traditions from his native Finland when he talks about the labyrinths at the Arctic coast.

But this does not make the information less sensational. There are no other known traditions of riding in labyrinths in Finland. Such records have been found in Sweden, but not in Finland. Tallgren may have been inspired to make this brief digression by the leading labyrinth expert in Finland at the time, the art historian Lars-Ivar Ringbom (1901-1971), who published a long essay on labyrinths in 1938. In the concluding footnote he thanks Tallgren for his help with valuable literature references.

Ringbom does not appear to have conducted any field studies in Finland, but instead gave a broad account of labyrinths throughout the world. His long essay was the most ambitious attempt to date in the Nordic countries to sketch the world history of labyrinths. It reproduces the pictures of the jug from Tragliatella and gives details of riding games, but Ringbom does not express himself at all like Tallgren and he does not associate the riding games with Finland or the Arctic coast.

If Tallgren was inspired by Ringbom's text, he has made an astonishingly free interpretation. If, instead, Tallgren had picked up the motif of horse riding from some Finnish folk tradition, it is strange that he neglected to state where the information came from. If Ringbom had been told by Tallgren that such riding occurred in Finland, he would certainly have mentioned it in his essay.

## Appendix 23. The Visby Labyrinth

The Gotland researcher P.A.Säve (1811-1887) writes about the famous Trojeborg below Galgberget near Visby: "In the summertime, young people gather in the afternoon at Trojaborg, to indulge in the old games on the green field ... of all the young people, no one fails to 'run Trojaborg', all the way from the entrance to the innermost resting stone, where one might sit down to rest for a moment, and then one

should run in the same way back to the exit, when the tour is over. – But you must not ‘steal pork’ during this, i.e. make any illegal jumps over the rows of stones into another passage – that is wrong and you should then start again. ... on the afternoon of a public holiday, Trojaborg is sometimes not vacant for a moment. – Especially is the place visited on May Day and Midsummer’s Eve, when the children often have some treat with them, and then the old Trojaborg still shimmers with happy pleasure seekers.”<sup>1</sup>

The legends that have been preserved about the Trojeborg at Visby are related but show considerable differences. I have found seven versions which are reproduced here. Four of them have been recorded by Sävle. I have taken the following texts from Sävle’s manuscript at the Uppsala University Library, but they were also published in 1961.<sup>2</sup>

- Sävle relates a legend about a maiden, the daughter of a pirate, who had committed “a great crime”, for which she was sentenced to death:

“Between the churches of St. Mary, St. Catherine and the Sister-churches there is said to have been a large neighbouring house in Visby, built as if in a triangle: this was owned by a rich man, born in Italy, who was in a way married to a woman with whom he had two daughters. But the mother died in childbirth after the youngest, and she was nursed by a woman from Bro. – The father was a seafarer and very rich: but was finally taken prisoner when he was lying with his ship in Lärbro harbour and shot dead at the stone cross which stands next to the road at Westers in Boge. However, the eldest sister was also dead, so that the youngest now inherited all this great wealth – but this maiden, the youngest daughter of the seafarer, had committed a great offence, for which she was sentenced to death, and all her great property was taken from her. But then she offered, for the salvation of her life, to lay the remarkable Trojaborg, for which she showed a plan: it was accepted by the judges, and she was to lay only one stone a day. But when she had finished half of Trojaborg, it pleased the rulers so much that she was pardoned and received a cross as a reward, as she is said to be the first to wear one. Then she completed the whole of Trojaborg, recovered all her riches, and finally became again as honoured and respected.”<sup>3</sup>

- “It is said that a maiden (milkmaid) was robbed and taken by the robbers to their den in Galgeberget. She was then given the verdict or choice to build the Trojaborg; but it had to be done in one night, which the robbers thought was impossible – but she did it and became free. – Others say that she was to lay only one stone every day, and that she was to live until she had completed the whole Trojaborg, after which, however, she was granted pardon: the work would last a year, and there would be 365 stones in the castle; there are, however, many more. Some say again that the maiden, whose name was Troja, during the work on Trojaborg was tied to the mountain with an iron chain, so that she could not escape from *Röfware-*

*kulan* ‘Robbers’ den’, but so long that she could lay the stones where they now lie.”<sup>4</sup>

- “A maiden named Troja was carried off to the *Röfware-kulan* under the ‘Galg-berget’ at Wisby. She could win her freedom again if she could build a road that was a quarter of a mile long, but in a carefully determined, rather confined space: she then built the Trojaborg. When the robbers saw this work, they said that it was not a quarter of a mile long, because one could climb over it with a few steps; but she said that ‘the stones should be houses and the path between them streets.’ Then she was free.”<sup>5</sup>

- “A woman had committed an offence and was sentenced to lay a road, which was to be a quarter of a mile long, but 6 cubits wide and also only 6 cubits long (thus in a rather confined space) – When the time was fixed, she laid only one stone for each day: this became *Tråjaborg*; and thus, she saved her life.”<sup>6</sup>

Besides Sävle’s records, I have found three more tales about the Visby labyrinth in other sources.

- “The legend of the familiar labyrinth in Visby comes to mind. It tells of a young girl who was imprisoned and guarded in a mountain cave by an evil troll. In an unguarded moment, the girl managed to escape but was soon discovered by her guard. Fortunately, the troll could not get off the mountain without first running into a series of windings. While the troll was busy doing this, the girl escaped to the holy ground of St George’s Church, where she was of course out of reach of the evil pursuer. But the winding paths that the troll followed are still visible to anyone who wants to see.”<sup>7</sup>

- In 1943 the following legend about the labyrinth in Visby was recorded in the parish of Kimstad in Östergötland.

“In a meadow on Gotland just below a cave, called *Jungfrugrottan* ‘Maiden’s cave’, there is said to have been a Trojeborg. It was said to have been made by a maiden who had sold her soul to the devil; the maiden was said to be seated, with a silver stoop next to her, and had the head of a troll in her lap. A warning to all. Before she was condemned, she used to visit the meadow at certain times, and on each visit, she placed a stone in a labyrinth from which there was no way out...”<sup>8</sup>

- A woman who lived at Visby in 1921-22 told the following story a few years later: “The labyrinth was built in one night by a woman who was to be beheaded. She was pardoned on the condition that she would build the labyrinth in night. She promised that, and the goblins came to help her. Now there is no one who can copy the labyrinth.”<sup>9</sup>

The main features of Sävle’s records are easily recognised in the legends of the Visby labyrinth published by Carl Johan Bergman in 1882:

“So, one of these tales tells us that a young, beautiful maiden was abducted and taken to *Röfware-kulan*. Here she was given the choice between being killed at

once or laying out a Trojeborg in a single night, which was thought to be impossible. But the latter succeeded for the quick-witted girl, who thereupon regained her freedom.

Another tale likewise tells of a runaway maiden condemned to death, who offered to lay a Trojeborg, and the band of robbers promised that she would live until she had completed the difficult work. This lasted 365 days, and the stones are equal in number (namely, in the story, for in reality the number is far greater; only the outermost ring contains at least 210 stones). When her work was finished, it was so well received that she was allowed to keep her life and freedom.

The following addition to the story is sometimes heard, namely, that the maiden's name was Troja, and that during the work of laying the stones she was tied to the mountain with a long iron chain. At the same time as she had to drag the necessary stones together, the poor prisoner also had to drag the heavy chain.

And finally: Once upon a time there was in Visby an immensely rich man, born in Italy, who lived in close connection with a woman who gave him two daughters. But the mother died in childbirth when the younger daughter was born, and she was nursed by a peasant woman from Bro parish. The father had amassed his wealth by piracy, but was finally caught and taken prisoner, where he lay with one of his ships in the harbour at Lärbro. With him the process was cut short: he was shot at the stone cross which stands by the road near Västers in Boge. The elder daughter had meanwhile died, and the younger daughter now inherited all her father's wealth. But this girl had committed a horrible crime - what it was is not mentioned in the story - and she was sentenced to death and her entire fortune was confiscated for the town treasury. She then offered to the city council, in order to win her freedom, to make a stone setting, which would be a great attraction for the city, and for which she presented a clever and skilfully made design. The councillors accepted her offer on condition that she should be allowed to lay only *one* stone each day. But when she had finished half of the stonework, it pleased the councillors so much that she was pardoned and allowed to complete her remarkable work in complete freedom. She even recovered her property and lived for a long time respected and honoured. And Trojeborg preserves her memory in all times."<sup>10</sup>

Säve (1811-1887) and Bergman (1817-1895) were both teachers at the school in Visby and roughly contemporaries. They knew each other well and collaborated on a book. It is therefore not surprising that Bergman had access to Säve's records.

