

An aerial photograph of a large, circular stone labyrinth in a field. The labyrinth is constructed from many concentric rings of stones, creating a complex, winding path. A person is visible at the center of the labyrinth, providing a sense of scale. In the background, there are several dark-colored houses, a line of trees, and a body of water under a clear blue sky.

The Walls of Troy

Labyrinths During 3000 Years

John Kraft

E-book 6 of 6

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E-book 6

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Notes

Chapter 2

1 Schetelig, p 15.

Chapter 3

1. *Seed pattern* is the English expression commonly used by labyrinthologists. Bo Stjernström has introduced another word in Swedish: *basfigur* (basic figure) which I have used in the Swedish version of this book (Stjernström 1982, p 10).

2. Nordström, Simon, 1885. Nordisk familjebok, volume 9, p 476.

3. Lundén 1997, p 28.

4. Erland Hofsten, Värmlands historia och Beskrifning, Celsiska Samlingen 97, Handskrift S99, Uppsala University Library.

5. Inventory report 1921 by K E Sahlström, ATA.

6. EU 1311, 1930.

7. It is not clear where Aspelin got these two terms, but a good guess is that he picked up the terms "simple labyrinth" and "double labyrinth" in Malax, his home parish. He has obviously seen the labyrinths on Storskär in Malax and he mentions that a fisherman described a labyrinth of simple angle-type there (Aspelin 1877a, p 161).

Chapter 4

1. My review is mainly based on: Lundén 1996, Saward 1999 and 2003, Kern 2000. References are generally only given when other sources are cited.

2. Saward, J & Saward, K, 2005, p 5.

3. Hermann Kern (2000) dates it to around 620 BC. Staffan Lundén (1996) discusses several researchers' dates: Simone: 650-600 (p 119), Sichtermann: the last decades of the 7th century (p 351, nr 1528), Christofani: 650-630 (p 107) and Colonna: 660-630 (pp 637-672, p 654 fig 7 nr 21 and p 659). Lundén himself chooses the interval 650-600 BC. Jeff Saward (2003) states 660-630 BC, but two years later he has joined Lundén's dating (Saward, J & Saward, K 2005, p 9).

4. Campos, p 22.

5. Fábergas Valcarce & Rodríguez-Rellán.

6. Meijide Cameselle, p 4.

7. Lundén relies on numismatic research by George le Rider (1966, p 4), J-N Svoronos (1890) and A Jackson (1971). Hermann Kern and several other labyrinth researchers have instead relied on W Wroth's older chronology of the Cretan coins (1886). In the new edition of Kern's book *Through the Labyrinth* (2000) the old chronology is still in place. But Jeff Saward adopts the revised chronology in his book *Labyrinths and Mazes* (2003).

8. Saward 2006a, p 4.

9. Collins.

10. Berndt, p 104 and Roller 2009.

11. Papadopoulou.

12. Shukriu.

13. Lundén, Staffan. "The labyrinth" in the round building at Epidaurus. Seminary paper. Probably 1991.

14. Pliny, book 36, chapter 19: "...non - ut in pavimentis puerorumve ludicris campestribus videmus - brevi lacinia milia passuum plura ambulationis continentem..."

15. Interpretations of these lines have varied. Bostock and Riley (1857) thought that Pliny was referring to labyrinths like the hedge maze at Hampton Court in England, while Eichholz (1962) thought that the text referred to the Roman equestrian game *Lusus Troiae*. Michael Behrend prefers an interpretation by Philemon Holland (1552-1637) which probably captures quite well what Pliny meant and also gives a vivid picture of how turf labyrinths were perceived in England around 1600: "mazes which are drawne upon the pavement and plain floore of a field, such as we commonly see serve to make sports and pastime among boies, that is to say, which within a little compass and round border comprehend many miles" (Behrend, 1996, p 22).

16. Langner, nr 148, 152, 156, 157, 158, 159.

Chapter 5

1. In the Florence Archaeological Museum there is a ceramic plate with two seed patterns of double angle-type. It was found in a tomb at the ancient city of Kamyros in Rhodes and dates from 600-575 BC (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, nr. 78994). In a museum in Cyprus I have found a similar and better preserved ceramic plate with a seed pattern of double angle-type, which I suspect dates from about the same time, i.e. the 6th century BC.

2. Fragment of a Greek terracotta sarcophagus from the ancient city of Klazomenai, west of Izmir in Turkey, 525-500 BC (Glyptotek, Copenhagen, nr IN 1512 b).

3. Schuster/Carpenter, p 430.

4. Papadopoulou, note 28.

5. Schuster/Carpenter, p 430.

6. Gimbutas 1982, p 131.

Chapter 6

1. Pliny, book 36, chapter 19.

2. Kern 2000, p 57.

3. Rosén, p 17 and Brommer, p X.

Chapter 7

1. Kern 2000, p 78.

2. Rosén, p 7.

3. Wikander, p 209.

4. Olsson Söderhäll, p 20 and 25.

5. Giglioli.

6. Situla di Plikasna, inv. n. 2594, Archivio Fotografico del Museo Archeologica Nazionale di Firenze.

Chapter 8

1. My review is mainly based on Daszewski 1977, Kraft 1985b, Kern 2000 and Saward 2003. References are generally only given when other sources are cited.
2. Wind, p 28.
3. Wind, p 28.
4. Kraft 1985, p 85.
5. Lundén & Kraft 1997, p 13.
6. Lundén 2004, p 7.
7. Wind, p 141.
8. Phillips.

Chapter 9

1. Lundén 2003, p 10.
2. Kern 2000, p 88.
3. Lundén 2003, p 6, Saward 2003, p 84 and Judge-Mulhall p 89.
4. Kern 2000, p 72 and Saward 2003, p 84.
5. Ovtjarov.

Chapter 10

1. My review is mainly based on Schuster/Carpenter 1988, Kern 2000 and Saward 2003. Jeff Saward has also been kind enough to give me access to an updated catalogue and a text that he has compiled for a future book. It contains information on several recently reported labyrinths. As a rule, references are only given when other sources are cited.
2. Singh.
3. Wanke, p 35.
4. Notes & Queries, Caerdroia Nr 47, 2018, p 55.
5. Scerrato, p 21.
6. Kern 2000, p 287.
7. Lundén 1993, p 13.
8. Murugan 2016, p 52.
9. Murugan 2015, p 56.
10. Patil & Sabale.
11. Kürvers 2006b, p 38.
12. Kürvers 2006b, p 49.
13. Kern 2000, p 289.
14. Lundén 1993, p 18.
15. Lundén 1993, p 17.
16. Louët & Geoffrion 2016, p 15, notes 26-30 and note 34.
17. Aarsleff.
18. Kraft 2005, p 57.
19. Kern 1982, p 436.

Chapter 11

1. Miller, p 44.
2. Markovin, p 149.
3. Miller, p 46.
4. Dumezil 1930, p 1 and 151.

Chapter 12

1. My review is mainly based on Kern 2000 and Jill Geoffrion & Alain Louët 2010, 2015, 2016, 2020 and 2021, as well as a number of other scholars who have discussed labyrinths in manuscripts and churches in Western Europe: Edward Trollope (1858), Wilhelm Meyer 1882, Wolfgang Haubrichs (1969 and 1980), Helmut Birkhan 1971 and 1976, Werner Batschelet-Massini 1973 and 1978, Penelope Reed Doob 1990.
2. Shelton 2016, p 36.
3. Kern 2000, nrs. 220, 180 and 194 and Louët & Geoffrion 2016, p 15.

4. Kern 2000, nrs 222, 238 and 249.
5. Kern 2000, nrs 176 and 190.
6. Kern 2000, p 158.
7. Geoffrion & Louët 2021, p 21.
8. Kern 2000, nrs. 227, 225, 229 and 232.
9. Kern 2000, nrs 228 and 230.
10. Kern 2000, nrs 226, 231, 221 and 233.
11. Kern 2000, nr 202.
12. Yaari, p 179. Tryggve Kronholm has been kind enough to translate Yaari's Hebrew text into Swedish for me.
13. Kern 2000, nrs 220, 222 and 223-224.
14. Kern 2000, nr 225.
15. "URBS IERICHO LUNE FUIT ASSIMILATA FIGURE."
16. Tryggve Kronholm, who translated Yaari's paper for me, then put forward the idea that the Hebrew word for moon, which is *jareah*, may have sounded so similar to Jericho that it might explain the text where it is stated that the city of Jericho had a moon-like shape. More or less the same explanation has been put forward by Hermann Kern (Kern 2000, p 128).
17. Boethius: *De consolatione philosophiae*.
18. Kern 2000, nr 213.
19. Kern 2000, nr 233 and Wind, p 97.
20. Wind, p 69.
21. Kern 2000, nr 234.
22. Kern 2000, nr 226.
23. Kern 2000, p 105, 110, 126 and 130.
24. Geoffrion & Louët 2015 and 2020.
25. Kern 2000, p 141.
26. Craig Wright, p73 and 223.
27. Doob, p 192.
28. Matthews, p 156: '...fut nommé Labarinte et aujourduy par moultz est vulguelmant appelé le cipté de Troie'. Matthews states that the quote was taken from a French manuscript in the British Museum.
29. Kern 2000, nr 315-556.
30. Kern 2000, nrs 332 and 350.

Chapter 13

- 1 My review of the church labyrinths on the continent is essentially based on Kern 2000 and Saward 2003. References are generally only given when other sources are cited.
2. Saward 2003, p 21.
3. Saward 2009, p 54.
4. Pavat 2013.
5. Wallet, p 99 and Kern 2000, p 148 and chapter VIII note 69.
6. Juaristi & Gogeochea, p 14.
7. Kern 2000, nr 189.
8. Saward 2017, p 4.
9. Kern 2000, p 148.
10. Saward 2016, p 51.
11. Louët & Geoffrion, 2015, p 59.
12. Kern 2000, p 164.
13. Saward 2000, p 54.
14. Pavat 2014, p 52.
15. Ziccardi, p 57.
16. Pavat 2019.
17. Soreto, p 13.
18. Saward 2003, p 84.
19. Kern 2000, nr 238.
20. Kern 2000, nr 249 and Geoffrion & Louët 2021, p 20.
21. The ancient hill fort at Formigueiros in north-west Spain contains a carved figure that is probably of double angle-type, although some details are unclear. The labyrinth may be from the first century AD or possibly slightly older (Meijide Cameselle, p 4). Four difficult to date labyrinth carvings, found at Lucillo near Astorga in north-western Spain, are indistinct but two of them have eleven or twelve walls (Campos, p 22).
22. Plassmann, p 289 and Jeff & Deb Saward 1983, p 20.

Chapter 14

1. My review is essentially based on Kern 2000 and Saward 2003. References are generally only given when other sources are cited.
2. Matthews, p 129.

Chapter 15

1. Kern 2000, nrs 182, 189, 194, 198, 235 and Louët & Geoffrion 2016, p 15.
2. Kern 2000, nrs 176 and 235.
3. Kern 2000, nrs 220 and 222 and Geoffrion & Louët 2021, p 20.
4. Kern 2000, nrs 225 and 227 and Geoffrion & Louët 2021, p 21.
5. Lundén 1996, p 29.