A German party travelled to Visby in 1881 and two years later published a travel report on their remarkable experiences. It depicts, among other things, the Trojeborg at Visby.<sup>11</sup> One of the participants, Stephan Wätzigoldt, reproduced a local legend about the labyrinth in another publication:

"No one knows when and for what purpose this carefully guarded antiquity was created; the legend tells of a king's daughter who was imprisoned in the 'robber's cave' under the gallows mountain and laid a stone on the ground every day until the day of her release came, just as the Trojaborg was completed."<sup>12</sup>

Wätzigoldt's short story became important when the labyrinthologist Ernst Krause picked it up and, in 1893, made it an important element in his theory of a "sun maiden" to be released from the Trojeborg.<sup>13</sup>

## Appendix 24. Traces of the Troy Legend

There is only one record suggesting that the song about Paris and Helen left its mark on popular beliefs about labyrinths in the Nordic countries. In 1865, the archaeologist Richard Dybeck told of a labyrinth on an island at Kråkelund's pilot station on the coast of Småland, that an old man who showed him the stone figure "stated that no one other than those who had been so far out that they had seen *the city of Trojenborg* had the right to lay such 'hiding paths.' All he knew about the city of Trojenborg was that it had been destroyed because of a disorderly woman, and he remembered this verse from an old song he had heard sung 60 years ago:

Then Trojenborg was turned into earth;  
It was all for a woman's sake."<sup>1</sup>

It is easy to see where the verse came from. The Swedish song about Paris and Helen ends as follows: "So the beautiful Trojenborg was again laid to waste, It was all done for the sake of a woman."<sup>2</sup>

The old man's first statement, about who was allowed to lay labyrinths, perhaps reflects the popular beliefs about labyrinths on the coast of Småland. But he obviously remembered the verse lines from the song about Paris and Helen.

The indicative value of this is debatable, since the old man himself may have accidentally confused the popular labyrinth name Trojeborg with the memory of the song about Paris and Helen. But above all, this single example shows how rare it was for the legacy of the Trojan war to be associated with popular labyrinth ideas in the North.

Gunnar Knudsen reproduces a legend, not from a labyrinth, but from the famous ringfort Trelleborg in Hejninge on Zealand, which clearly alludes to the folk song about Paris and Queen Ellen. Here, too, one can see traces of the Troy legend, even though the text is very different than the original. For example, the famous wooden horse has been replaced by a four-seater wooden ox.

"On Hejninge field is a bank called *Trilleborg bank*. In the old days there must have been a castle there. So once the king, who lived there, travelled to some foreign countries. But the queen did not like to be alone. She fell in love with a young courtier and lived very happily with him for a long time. But at last, the king came home; and as soon as he heard

this, he immediately prepared to conquer the castle. But the walls were too high and the moat too deep; he could not. He then decided to proceed with cunning. A bullock was made of wood so large that four men could sit in it. The king and three others now sat in it, and the bullock was set up by the castle, where it pretended to eat grass. The queen's people, who were short of meat, immediately took the bullock into the castle and wanted to slaughter it; but then the king and his men jumped out, and no one could resist them. As soon as the queen heard this, she had the arteries cut of herself and of her beloved; and when the king came in, they were sitting with each other in their arms and were dead. Then the castle was abandoned, and the king travelled away."<sup>3</sup>

As Knudsen points out, this legend is inspired by the story of the Trojan War. However, it has not been borrowed directly from the Iliad but from a shortened, distorted and simplified version of the Troy legend. The model was the popular folk song about *Paris og dronning Ellen*, which was printed in Denmark in 1572 and may have been known there since the early 16th century.<sup>4</sup>

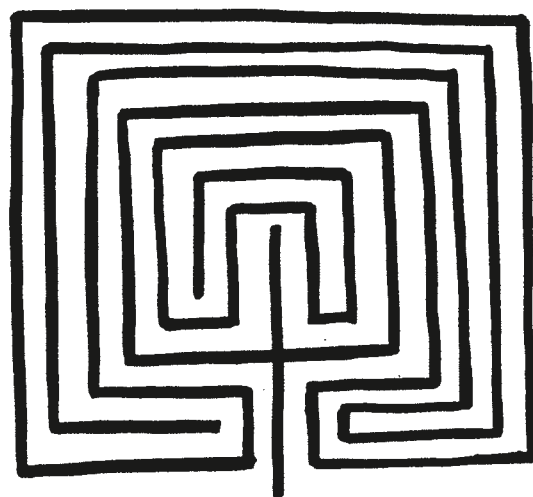
The popular folk song has been associated in popular imagination with the enigmatic ring wall at Hejninge. The song has thus been *localised*. This is also evident from the fact that in a tax report from 1768, the wall was named after Troy: "The meadows in *Trelleborg Marken*, and about 2 kilometres west of *Trelleborg Banken* (which from ancient times has been called *Tröyborg*)..." But this was not a Trojeborg; the ringfort has been called Trelleborg since the 15th century. The song about Paris and Queen Ellen had just happened to be localised in one of Denmark's most imaginative archaeological sites. That must have happened after 1500.

## Appendix 25. Some Other Examples

It is impossible to write a comprehensive book on labyrinths. The subject is too vast. I have limited myself to writing about the angle-type. I believe it is a redemptive approach to understanding the history of labyrinths.

Among everything I have neglected to mention are some areas of the world that have had angle-type figures, but which I think are less interesting for the understanding of the history of the angle-type. There are various reasons for this, one being that we do not know enough about these distant labyrinth occurrences to confidently place them in a larger context.

In the arid southern regions of the United States, mainly in New Mexico and Arizona, as well as in northern Mexico, the angle-type has been known by the indigenous people of North America. There are many graffiti and petroglyphs. Large field labyrinths made of stones also occur. Several surviving folk traditions describe how the labyrinth figures were imagined. Today, the angle-type has become a popular



25:1 Mother Earth, labyrinth figures from the Hopi people.

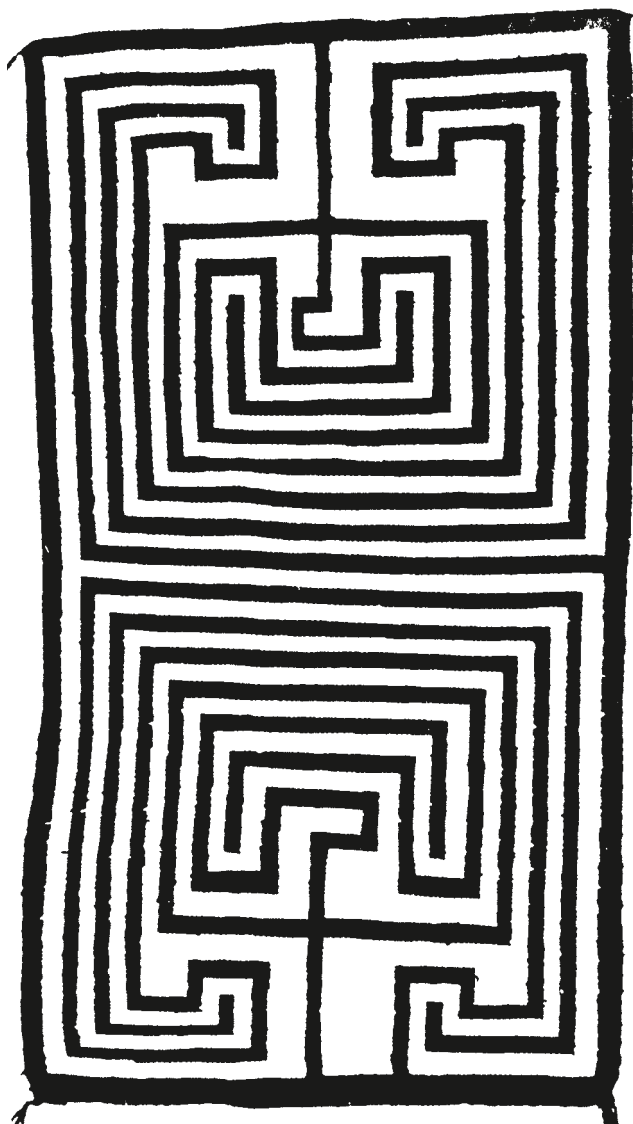
motif in tourist-oriented folk art; those who are tempted to buy must beware of fakes.