Chapter 16

1. My review of the continental turf labyrinths is essentially based on Kern 2000 and Saward 2003. References are generally only given when other sources are cited.
2. Kennedy 2017, p 43.
3. Goulstone, p 54.
4. Hunke, p 8.
5. Pliny, book 36, chapter 19.

Chapter 17

1. My review of continental turf labyrinths is essentially based on Jeff Saward's additions in Kern 2000 and Saward 2003. As a rule, references are only given when other sources are cited. Hermann Kern, who worked in Munich, curiously does not mention anything about the turf labyrinths in his native Germany or in Poland in his otherwise commendably detailed book.
2. e.g. Ernst Krause, 1893. *Die Trojaburgen Nord-Europas*.
3. Jeff & Deb Saward 1987a, p 30. The stone labyrinth was laid in 1940 by Professor Friedrich Langewiesche, founder and former director of the museum.
4. Kraft 1983c, p 11 and Kraft 1984a, p 11.
5. Hunke, p 14.
6. Magdalinski, Sieber 1927, p 5 and Sieber 1936, p 83.
7. Krüger, p 16.
8. Shelton 2015, p 5.
9. Grimm, p 178.

Chapter 18

1. My review of the turf labyrinths of the British Isles is essentially based on Kern 2000 and Saward 2003. References are generally only given when other sources are cited.
2. Kern 2000, nrs 257 and 279 and Saward 2009, p 54.
3. Kennedy 2017, p 32.
4. Kennedy 2017, p 43.
5. Schuster/Carpenter 1988, p 266 and 382.
6. Behrend 1984, p 4 and 1996 p 18.
7. Saward 1982, p 35 and Saward 2003, p 127.
8. When Saward wrote a more comprehensive article in 2012, touching on most of what is known about the labyrinth at Saffron Walden, he omitted the story of the young woman at the centre of the turf figure. In a footnote he writes that several authors have mentioned the traditions of beer drinking but that this information cannot be substantiated (Saward, 2012, p 9). In response to my question, he explained in a letter to me in 2017, that in the 1982 article he was essentially quoting data from an unpublished manuscript prepared by the local mayor after the restoration of the labyrinth in 1979. Saward's more critical review 30 years later revealed that there was much that was probably just a hodgepodge of half-remembered stories retold by the locals of late. So, he left them out.

9. Trollope, p 220.
10. Kern 2000, p 148 and Chapter VIII, note 70.
11. Wall, p 22.
12. Behrend 1982, p 22.
13. Bord, p 49.
14. Doob, p 113.
15. Kennedy 2017, p 53 and 74.
16. Saward 1985, p 7.
17. Barker, p 9.
18. Kern 1982, p 243.

Chapter 19

1. Knudsen, p 205.
2. My review of the turf labyrinths in southern Scandinavia is essentially based on my papers *Turf Labyrinths in Southern Scandinavia* (Kraft 1984b) and *Labyrintnamn – från Troja till Trelleborg* (Kraft 1986a). References are generally only given when other sources are cited.
3. Brusewitz, p 10.
4. Kraft 1979, p 14 and report by J Kraft 9 July 1978, ATA.
5. Ursin, p 6.
6. Thordrup 2002, p 100.
7. Kraft 1984b, p 17.
8. Kraft 1986a, p 54.

Chapter 22

1. Mizin 2015, p 23.
2. 1980 letter to me from Gunnar Fritzell, former county archivist at Visby.
3. Oral information from Erling Andersson at Järsö, Lemland.
4. With one exception, a 1720s stone labyrinth on the island of St Agnes in the Isles of Scilly, off Cornwall.
5. Olavius, p 187.
6. Kålund, p 415.
7. Jönsson, p 21.
8. Lindälv, p 294.
9. Veckotidningen Allers nr 31, 5 August 1979, p 64-65.
10. Sörgård, p 76.
11. Gurina 1957, p 346.
12. Mizin 2014, p 28 and Durylin 1913, p 47.
13. Mizin 2018, p 29.
14. Kraft 1983a, p 78.
15. 1976 letter to me from Johan A Udde.
16. Boberg, p 35.
17. Pliny, book 36, chapter 19.

Chapter 23

1. Varenius, p 49.
2. Westerdahl 2016, p 92.
3. R Sjöberg 1996a, p 16.
4. R Sjöberg 1996b, p 101.

Chapter 24

1. Meyer, p 297 and Figure 11.
2. Stjernström 1989, p 108.
3. Aspelin 1877a, p 159.
4. Munch-Petersen.
5. Schuster/Carpenter 1988, p 346, Saward 1998, p 58 and Jönson.
6. Geoffrion & Louët 2021, p 13.
7. Dumurkhiil, Chuvek and a village that Khan-Magomedov could not locate.
8. Kahn-Magomedov.
9. Patil & Sabale, p 5.

10. Magdalinski, p 200 and Massmann, p 9.
11. Leonhardt, p 66.
12. May 2019.
13. May 2019.
14. Kraft & Selirand 1990 and Mizin 2019.
15. Information provided to me in a letter of 17 July 1979 from Erling Matz, curator of the National Maritime Museum in Stockholm.

Chapter 25

1. Sørgård, p 42.
2. Sørgård, p 30.
3. Tallgren 1938, p 18, Thomas Rosenberg has kindly translated this text into Swedish for me.
4. E-mail to me from Vyacheslav Mizin in 2018.
5. Kuratov 1973, p 62 and Kuratov 1978, p 85.
6. Mizin 2020.
7. Sørgård, p 15.
8. Mizin, 2018.
9. Sørgård, p 16.
10. Sørgård, p 15 and 29.
11. Mizin 2015, p 27.
12. Mizin 2015, p 28.
13. In a 2007 paper, Åse Sørgård made a thorough review of the labyrinths along the Arctic coast. She has also given an account of the debate on both the Norwegian and Russian sides. My summary of the scientists' positions is largely based on her review but also on Vyacheslav Mizin's summaries in 2014 and 2015.
14. Olsen 1991, p 53.
15. Sørgård, p 121.
16. Mizin 2015, p 23.
17. Mizin 2015, p 23.

Chapter 26

1. R Sjöberg 1996a, p 17.
2. Tingsplatserna vid Anundshög del 3, Rapport 2020:62, Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård (Matthias Bäck, Kristina Jonsson, Marta Lindeberg och Alexandra Sanmark) Västerås.

Chapter 27

1. Wessén.
2. Wessén.
3. Kraft 1999, p 7 and Kraft 2015, p 109.
4. Indebetou 1874, p 2.
5. Boström, p 9.
6. Rannsakningar efter antikviteter II:1, p 299.
7. Manuscript Ff 10, a collection of short notes by Johan Hadorph, Royal Library, Stockholm.
8. Rudbeck II, p 432.

Chapter 28

1. R Sjöberg 1996a, p 16.
2. Stjernström 1981, p 137.
3. Seward 1990 and 2018.
4. EU 5195, 1933.
5. Kraft 1978, p 125.
6. The labyrinths on Gotland have been discussed in detail by me in an article in 1983 (Kraft 1983a).
7. Kraft 2018, p 35.
8. Larsson.
9. Aftonbladet 29.8. 2001

Chapter 29

1. Westerdahl 2016, p 126.

Chapter 30

1. This chapter is mainly based on the information in Appendix 10.

Chapter 31

1. This chapter is mainly based on the information in Appendix 11. As a rule, references are given only when other sources are cited.
2. Swärd.
3. Westerdahl 2016, p 59.
4. Stigell, p 82.
5. Kaspersen, p 224.

Chapter 32

1. P.A. Säve writes in a marginal note that two "Trojeborgar" were built near the school building by the school teacher Joh. Pet. Nordin "for the pleasure of the schoolchildren" (P.A. Säve, R 623:1, p 74. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library). In another manuscript by Säve there is a sketch of the two labyrinths in Hejnum (to the left) and the statement that they were drawn in 1870 (P.A. Säve, Guta Ord 1868-1870, R 625:9, p 178. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library). One figure is of simple angle-type with eight walls. The other figure, however, is unprecedented elsewhere in the Nordic countries. My sketch to the right shows that it should have been constructed from a centre cross with four dots but only two angles. Obviously, this is a variant of the seljord-type. In the 1940 inventory, the former labyrinth had disappeared. My visit to the site in 1980 revealed that the seljord-type labyrinth had been extended with two extra stone walls compared to the 1870 drawing. Stones from the removed labyrinth may have been used to build the expanded stone figure.

Chapter 33

1. Kraft & Selirand, p 33.

Chapter 34

1. This chapter is mainly based on the information in Appendix 13. As a rule, references are only given when other sources are cited.
2. Matz, p 179.
3. Castrén 1894, p 255 and 236.
4. Bäcksbacka, p. 65.
5. Kraft 2003, p 58.
6. Plassmann, pp. 289 and Jeff & Deb Seward 1983, p 20.
7. Kraft 1982a, p 99.
8. Lundén 1993 and 1997.
9. Kern 2000, p 288.

Chapter 35

1. Chapters 35-37 are mainly based on Appendices 15-21. References are as a rule only given when other sources are cited. Those who wish to delve deeper into the material can find a great deal in my rather detailed article 1986 and in Gunnar Knudsen's 1948 catalogue of the Danish names.
2. Freudenthal, p 67.
3. Sørgård, p 18.
4. Svenska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift 1875-77, p 229 and Svenska Dagbladet 5.9. 1889.

Chapter 36

1. Sørensen, p 5.
2. Strøm, p 261.
3. Vibe, p 259.
4. Marstrander, p 143.
5. Jens Kraft, p 538.
6. Knudsen, p 204.
7. Nyman, p 223.

8. Kraft 1986a, p 47.

9. Dybeck 1865.

Chapter 37

1. This chapter is mainly based on the information in Appendix 17. As a rule, references are given only when other sources are cited.

2. This term has been suggested by Per Vikstrand, 2007.

Chapter 38

1. Olofsson, p 140.

2. Holmbäck-Wessén, p LIII.

3. Olofsson, p 160.

4. R Sjöberg 1996a, p 16.

5. Aspelin 1877a.

Chapter 39

1. EU 16031, 1940.

2. EU 17229, 1941.

3. EU 24619, 1943 and Hilding Svensson's report after the restoration of the labyrinth 4.10. 1930, ATA. Also, an unsigned article in *Elfsborgs Läns Tidning* 11.6. 1932 and a short article in *Svenska Dagbladet* 22.11.1930.

4. Ljungström 1865, p 82.

5. *Folkminnen och folktankar*, 1918, p 158a and the signature "Klas" in *Borås Tidning*, 1930, date unknown.

6. Uino, p 338 and a report by Emil Elenius 13. 11. 1919, *Museiverket*, Helsinki.

7. EU 6847, 1934.

8. Saward 2018, p 40.

9. Roberts 2015, p 4.

10. The Welsh history book *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, published in 1716, has been illustrated in a later edition in 1865 with a drawing of a labyrinth figure of simple angle-type with a few short explanatory texts at the entrance and in the centre of the figure (e-mail from Jeff Saward to me in 2019).