However, it is still an open question whether the angle-type emerged independently in North America without precedents in Europe or whether it was introduced to North America by immigrants from Europe.

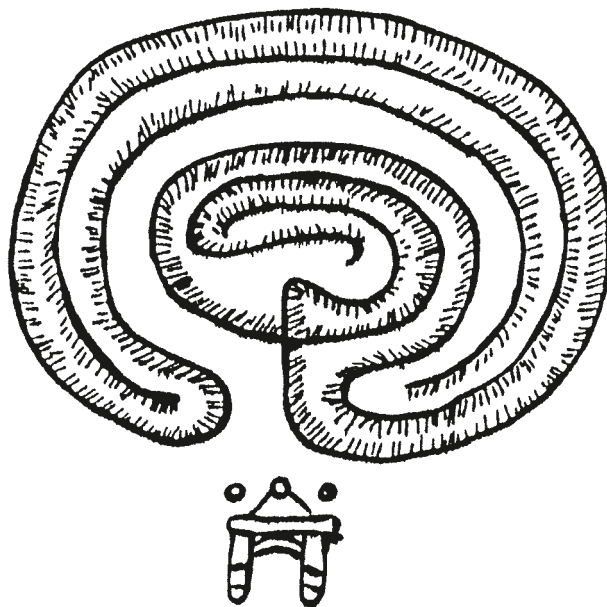
Carl Schuster gave a comprehensive overview in 1988. However, more labyrinth images are still being discovered. Much has been reported in Caerdroia over the years. Jeff Saward has made numerous trips to North America and his latest summary of the state of research can be read in *Caerdroia* 38 (2008).

There are also isolated examples of angle-type figures in Ecuador and a few other places in North and South America. In several cases, it is suspected that the idea was introduced by immigrants from Europe, but it is difficult to say for sure.

Some examples have recently come to our attention. Near the border between Utah and Wyoming there are two angle-type figures, one round and one square, carved into a rock. They are unlikely to have



25:2 Woven rug from the Navajo people.



25:3 House of Tcuhu from the Pima people. Drawing in Spanish manuscript, *Rudo Ensayo*, probably from 1761-62.



25:4 Bo Stjernström in Arizona in 1984 with a modern tourist version woven plaque of the angle-type.

been made by indigenous people. Alongside one of them the year 1896 is carved. At the time, this area was a haven for criminal gangs, including Butch Cassidy and his gang. There are indications that the labyrinths were borrowed from a book published in 1892.<sup>1</sup>

Another simple angle-type figure is carved on a powder horn from the American Revolutionary War.<sup>2</sup>

I have tried to draw a clear line against the so-called *pseudo-labyrinths*, i.e. figures that a modern viewer easily perceives as “labyrinthine,” but which differ greatly from the angle-type and are probably not related to it at all. This has been necessary in order not to lose ground in the attempt to write the history of the angle-type. But I readily admit that the demarcation is sometimes difficult and that it easily becomes subjective.

It is particularly difficult to establish a border line between “genuine” labyrinths and “pseudo-labyrinths” among the old rock carvings in Spain. There I have made a generous judgement and also include similar figures, where the carvers probably intended to depict figures of the angle-type.

However, I have not included the so-called *cup-and-ring marks*, rock carvings in the form of concentric circles found in the British Isles, which Krause associated with labyrinths. Many of them resemble the angle-type but none of them are, as far as I know, of the unaltered angle-type.

From Mesopotamia come some enigmatic clay tablets with spiral figures. They date from the Neo-Babylonian Empire (626-539 BC) and were described early on as labyrinths. They do not belong to the angle-type, but the figures are still interesting. The common interpretation has long been that the labyrinth-like patterns represent the entrails of sacrificial animals.<sup>3</sup>

More recently, some examples of another type of labyrinthine figure have been found on clay tablets from Mesopotamia. The layouts are astonishing, with intricate passage systems that must have taken a lot of thought to construct. They have been dated to the Old Babylonian Empire (c. 1900-1600 BC).<sup>4</sup> But I leave them aside since these figures do not reveal any relationship with the angle-type.

## Appendix 26. Many Variants

Angle-type labyrinths form a large family with many variants. The “types” that can be recognised have been discussed in Chapter 32. In addition, there are some designs that differ so much from the family of the angle-type that one can hardly speak of a close relationship.

The best known of these labyrinths is the Chartres-type and its many variants. They appear as a distinctly different family where the layouts are characterised by broken spokes. The figures appear complicated and there is no known simple trick to construct them.

Some other designs are so simple that it doesn’t even take a trick to construct them. Several stone labyrinths in northern Europe are simply spirals. Others have paths which form serpentine patterns.

Presumably these figures were built by people who have forgotten how to construct a real angle-type labyrinth. When such patterns recur, it is hardly an imitation of a known model, but rather a case of forgetfulness. It is therefore unreasonable to describe them as “types” comparable to the angle-type or Chartres-type.

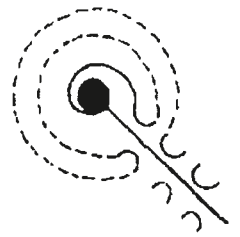
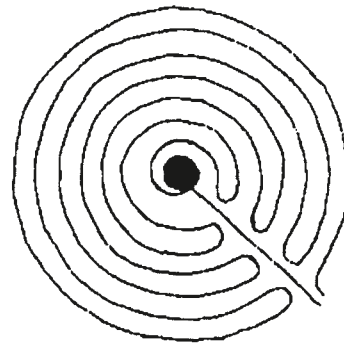
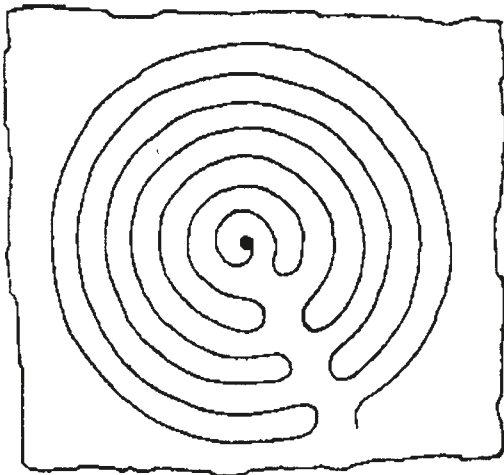
The spiral-shaped stone figures do not require a special presentation, but let us look at the “serpentine-type.” Serpentine patterns already existed among the rock carvings in Val Camonica in northern Italy (see figure 4:8). There are also some Roman mosaic labyrinths with such a design (see figure 8:3). It is also found in some manuscripts (see figure 12:6). Among the Dagestan labyrinth images there are a few figures of the serpentine-type.

In Sweden, I have found two stone labyrinths of this kind, one on Nordanskär in Nederkalix and another depicted in Olof Rudbeck’s *Atlantica* in 1679. The Rudbeck woodcut is the oldest published labyrinth image in Sweden. I suspect that it represents a stone labyrinth in upper Norrland, but I have not yet found any field labyrinth with exactly this appearance.<sup>1</sup>

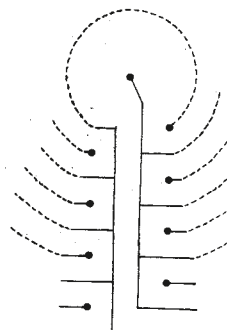
Many labyrinths have unique designs which are not repeated. They should of course not be considered as “types.” Some labyrinths are imperfect in the sense that you cannot get from the entrance to the centre by passing through the whole system of paths. Others work well, despite having unusual designs. Some labyrinths may have been damaged and then repaired in a different way. There are many strange labyrinths, and many stone labyrinths are so damaged that it is difficult to reconstruct how they once looked.

The following is a small collection of examples to illustrate the diversity of more or less unusual stone figures, all of which were nevertheless considered to be “labyrinths” in some sense.

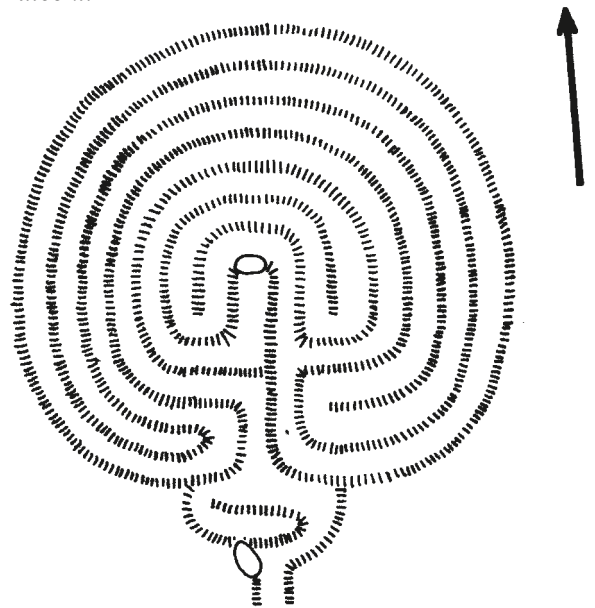
In the Haparanda archipelago, some labyrinths have had extra loops added at the entrance. These include a labyrinth at Enskär in Nedertorneå and two labyrinths at Malören in Nederkalix.



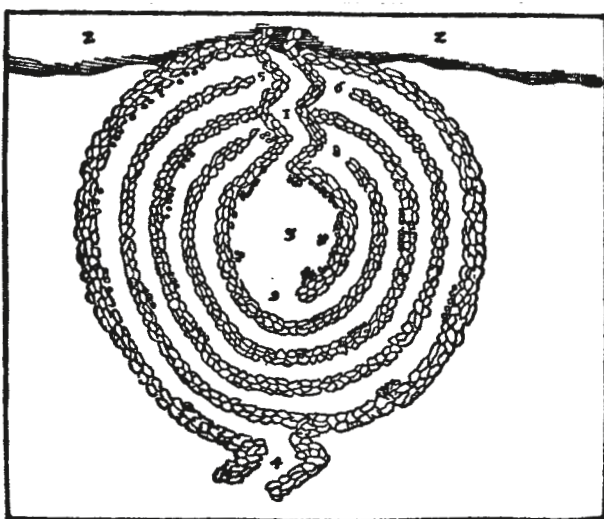
26:1 Examples of serpentine-type, showing the path instead of the walls, Dagestan. Left: Figure carved in the stone wall of a residential building at the village of Kurkli. Right: Figure carved along with many other decorative patterns on the outside of a coffin from the village of Nizhneye Mulebki.



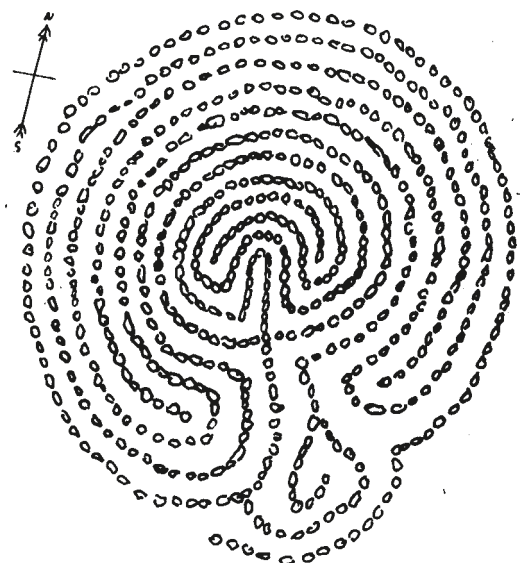
26:2 Labyrinth on Nordanskär in the Nederkalix archipelago (Raä nr 82, Nederkalix sn). Just over 30 metres from the labyrinth there is a memorial in the form of a ship of stones set for a crew whose ship sank off Nordanskär. Christer Westerdahl, who has investigated this closely, believes that it was the brig Reform of Arendal that was totally wrecked in 1866.



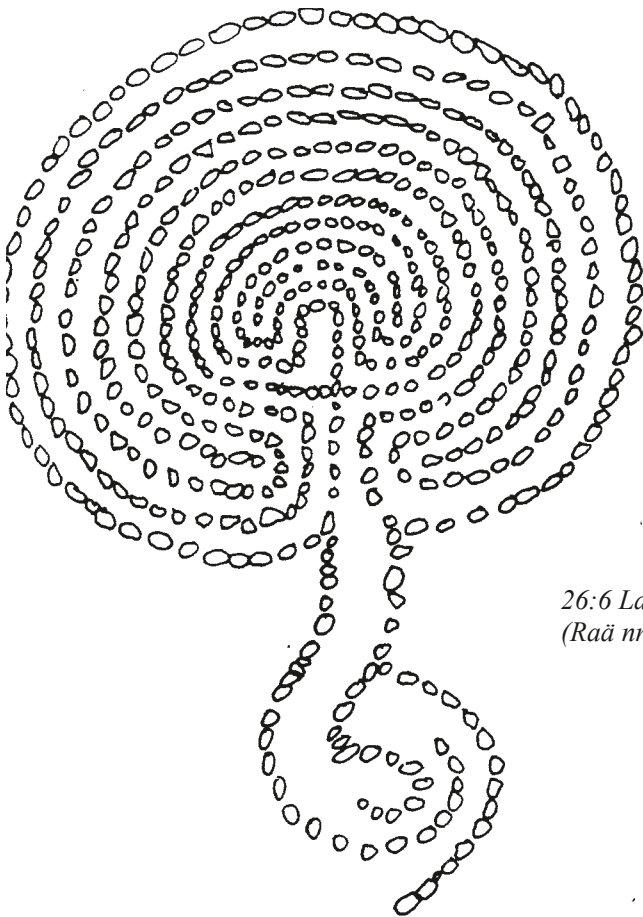
26:4 Labyrinth on Enskär.



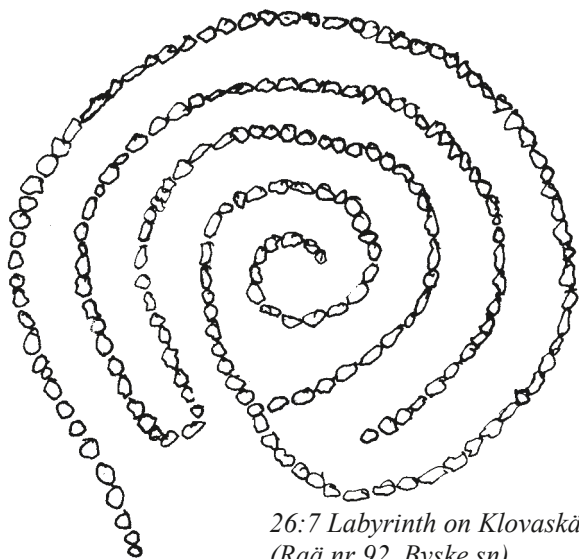
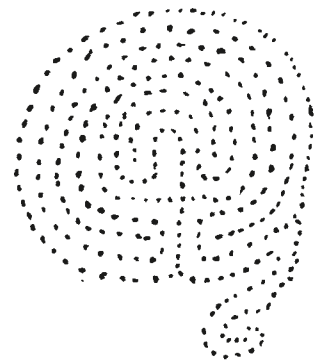
26:3 Stone figure of serpentine type in Taflor till Olaus Rudbeck's *Atlantica* (1679). The image has been published upside down in the book. Like some of Rudbeck's other images, it lacks explanatory text and has no connection to the text of the *Atlantica*.



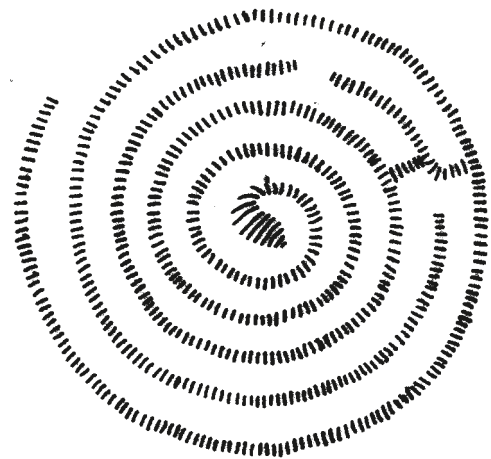
26:5 Labyrinth of double angle-type with peculiarly shaped entrance on Kolaningen, a small island with a fishing hamlet northeast of Mickelsörarna, Österbotten.



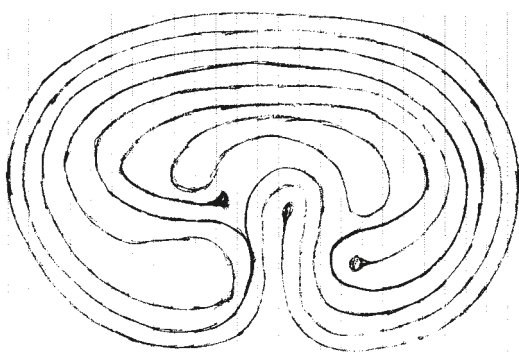
26:6 Labyrinths on Malören with extensions at the entrances (Raä nr 89 and 90, Nederkalix sn).