11. VENABLES, p 96.

12. Gomme, p 310.

13. Strøm, p 261.

14. Sørensen, p 5 and Jan-Erik Mo.

15. Kern 2000, p 128.

16. Kern 2000, p 289.

17. Kennedy 2018, p 9-14.

Chapter 40

1. Freudenthal, p 67.

2. Aspelin, 1877a, p 161 and 1877b, p 440.

3. Klockars, p 31.

4. Tallgren 1938, p 18. This translation into Swedish is made by Thomas Rosenberg. Staffan Lundén has found a translation into Swedish of the same text in the surviving collections of the Swedish folklorist John Granlund in the *Folkminnesarkivet* in Stockholm (Lundén 1990, p 24).

5. IF 1984/11:24. Meta Sahlström reproduces a shorter version (2018, p 56), where the pilot's wife's story is missing. The difference is that she quotes the online fair copy in the archive, while I reproduce the original, handwritten report that I got access to in the form of photostatic copies shortly after the investigation in 1984. I do not understand why such an interesting part of the report was omitted from the original version.

6. Rancken, p 29.

7. Westerdahl 2016, p 110.

8. Westerdahl 2016, p 66 and 109.

9. Oral information 1980 to me from Peter Gustafsson at Skellefteå museum who heard this story in October 1979. The same information was also reported by the journalist and labyrinth researcher Kurt Boberg 1980, p 37 and in *Västerbottens-Kuriren* 26.4. 1980.

10. EU 6847, 1934.

11. EU 24637, 1943.

12. Report by J Kraft 11.8.1978, ATA.

13. EU 5193, 1933.

14. Geijer-Afzelius, p 4.

15. *Landsmålsarkivet i Uppsala* (belonging to ISOF), nr 3440, p 1 and p 2-3, 1931.

16. Marstrand & Moe. The verse in Danish:

Mange, mange, mange
lange, lange, lange
slinge-slynge-slange-gange
er der til prinsessen.
Finder du hende,
så vinder du hende!
Men står du og gaber,
så tror jeg, du taber.

17. Munch-Petersen. One wonders where the grandmother could have picked up such interesting information about labyrinths. According to Johannes Munch-Petersen, she got it from her grandmother, who in turn could have got it from a 'witch'. Johannes' grandmother, who told him about the labyrinths in the 1930s, lived in an intellectual environment. She was born in 1864 in southern Denmark, the daughter of a district doctor. Her husband became a Nobel Prize laureate in medicine. According to Johannes, who became a professor in Copenhagen, she was well acquainted with the folk traditions of the Danish islands.

If I would venture a guess, she may have reproduced some Danish folk traditions, but it is also possible that she added some free fantasies about trolls and gold treasures when playing with her grandson. However, the aforementioned information that labyrinths on Zealand were called "Fru Trolleborgs Slot" and that the game of drawing labyrinth figures was called "Trække til Trolleborg" suggests that labyrinths in Denmark may have been generally associated with trolls.

18. "Kartontillæg" in *Illustreret Familie-Journal*, 19.4. 1938. The verses in Danish:

Troldborg Slot

Der bor en Troldmand i Troldborg Slot,
jeg tror, det ligger på Fyn,
på Hovedet har han en høj rød Kalot
som ingen anden i Byen.
Han har en Kaabe så vid og stor,
den al hans Ondskab mon skjule
en dejlig Prinsesse hos Troldmanden bor,
må dele hans rædsomme Hule.

I tusinde Gange sig Vejen snor,
saa vildsom er den at vandre,
og inderst inde, hvor Troldmanden bor,
der kommer slet ingen andre.
Prinsessen han ved sin Trolddomsmagt
har tvunget til der at dvæle,
her er den Stakkel i Fængsel lagt
om maa sig i Mørket fjæle.

Dog er du snild og har Mandemod,
saa kan du Prinsessen vinde,
ad Gangene vandrer du Fod for Fod,
saa vil du den fagre finde
Men hvis du prøver det, og det sker,
du over en Streg monne træde,
gaar Vejen straks udad, og Troldmanden ler,
imedens Prinsessen maa græde.

19. Kraft 1983a, p 71.

20. IF 1984/11:32.

21. Kraft 1984c, p 75.

22. Ahnlund, p 47.

23. Saward 2003, p 127.
24. Saward 2006b, p 61.
25. Gehrts, p 112.
26. Wilman-Grabowska, p 134 and 140.
27. M Muller, p 51.
28. Kern 2000, p 129.
29. Cyrus Gordon, p 243.
30. Kern 2000, p 126.
31. Kern 2000, p 296.

Chapter 41

1. According to information in one of Staffan Lundén's manuscripts, which I have seen, Aeschylus as well as Ennius and Virgil wrote that the wooden horse jumped over Troy's defences. He adds that in Dictys Cretensis' version of the Trojan War, the wooden horse appears to be solid.
2. according to Tryphiodoros, the walls of Troy would have fallen to the sound of trumpet blasts, just as at Jericho (Knight 1930, p 363).
3. Knight 1936, p 123.
4. Knight 1936, p 118.
5. Svenska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift 1875-77, p 229.
6. Folkminnen och folktankar, 1918, p 158 and the signature "Klas" in Borås Tidning, 1930, date unknown.
7. Vester-Rekarne härads fornlemningar beskrifna af Olof Hermelin. Manuscript, probably from 1866, D 23, ATA, p 83-484.
8. A Hamrin, p 21.
9. The labyrinth at Kungsör is marked as Tröghenborgh on a map from 1694-1695 (Västmanlands fornminnesförenings tidskrift 56, 1978, p 66). So, it existed then. But in a brief description made by Samuel Gagnerus in 1677 of the ridge and the ruins of Johan III's unfinished castle Ulvesund, which was under construction in 1581-86 (ATA), there is no mention of the labyrinth, even though it is situated only ten metres from the castle's foundation. This suggests that the labyrinth is younger than 1677 and thus did not exist when Christina lived at Kungsör as a child.