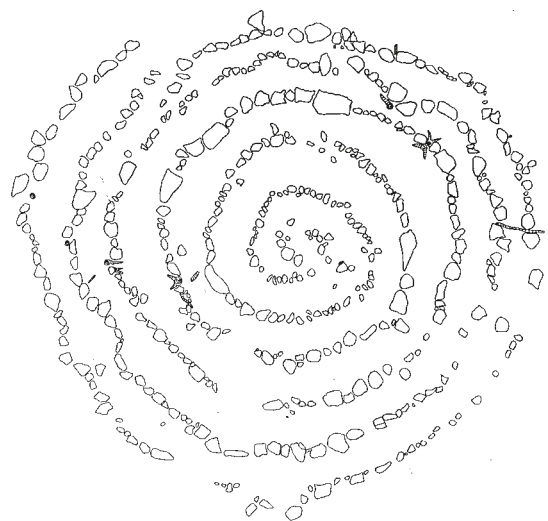
26:7 Labyrinth on Klovaskär (Raä nr 92, Byske sn).



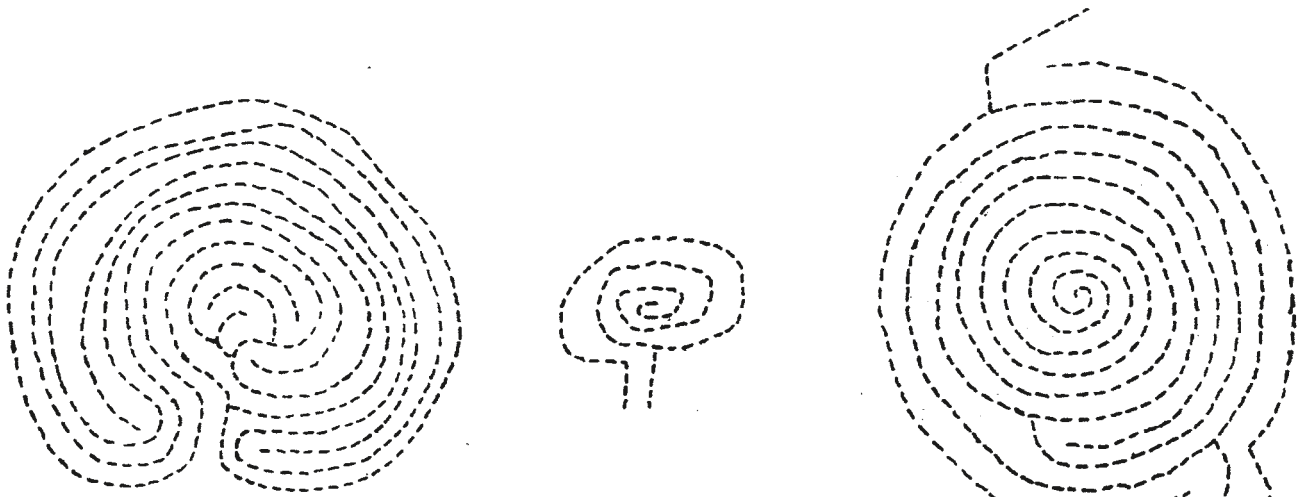
26:9 Spiral-shaped "labyrinth" on the island of Huitori in Norrbotten (Raä nr 80:1, Nedertorneå sn).



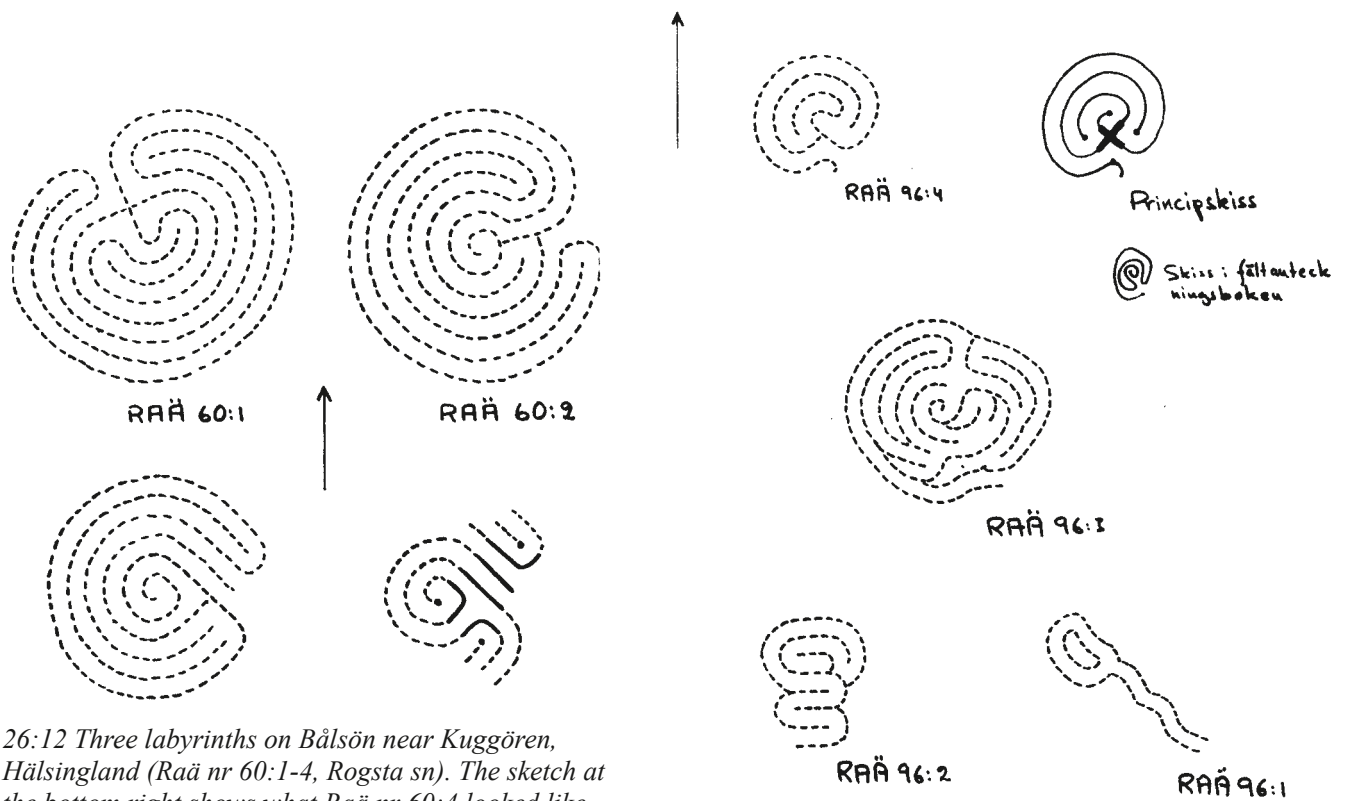
26:8 One of the labyrinths on Snöan was sketched by archaeologist Claes Varenus in 1959.



26:10 Spiral-shaped figure, Ylikorvenkangas in Suurmiehkälä, Miehkälä, south-eastern Finland.



26:11 Labyrinths with rather freely composed layouts. The one to the left is at Kluntarna (Raä nr 52, Norrfjärdens sn). The one in the centre is from Halsögrundet (Raä nr 58, Nederkalix sn). The one on the right is from Rödkallen (Probably raä nr 66:2, Nederluleå sn).



26:12 Three labyrinths on Bålsön near Kuggören, Hälsingland (Raä nr 60:1-4, Rogsta sn). The sketch at the bottom right shows what Raä nr 60:4 looked like when Olle Homman depicted it in 1955. The labyrinth seems to have been adjusted slightly before my visit in 1979.

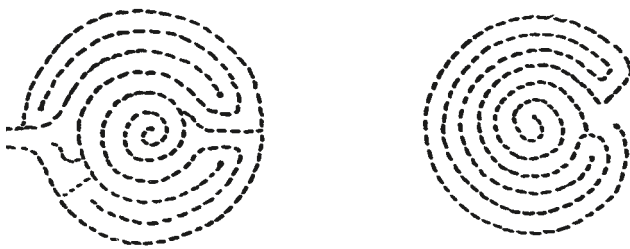
26:13 Four stone figures on Hästholmen at Hornslandet (Raä nr 96:1-4, Rogsta sn).