When the labyrinth was restored by archaeologists in 1968, it was found that "pieces of brick from the castle construction lay partly under the stones of the labyrinth" (Report from the restoration 16 July 1968, Västmanland Läns museum), which suggests that the stone figure should be younger than the castle construction in the 1580s.

The labyrinth in Kungsör has a layout that is strongly reminiscent of coast labyrinths of the köpmanholm-type, such as the labyrinth at Blå Jungfrun. Such labyrinths are found nowhere else inland, but they dominate in the Stockholm archipelago. A reasonable guess is therefore that the stone figure was created by someone with a background in the Stockholm archipelago. This may have happened after 1677 and certainly before 1694-95 when the labyrinth was marked on a map.

10. Tallgren 1938, p 18. Thomas Rosenberg has kindly translated this text into Swedish for me.
11. Nancke-Krogh, p 126.

Chapter 42

1. Hunke, p 5 and 21: "...darinnen sich vormals die Jugend mit Dantzen zu exercieren pflegte: darbey vorgegeben ward, als ob dieser Creyss einst von einem Zauberishen Münche wäre uusedantzet worden".
2. Meyer, p 298.
3. Krause 1893a, p 29.
4. Trollope, p 232.
5. Barkley.
6. Trollope, p 232.
7. Cook, p 487.

8. Page: "He had just been treading 'the Shepherd's Labyrinth', a complicated spiral maze traced upon the turf; and was boasting of his skill, how dexterously and truly he could pursue its windings without a single false step and how with a little more practice he would wager to go through it blindfold."

9. Matthews, p 77.
10. Matthews, p 84.
11. Freudenthal, p 67.
12. Aspelin 1877b, p 440.
13. Klockars, p 31.
14. IF 1984/11:24.
15. Sörgård, p 45.
16. Sörgård, p 47.
17. Arenius, p 68: "...ubi juvenus adhuc dum hodie ludendi caussa aestate convenire solet".
18. Ransakningar efter antikviteter II, p 292.
19. EU 13886, 1939.
20. IFGH 3169, 1933.
21. IF 1984/011:054.
22. IF 1984/011:032.
23. Eskil Olsson: Reseberättelse öfver undersökning i Ångermanland sommaren 1909. ATA.
24. Landsmålsarkivet i Uppsala (belonging to ISOF), nr 1365:26.
25. Ringbom, p 90.

Chapter 43

1. EU 25597, 1943, Kraft 1979, p 9 and report by J Kraft 9.7. 1978, ATA.
2. Unsigned article in Elfsborgs Läns Tidning 11.6. 1930.
3. Wirde, p 158.
4. Wiklund, p 27 and EU 5436, 1933.
5. Kern 2000, p 168.
6. Grimm, p 202.
7. Krause, 1893a, p 29.

Chapter 44

1. Saward 1987a, p 33.
2. Brusewitz, p 10.
3. Matthews, p 90.
4. Waller and Gomme.
5. Goulstone, p 48.
6. Alin, p 54.
7. Jean Berglunds reseberättelse sommaren 1908, Piteå landsförsamling, ATA.
8. Westin, p 78.
9. Saward 2012, p 11 and Kern 2000, p 175, 177, 201, 202, 205, 210, 212, 223, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 238, 239, 246, 251, 253 and 263.
10. Kennedy, 2017, p 53 and 74.
11. See Appendix 11 and image 31:6. The art historian Sissel Plathe writes about the paintings in Tåning: "En kombination af østkappens labyrint med de forskellige løjer (vårfest, fastelavnsøptog?) i skibets midterhvelv styrker formodningen om at skibets udmaling ikke kun har bestået af tilfældige, løse scene, men har udgjort en samlet udsmykning, der skulle illustrere forårets kiomme og livets sejr over døden." (Thordrup 2002, p 99)
12. Stigell, p 82.
13. Nilsson 1937, Fossenius 1951 and Kulturhistoriskt lexikon, volume 11, column 249.
14. Granlund 1948.

15. Sergeant Major N Sjöholm wrote several reports on labyrinths in Västergötland to Nordiska museet and Västsvenska folkminnesarkivet in the 1930s and 1940s. In one report he mentions that people “ran Trajenborg” at two places in Frösve parish: at the so-called *Jättedansen* and at *Speleberget* just 1.5 kilometres away. A person who was born in 1860 told me that the people of Frösve used to have a lot of fun at Spelebacken. They raised the maypole there on Midsummer’s Eve and then they danced every evening until Old Midsummer, and at Whitsuntide they danced “the clothes off the Whitsuntide bride”.

“...before my time they ran Trajenborg on the hill (Spelebacken) but I have never seen the stones. In another place they ran Trajenborg and that was at Jättadansen, where the *trajen* went out between two stones in domarringen and went along the hill towards the new retirement home and around the hill back to the domarring. I have seen that *trajen* and it is still there, although it is moss-covered in the forest, but how they enjoyed themselves I do not know because they played that game before my time” (EU 17864, 1941).

I visited both sites in 1978 without finding any trace of a stone labyrinth. No local resident that I met could confirm that there had been any “trajenborg”. The “domarring” mentioned at Jättedansen should be a ship setting that is clearly visible by the road. The “new retirement home” is also easy to locate.

My report (9.7 1978, ATA) led the museum in Skara to carry out a small excavation at Jättedansen, a shallow but rather long search trench. I was there myself and could see that there were no traces of a labyrinth. I suspect that there have never been any labyrinths at Jättedansen or at Spelebacken.

Chapter 46

1. I am not an expert on the Troy legend. I have only read the main features of the debate and delved into the discussion posts that seemed relevant from the point of view of the labyrinths. This means that much may have escaped me. My hope is that others will go further in exploring the connection between the labyrinths and the mythical city of Troy. Much of my account is based on Dieter Hertel (2001) and Eric H Cline (2013).
2. Skafte-Jensen, p 237.
3. Payne, p 109.
4. G L Prendergast 1875. Minna Skafte Jensen has kindly given me this information.
5. Konrat Ziegler in Der kleine Pauly, 5, 1975, column 977. See also Ernst Meyer in Paulys Real-Encyclopädie, Supplement Volume 14, 1974, column 809 and Wilhelm Brandenstein in Paulys Real-Encyclopädie, zweiter Reihe, 7:1, 1948, column 2500.
6. Güterbock.
7. Cline, p 104.
8. Hertel, p 59, 77 and 104.
9. Linnér, p 142.
10. Arwidsson 1837.
11. Krause 1893a, p X and p 219.
12. Krause 1893a, p 227.
13. Lucanus, book 1, lines 427-428.
14. Krause 1893a, p 281.
15. Wikipedia: Tenea.
16. Wikipedia: Elymnians.
17. Beard, p 76.
18. Wikipedia: Hellanicus of Lesbos.

Chapter 47

1. Martin P Nilsson 1932, p 73 and p 170.

Chapter 48

1. 1967 and 1977 Gehrts.
2. Kraft 1985a, p 33.
3. See, for example, Eitrem 1902 and Clader 1967.
4. Gehrts 1977b, p 23.
5. Gehrts 1967 and 1977a.
6. Ward, p 63.
7. Lundén 1989.
8. Lunden 1990, p 42.

Chapter 49

1. Kern 2000, p 110 and p 146.
2. Kristensen 1925, p 137 and p 217.
3. Kristensen 1925, p 200, p 208 and p 215.
4. Kristensen 1910, p 15.
5. M Muller, p 86.
6. Knight 1930, p 363.
7. Kern 2000, nr. 336 and James, p 24.
8. The Aeneid, song 5, lines 9-30.
9. Kristensen 1925, p 212.
10. de Wilman-Grabowska, p 100.
11. Kern 2000, p 106 and p 146.
12. Kern 2000, p 67.
13. Lundén 1996, p 38.
14. Kern 2000, p 67.
15. Olsen 1991, p 53.

Chapter 50

1. Kristensen 1925, p 188.
2. Ernst Krause (1839-1903), German naturalist, also known by the pseudonym Carus Sterne. Through a series of works, he contributed to the spread of the Darwinian theory of evolution. He also wrote a book on the ancestral home of the Aryan tribes and gods (Tuisko-land 1891) and two books on labyrinths (Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas 1893 and Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage 1893).
3. Krause 1893a, p IX.
4. Kristensen’s book was published in 1925, but Almgren refers to it as early as 1923. A possible explanation for this is that the chapters in Kristensen’s book were a series of Olaus Petri lectures held in Uppsala. Perhaps Almgren listened to them, which led to their contact. Another possible explanation is that Almgren read one of Kristensen’s earlier essays published in Dutch.
5. Knight 1930.

Chapter 51

1. Creuzer, § 33, p 112-150.
2. Frithjof Hallman (1913-2000) was born in Berlin and spent his childhood and youth in Estonia and the USA. He then studied at the University of Berlin. After the end of the war, he emigrated with his family to Sweden. He spoke six languages fluently and was very well read, particularly interested in antiquity. He published several books on various subjects and numerous articles. A list of all his works can be found in Hallman 1994.

I knew Hallman because we were caught up in the mystery of the labyrinths at the same time and we were both trying to collect material that could shed new light on the history of the enigmatic figures. We met a few times and kept in touch but had difficulty reaching each other because we came to such different conclusions. I thought he was too bound by the conclusions of previous researchers, while he probably found my conclusions too narrow and cautious.

Chapter 52

1. Magnus Olsen, 1909, p 19.
2. Sahlgren 1928, p 1.
3. Ström 1954, p 7.
4. Schneider, p 322. and p 342.
5. Dronke, p 250.
6. Bæksted, p 133.
7. Näsström, p 161.
8. Krause 1893a, p 121 and p 157.

Chapter 53.

1. Dybeck 1874, p 5.
2. Tacitus, chapter 40. My slightly modernised version of N E Hammarstedt's translation 1921.

Appendix 1

1. Rannsakingar efter antikviteter I:I, p 141. The original text has been slightly modernised by me. The same legend is reproduced by Richard Dybeck 1843, p 5, who had it told in 1823 by Wilhelm Törnblom, born in Badelunda parish. According to Dybeck, the tale was widely known in the parish. Arvid August Afzelius has reproduced approximately the same story. Herman Hofberg also reproduced it in 1882.
2. Stenberger, p 94.
3. Lars Gahrn, Love drama moved to Badelunda-hög. Vestmanlands Läns Tidning 4.7. 1992.
4. af Klintberg 1998 and 2018, p 131.

Appendix 2

1. Saward 1998, p 58.
2. Jónson.
3. Saward 1998, p 58.
4. Schuster/Carpenter 1988, p 346 and Saward 1998, p 60 and e-mail to me from Lilja Árnadóttir at the National Museum of Iceland 14.1. 2020.
5. AM 732 b, 40, fol. 7r and Kern 2000, fig 580.
6. AM 736 III, 4to and Kern 2000, fig 581.
7. From AM 736 III, 4to, pp. 196. Guðmundur Ólafsson has kindly translated these Icelandic texts into Swedish for me.
8. *Kirialax saga*, p 10. Translation by Guðmundur Ólafsson.
9. Stjórn p 84-85.
10. Stjórn, p 84. Translation by Guðmundur Ólafsson.
11. AM 673a 4o III, fol. 18v and Kern 2000, fig 185.
12. Evans.
13. The Royal Library, Copenhagen, MS Ny Kgl. Sml. 1093, fols. 26v-27r.
14. Kålund 1877, p 495 and Kålund 1882, p 86.
15. Kern 2000, p 278 and Thordrup 2002, p 106.