Several labyrinths have unique designs, such as a stone figure on Klovaskär in Byske and another on the island of Snöan in Hörnefors. Some peculiar designs are found on the coast of Nordingrå in Ångermanland. Other examples of freely invented figures have been found on Kluntarna, Halsögrundet and Rödkallen in the Norrbotten archipelago. There is a spiral-shaped stone figure on the island of Huitori.

The rather special stone figures at Lörudden have already been mentioned. On Bålsön near Kuggören

there is a labyrinth of simple angle-type and a couple of other figures with more freely composed designs. On neighbouring Hästholmen there are four rather odd stone figures that were probably all intended to represent labyrinths. In the Stockholm archipelago on Fredel there is a large labyrinth of Köpmanholm-type and also some other stone figures of a simpler kind.

These are a few samples of designs which have evolved from the common angle-type. There are several more variants, but I will stop here.



26:14 The labyrinths at Fredel (Raä nr 25:1-3, Blidö sn).

## Appendix 27: Research and Theories

A lot has been written about labyrinths, so much so that it is impossible to survey everything. I have studied a lot of it, but of course not everything.

If I had tried to accurately summarise all aspects of labyrinth research, this book would have been unreadable, far too thick and actually quite pointless. And I couldn't do it. Instead, a selection is presented here. The contributions that were relevant to my presentation have already been reproduced in the contexts where they belong.

Many other aspects of labyrinth research have been treated briefly and some have not been included at all. For example, there is almost nothing about the generally tricky figures, which many people probably think are labyrinths, but which are not closely related to the angle-type. Only limited attention has been paid to the Chartres-type and the garden labyrinths. I have also ignored the many books and articles that have been written about spiritual exercises in labyrinths, astronomical interpretations, dowsing and many other things that may be interesting, but are in my opinion peripheral to the history of the angle-type.

For those who want to know more about the history of labyrinth research, I will try to sketch some main features. It will of course be a selection, and everything is inevitably coloured by what I find interesting, but I have tried to give as comprehensive a picture as possible. The greatest injustice to all those mentioned is probably that they are not given more

space. But at least here is a “flea market” of old ideas and suggestions for those who want to search further and perhaps challenge my conclusions.

Many writers on labyrinths have presented a catalogue with as many examples as possible. This is often accompanied by a review of the theories that the author has encountered. Hermann Kern's magnificent 1982 book is a beautiful example of this.

As more labyrinths have been discovered, catalogues have become lengthier. Today it is difficult to squeeze everything into a manageable book.

When Hermann Kern was working on his big book in the late 1970s, he asked me for help with information on the stone labyrinths in the north. He explained that he wanted to publish a complete list of all known examples. But when he understood how many hundreds there were, he gave up. The task has not become any easier since then.

The growing material has provided knowledge that has increased the possibility of making better interpretations. Several old theories can now be dismissed, and it has become somewhat easier than before to guess how the oldest labyrinths were used and what significance they had. I have tried to utilise these new possibilities in this book.

Numerous labyrinth researchers have tried to eliminate certain theories that seem unlikely, while highlighting more plausible interpretations. But this task is difficult, so often the reader has had to choose from a palette of more or less incompatible ideas. From there it has not been difficult to conclude that the labyrinths have had innumerable meanings and uses.

It is true that labyrinths have been borrowed into the most diverse contexts and given new meanings in new settings. But this does not mean that their *original meaning and use* has had many different faces. I don't think there have been as many realities as there are attempted interpretations. The unfounded and misleading theories can and should be discarded. I believe that the angle-type figures had one original meaning and use.

Somewhat simplified, one can say that labyrinth research has long moved on two levels, I call them “the great debate” and “the little debate.” The great debate has aimed to get a grip on the original meaning and use of labyrinths. As a rule, it has centred on sources from antiquity and has been based on the Theseus legend. Interest in the turf or stone labyrinths of northern Europe was long insignificant. Many of the contributors have been well-known scholars, especially philologists and mythologists. Most of them have written in German or English.

At the same time, in the Nordic countries, Germany and the British Isles, more anonymous mapping work was going on, largely carried out by amateurs. This “little debate” did not aim as high, but instead centred on local inventories of field labyrinths and the collection of traditions. The results were not always

published and what was printed did not reach a large audience, partly because of the language barrier. Only a few of the most famous labyrinth researchers could read Russian, Finnish or the Scandinavian languages.

The result has been an unfortunate division of research into two worlds. One was characterised by renowned researchers, a narrow range of material and daring conclusions, while the other was characterised by data collection and cautious conjecture.

Attempts have been made to bridge the gap between these two debates. But the fact remains that the lack of communication, the inability to enrich each other, has hampered labyrinth research.

The scholars of the little debate have often been content to begin or end their articles with a few glimpses of the Theseus legend. Conversely, the scholars of the great debate often confined themselves to briefly mentioning that in the north there were mysterious labyrinths of turf or stone.

Much changed in 1982 when Hermann Kern's great book *Labyrinth* was published in German. Suddenly everyone could see how extensive and complex the material was. The scope for bold conjecture shrank at once; henceforth, theories had to be in harmony with a wide range of material, into which many had now gained insight, and which continued to grow. The centre of gravity shifted from Theseus legend to northern Europe, where most of the field labyrinths had been found.

This book is an attempt to combine the perspectives of the great and little debates into a coherent whole. A prerequisite for this is that as much as possible of the northern European material is highlighted and made known. The history of research in the north also deserves more attention than it has received, because the little debate can also be described as the "forgotten debate." So here I will now give relatively much space to the history of research in the countries that had labyrinths of turf or stone, while the great debate, which is better known, is treated more briefly.

### The great debate

Here are some of the researchers who made important contributions to the great debate: E. Krause (1893), W.B. Kristensen (1910 and 1925), R. de Launay (1915-1916), W.F.J. Knight (1930, 1932, 1935 and 1936), F. Muller (1934 and 1935), C.N. Deedes (1935), J. Layard (1936 and 1937), L-I. Ringbom (1938), D.C. Fox (1940), W. Hunke (1940) K. Kerenyi (1950 and 1967), M. Eliade (1951 & 1953), J. de Vries (1957), R. Christinger (1961 & 1963), P. Santarcangelo (1967 & 1968), E. Mehl (1972), Ph. Borgeaud (1974), H. Kern (1981 & 1982), J. Kraft (1980 & 1985), F. Hallman (1988 & 1994), C. Schuster (1988) and C. Wright (2001).

In addition to H. Kern's great book, there are some other overview works that give a panoramic view of the then known labyrinths, but which do not present

bold interpretations. The most important of them are in my opinion E. Trollope (1858), W. Meyer (1882), W.H. Matthews (1922) and J. Saward (2003).

Some authors deserve special attention. In 1893, E. Krause presented a daring theory of the field labyrinths of northern Europe and their connection with the legendary treasures of antiquity. His knowledge of field labyrinths was limited, but he touched on the turf labyrinths of the continent, and he drew material for his theory of the Troy legend from a handful of articles on the stone labyrinths of the North.

H. Kern (1981 & 1982) presented the world's labyrinths with the greatest possible breadth and depth. His comprehensive book, which is actually an exhibition catalogue with extensive comments, became a milestone in the history of labyrinth research. He presents in detail the views of a number of previous researchers and also criticises them.

J. Saward (2003) has done more than anyone else to compile and present a growing body of material in all areas of labyrinth research. In doing so, he has helped to bridge the gap between the great and little debate. Thanks to him and his yearbook *Caerdroia*, international labyrinth research has gained a more solid foundation. The range of material has been broadened, the scope for wild ideas has shrunk.

A number of scholars have argued in favour of the interpretation that the "labyrinth" (most of them refer to the Cretan labyrinth) was an image of the underworld or the way there. Some have combined this with ideas about a seasonal myth where the vegetation goddess is to be taken out of the labyrinth/underworld. Another recurring interpretation is that the "labyrinth of death" played a role in connection with initiation rites. The way out of the labyrinth has symbolised the overcoming of death. The labyrinth was thus a *place of death and rebirth*.

Most have endeavoured to bridge the gap between these conclusions and the study of the Roman equestrian game *Lusus Troiae*, with not always convincing results. It began with R.H. Klausen (1840), who argued that the name of the Roman equestrian game was derived from the Latin verb *truare* or *troare*, meaning 'lively movement proceeding in fits and starts.' O. Benndorf (1890) agreed with Klausen and linked the word *Truia* on the jug from Tragliatella to the Roman equestrian game.

Many others have since discussed this interpretation, such as A. von Premmerstein (1898), H. von Petrikovits (1939 and 1952), C. Diem (1942), J. Heller (1946), E. Mehl (1956) and K. Kürvers (2005). As previously stated, I am sceptical of the idea that the *Lusus Troiae* really followed labyrinthine patterns of an angle-type. Probably these games and the angle-type figures have nothing in common other than that both have been associated with the mythical city of Troy.

A number of scholars have drawn support for the theory of initiation rites and life-death-rebirth beliefs from ethnographic research in very different environments, such as the islands of Malekula in Vanuatu in the Pacific and Ceram in eastern Indonesia.<sup>1</sup> Like H. Kern, I am sceptical of such far-reaching comparisons, partly because the intricate figures found on these islands bear no resemblance to the angle-type.

I believe that there is no evidence that convincingly links the angle-type labyrinths with initiation rites. There is nothing in northern European labyrinth lore to support such an interpretation and what is known about Greek and Roman initiation rites shows no clear connection with known labyrinth figures.

A key issue in the debate, which most people have avoided, is what is meant by a *labyrinth*. Can a labyrinth look like anything? The word *labyrinthos* is taken from the Theseus legend, and many have tried to derive it, but no one outside the world of fairy tales seems to have seen the labyrinth in Crete. Nevertheless, most people who hear the word have associations and some are immediately sure of its meaning. This invites misunderstandings.

For many people, the labyrinth is the building or cave where the Minotaur lived. But the word labyrinth can also refer to angle-type or Chartres-type figures or all sorts of intricate shapes, where getting from the entrance to the centre and out again is difficult. There is therefore a risk of introducing irrelevant or even misleading “labyrinths” and “labyrinth traditions” into research.

I have tried to deal with this problem by drawing a narrow line of demarcation. This book is about the history of the angle-type. My working hypothesis, that the angle-type was first associated with the Theseus legend around 300 BC, cannot be proved, but no facts known so far overturn my working idea.

The debate on labyrinths will probably never end. But it has changed in character. The famous scholars of philology, mythology and anthropology no longer dominate the scene. And my impression is that the number of daring interpretations has decreased as the material has grown.

For a long time, labyrinth research suffered from a lack of material. People knew too little and guessed too much. The results were often interesting, and sometimes entertaining, but the conclusions were uncertain.

Since the mid-1970s, a great deal of material has been collected, mainly in northern Europe, and it is now so demanding to survey all that is known about the angle-type, not to mention the debate, that it hampers conjecture on the great questions: what the figures originally meant and how they were used.

In chapters 45 and 54 I have summarised my own conclusions. The old theory that the labyrinths were used as arenas in a seasonal drama, where they

symbolically depicted the underworld or the way to the underworld, from which the goddess of vegetation was to be taken out, has in my opinion been given more weight by the many games and stories in the North that describe how a girl is to be taken out of the labyrinth. A similar drama of liberation can also be sensed behind the old story of the Trojan war. The Trojan names of labyrinths could go back to an ancient seasonal myth, where the labyrinth was perceived as an image of Troy, i.e. the underworld.

### The little debate

In England, the antiquarian W. Stukeley (1776) believed that turf labyrinths were a legacy of Roman times. In the mid-19th century, he was criticised by E. Trollope (1858) who, in a famous paper, detailed a number of Britain's turf labyrinths and discussed their background and use. Trollope, who thus became a pioneer of labyrinth research, considered that England's turf labyrinths were probably ecclesiastical in origin, with models on the continent.

Many others have written small articles and notes on British turf labyrinths, their names, uses and folk traditions. But it is only with W.H. Matthews' book *Mazes & Labyrinths* (1922) that someone again tried to give a broad overview. He pays great attention to antiquity but also to the stone labyrinths of the North. Never before had so many facts about labyrinths been presented in one volume. Matthew's book became a standard work for labyrinth enthusiasts all over the world. What he wrote whetted the appetite of many for the subject, but he did not contribute many guesses.

Since the 1970s a number of amateur researchers have been collecting facts about the labyrinths of the British Isles. In this book I have mentioned M. Behrend, J. Goulstone and M. Kennedy, but many more have made valuable contributions to labyrinth research. Nowhere else have labyrinths been explored more thoroughly than in Britain. There have been many articles and a number of beautiful books, but not so many theories.

A number of authors have followed in Matthews' footsteps and presented broad overviews, adding new material but without much new interpretation. These include books by J. Bord (1976), N. Pennick (1990) and J. Saward (2002 and 2003). Saward has on several occasions compiled lists of labyrinths, which have been successively updated and finally published in condensed form in his 2003 book.

Saward, who probably knows more about the world's labyrinths than anyone else, has been cautious about guessing at the great picture. For example, as far as I know, he has not presented any guesses as to where the British turf mazes came from, when they arrived in Britain, or what their original use was. This gives an indication of how difficult it is to solve the mysteries of the labyrinths.

In Germany, H. Massmann wrote a paper in 1844 on German turf labyrinths, focusing on the then relatively recently constructed turf labyrinths that were part of Turnvater Jahn's programme of physical education. In 1882 W. Meyer wrote a paper on labyrinths in manuscripts which he tried to interpret. He also discussed turf labyrinths and tried to recognise patterns in their design. A number of other authors have subsequently drawn attention to turf mazes without presenting an overall interpretation.

As in Britain, several German enthusiasts have contributed to research through small articles and notes, but most German writers on labyrinths have focused on antiquity and the Minotaur while neglecting the domestic turf figures.

W. Hunke's doctoral thesis (1940) contained a catalogue of all then known turf and stone labyrinths in northern Europe. It was the most thorough overview to date, and it says something about the state of research that it did not include more examples. Hunke found information on 47 turf labyrinths (10 in Germany, 37 in Britain) and 82 stone labyrinths (41 in Sweden, 11 in Norway, 3 in Iceland, 21 in Finland and 6 in Russia).

Of particular value was her thorough presentation of the German turf labyrinths. In addition, she gave a detailed account of previous research with criticism. She drew a lot of information from Matthews, but also put a lot of effort into obtaining more information from the Nordic countries and Russia.

Hunke's main contribution was the extensive catalogue and a range of information she found on German turf labyrinths. The conclusions on the earliest use of the labyrinths are less convincing. They show clear signs of influence from her tutor O. Höfler, who was a professor in Munich 1938-1944. His doctoral thesis in 1931 dealt with how Germanic youths underwent initiation rites when they entered the adult world. Hunke believed that the labyrinth illustrated man's path from the ordinary world to the underworld. When a young person entered the labyrinth, which represented the underworld, during the initiation rites, he was reborn into real life.<sup>2</sup> Hunke's book could have been of great importance had the war not intervened. It was not published. When it was finally photocopied in a small edition in 1997, time had run out.

Herman Kern's voluminous book (1982) devotes considerable attention to the stone labyrinths of the North and the turf labyrinths of England, but he mysteriously neglects the turf labyrinths of Germany and Poland. He must have read Hunke's thesis, but apparently did not care for her detailed description of the German labyrinths. It was therefore foreigners, such as Jeff and Deb Saward and myself, who in 1983-84 presented new overviews of the turf labyrinths and possible labyrinth names in Germany and Poland. More recent work on German turf labyrinths includes papers by K. Krüger (1995) and K. Kürvers (2005 and 2006).

In Sweden, stone labyrinths were recognised early on. The antiquarian J. Hadorph made several notes about them in 1673-1684. He claimed that they were built and had been used for dancing in honour of Odin, which has never been confirmed by other information (see Chapter 27).

H. Hildebrand, who was Sweden's national antiquarian 1866-1907, gave a lecture on 'labyrinthine stone settings' at the first meeting of the Historical Society in 1862. Ten years later he returned to the same subject in a short article. It shows that he was well versed in the international aspects of the subject. I suspect that he had read Trollope's 1858 article.

The labyrinth researcher S. Nordström made some brief contributions in the 1870s and 1880s. Among other things, he introduced the concept of *angle-type*.

As already mentioned in chapter 50, O. Almgren wrote about labyrinths in a popular book published in various editions between 1901 and 1934. He largely followed Krause's idea of a seasonal drama.

The archaeologists J. Alin (1925), B. Engström (1928) and N. Sundquist (1956) have written papers presenting the labyrinths in Onsalalandet, Västmanland and Uppland. A. Nordén wrote extensively about the labyrinths of Östergötland in 1943. The journalist K. Boberg published an overview of the labyrinths in Västerbotten in 1980. The folklorist J. Granlund took an interest in labyrinths, as shown in a fact-packed article in *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* (1974).

As shown in the bibliography, B. Stjernström, C. Westerdahl and myself have published a number of reviews of labyrinth occurrences in different parts of Sweden since the mid-1970s.

In parallel with my review of the ancient monument register in the 1970s, the labyrinth researcher F. Hallman carried out his own investigation. He published the results in Swedish newspapers<sup>3</sup> which means that a kind of simple catalogue of Sweden's labyrinths became available quite early (my own list was never published). Hallman also wrote a large number of articles and two books on labyrinths (1988 and 1994), which soon became part of the great debate. After his death in 2000, an obituary mentioned that towards the end of his life he was working on a catalogue of all the world's labyrinths.

R. Sjöberg and N. Broadbent made important contributions through their research on lichen growth on labyrinths along the Norrland coast. The results were published in several articles (1987-1996) and Broadbent's doctoral thesis (2010) was partly based on these studies.

The Swedish National History Museum in Stockholm had an exhibition on labyrinths in 1995. It was accompanied by a theme issue of the magazine *Historiska Nyheter* (no. 58) with a number of articles written by labyrinth researchers from the Nordic countries.

F. Campbell's doctoral thesis (2004) was on labyrinths and included an ambitious catalogue in English

of Swedish field labyrinths. However, the catalogue was placed in an online database that was eventually closed down.

C. Westerdahl published a book on labyrinths in 2016 in which he argues that labyrinths did not reach the north until the introduction of Christianity and that in the north they were mainly considered to provide protection against revenants. His conclusions have been reported and discussed in chapter 29. Westerdahl's book contains a catalogue of all known field labyrinths in the Nordic region.

C. Fagerström (2020 and 2021) has studied the pilgrimage routes from the Nordic countries to Italy and compares them with the turf labyrinths in Germany and the Jerusalem names. She argues that the turf labyrinths may have been used both for confession and penance, but also as road signs and perhaps for the protection of Christian pilgrims. Like Westerdahl, she believes that the labyrinths were introduced in the Nordic countries in connection with Christianisation, and she thinks that during the Catholic era the labyrinths had Jerusalem names. It was not until the Reformation in the Nordic countries and England in 1527-1536 that the labyrinths in the north were associated with the Troy legend and were given the name of Trojeborg.

Finland's stone labyrinths were recognised early on. The folklorist C.A. Gottlund (1796-1875) is said to have known of 49 labyrinths in Finland.<sup>4</sup> J.R. Aspelin (1842-1915), who became Finland's first professor of archaeology in 1878, published a long article in 1877 summarising the state of knowledge in Finland. An abridged version, published in German the same year, has been of great importance internationally. Many could read about the games where a girl had to be taken out of the labyrinth and Aspelin gave a number of examples of labyrinth names in Finland.

Several other authors have made contributions from different parts of Finland, such as K. Killinen (1885) and B. Cederhvarf (1910). B. Stjernström (1989) wrote extensively about Åland and produced a comprehensive catalogue.

In 1973 C. Bäcksbäck published a brief catalogue of the labyrinths in Finland. She mentioned 141 stone figures in Finland and nine just east of the Russian border at Virolahti, totalling 150 labyrinths.

Recent contributions on labyrinths include articles by T. Tuovinen (1993), P. Pietiläinen (1999) and M. Ridderstad (2013).

A seminar in Vasa in 2016 with participants from Finland and Sweden was largely devoted to labyrinths. The report *Jungfrudanser – Myth and Reality* published in 2018 included contributions from a number of speakers.

The art historian L-I. Ringbom occupies a unique position in Finnish labyrinth research. In a long essay in 1938, he made an ambitious attempt to combine the research on Nordic stone labyrinths with the debate on ancient labyrinths and the Theseus legend. He

thus tried to bridge the gap between the great and the little debate. But he was probably mistaken when he claimed that the angle-type was originally constructed with the help of a "string compass" and that in Greece "ribbon dances" were performed in the labyrinths.

In Norway, labyrinths have been mentioned since the late 17th century, but the research got a late start. Sverre Marstrander published a paper in 1937 in which he mentioned eight sites with records of labyrinths or Trojeborg names. The latter debate has been referred to in chapter 25.

The historian E. Niemi (1983 and 1986) did not write much about labyrinths, but his idea that the labyrinths in northern Norway were introduced from the east by Russians who spent their summers in Finnmark is of great importance.

The art historian T.S. Bøhn (1990) took a broader interest in labyrinths than many others, and her records of labyrinth lore in Finnmark are particularly interesting.

The most influential labyrinth researcher in Norway has been the archaeologist B. Olsen (1988, 1991 and 1995). He believes that the labyrinths in northern Norway were used in the pre-Christian funeral rites of the Sami, where they marked the transition from life to death. This is referred to in Chapter 25.

Å. Sörgård's 2007 seminar paper contains a detailed catalogue of all known stone labyrinths on the Arctic coast. It represents an important advance for labyrinth research in the north.

Among recent labyrinth researchers in the Nordic countries, some stand out from the crowd with their bold guesses. These include B. Olsen, R. Sjöberg, C. Westerdahl and C. Fagerström. However, none of them belong to the "great debate" because they do not discuss the original meaning and use of labyrinths.

In Russia, labyrinth research in the north was long dominated by archaeologists, while the labyrinth images of the peoples on the north side of the Caucasus were studied by folklorists. Most of this has been reported in chapters 11 and 25.

N. Gurina believed that the stone labyrinths in the north played a role in rites to ensure good fishing luck. But there have also been other ideas among Russian scholars, some of which are referred to in Chapter 25.

For a long time, archaeologists in Russia believed that the stone labyrinths on the Arctic coast were very old, dating back to the Stone Age when the fishing sites, where the labyrinths were found, were first used. But in the 21st century, many have questioned this. V. Mizin stated in a series of articles that the labyrinths in the north were considerably younger, which means that the dates of the Russian and Norwegian labyrinths can now be harmonised.

In Russia, as in Norway, labyrinth research has been dominated by academics; amateur researchers are rare. However, this has not led to particularly cautious conclusions; on the contrary, bold guesses have been made in both Norway and Russia.

In Denmark, which has no preserved field labyrinths, G. Knudsen (1948) wrote a major paper on the Trelleborg names, in which he also discussed the Trojeborg names. All known examples of the two types of names were presented in detailed lists (see Appendices 15 and 16).

From the mid-1970s, J. Thordrup wrote a series of articles on Denmark's labyrinths. In a long article (1994) he published lists of turf labyrinths and garden labyrinths in Western Europe. In the book *Alle Tidens Labyrinter* (2002) he gave a comprehensive presentation of Denmark's labyrinths.

The sports historian H. Eichberg came from Germany and settled in Denmark in 1982. In several articles in the 1980s he discussed labyrinths and their use.

Italy's labyrinths have been presented in a book by labyrinth researcher G. Pavat in 2019. Another catalogue of the labyrinths in Italy has recently been published by Ettore Selli: *Labirinti Italiani* (2022). A book on the labyrinths of the Netherlands, by F. Schaeffers and A. Backer, was published in 2007.

As I finalise my book, I have good company in two other countries. Jeff Saward is about to publish another book on labyrinths and Vyacheslav Mizin has just sent over an online version of a book on Russia's labyrinths.

You readers, who have followed me this far, have learnt a great deal about labyrinths and the theories surrounding them. You now have a broader and deeper knowledge of the subject than almost all the labyrinth researchers just mentioned had. The material, or rather the knowledge of the material, has grown rapidly over the last 45 years. This should hopefully lead to better insights and more accurate research. But it has also made it more difficult to solve the mysteries of the labyrinths. There is a great deal that now needs to be considered and weighed into the interpretations. The days of the wild ideas are over. Just finding a way through growing material has become a demanding task.

I have argued in favour of some theories. I believe in them, of course, otherwise I would not have presented them in print, but I readily admit that the lack of firm evidence is often troublesome. Much is circumstantial. This is why everyone who enters this game should keep an open mind to alternative interpretations and explanations. No one can expect to have the last word. On the contrary, we should all welcome new attempts to come up with more convincing theories.

My contribution to the continuing search is twofold. Firstly, I wish that my interpretations will stimulate others to reach further. Secondly, I hope that my almost pedantically detailed account of a large amount of material will provide a foundation for new explanations.