Appendix 3

1. Saward 1984, p 4.
2. Saward 1984, p 8.
3. Saward 1982b, p 12.
4. Saward 2010, p 52.
5. Saward 2006a, p 6.
6. Saward 1986a, p 17.
7. Saward 1986b, p 20, Saward 1997, p 3 and Saward 2006, p 7.
8. Trollope, p 233 and Saward 1982c, p 17.
9. Matthews, p 201.
10. Venables, p 96.
11. Gomme, p 310.

12. Trollope, p 233 The statement that children in Scotland used to draw the Walls of Troy on their chalkboards or in the sand on seashores is an addition to Trollope's article, which, according to information given to me by Jeff Saward, was written by the editor of the *Archaeological Journal*, Albert Way. As stated in the text, Way got this information from Joseph Robertson, who, according to Saward, in 1839 founded the Spalding Club, an antiquarian society in Aberdeen.
13. Nance, p 264.
14. Saward, 1986b, p 19.
15. Saward 1990, p 43 and Saward 2018, p 38-53.
16. Saward 2003, p 128.
17. Kern 2000, p 173.
18. Kern 2000, p 174.
19. Saward 2003, p 129.
20. Kennedy 2017, p 43.
21. Mounsey.
22. Email from Jeff Saward to me in November 2019.
23. Mounsey: "The figure is, I think, known to most school-boys (at least it is so in Cumberland), although the practice of cutting it on the turf may not be so common."
24. Matthews, p 86. Jeff Saward has pointed out to me that Matthews' data are essentially based on a paper by R S Ferguson in 1884.
25. Roberts.
26. Saward 2020, p 4 and Mullard 2021, p 38.
27. Matthews, p 211.
28. Courtney, p 45.
29. Kern 2000, nrs. 257 and 279 and Saward 2009, p 54.

Appendix 4

1. Kraft 1982b, p 12.
2. Boberg, p 35.
3. EU 6847, 1934.
4. Kraft 1981, p 11.
5. Grönblad, p 3.
6. Report by J. Kraft 3.9. 1978, ATA.
7. Sörgård, p 18.
8. Sörgård, p 45.
9. Sörgård, p 47.
10. Sörgård, p 26.

Appendix 5

1. These traditional motifs and their ramifications have been discussed by Christer Westerdahl 2003, p 110.
2. W Sjöberg, p 57.
3. H R A Sjöberg, p 124.
4. Svenska litteratursällskapets arkiv, 1970:43 SLS 999.
5. IF 1984/011:020.
6. Kraft 1982a, p 96.
7. Boberg, p 38.
8. Westerdahl 2016, p 162.
9. Raä 140:1, Piteå and Westerdahl 2016, p 159.
10. Norrbottens-Kuriren 28.7. 1953.
11. Fagerlund, p 292.
12. Mizin 2019, p 26.
13. Report by Emil Elenius 13.11. 1919, Museiverket, Helsinki. Jørgen Thordrup gave me access to a Danish translation of Elenius' report.
14. Rahi-Viik, p 317.
15. Norman 1980, p 92 and Raä nr 886, Västrums sn.
16. Raä nr 69, Misterhults sn.
17. Djurklou, p 202.

18. Erland Hofsten, Värmlands historia och Beskrifning, Celsiska samlingen 97, Manuskript S99, Uppsala University Library.
19. Article by Helge Lander in Värmlands Folkblad 6.11.1986.
20. Westerdahl 2016, p 52.
21. Nordström 1877, p 228.
22. Letter to me in 1980 from Gunnar Fritzell whose grandmother was born on Väderön.
23. Alin, p 52.
24. Saward 2018, p 42.

Appendix 6

1. Linnaeus 1745, p 130.
2. Hofberg, Herman, 1876. Hallands Fornlemningar och Minnesmärken, Höks och Tönnersjö härader. Manuscript, ATA.
3. Båtnytt nr 9, 1982.
4. Kraft 1981, p 11 and report by Kraft 10.9. 1979, ATA.
5. Sørensen, p 5 and Mo.
6. Cederhvarf, p 11.
7. Europaeus, p 200.
8. Probably Vasabladet sometime in 1976.
9. Mizin 2018, p 30.

Appendix 7

1. Raä nr 434, Badelunda sn.
2. Dybeck 1874, p 5.
3. Stenberger, p 43.
4. Raä nr 24, Låssa sn.
5. Damell.
6. Bratt & Andersson, p 17.
7. Arenius, p 68.
8. Hagberg & Lundborg, p 107.
9. Ambrosiani, p 34.
10. Raä nr 715, Tanums sn.
11. Kraft 1983b, p 175.
12. Raä nr 95, Gothenburg.
13. Kraft 1983b, p 163 and p 177.
14. Raä nr 95, Gothenburg.
15. Andersson & Kraft 1983, p 66.
16. Raä nr 20, Vallda sn.
17. Raä nr 13, Horns sn.
18. Sahlström & Gejvall and Kraft 1979, p 14 and IFGH 4298, 1909.
19. Raä nr 1, Vänga sn.
20. Kraft 1979, p 8.
21. Svenska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift, 3rd volume, 1875-77, p 229.
22. Raä nr 9 and 10, Vittaryds sn.
23. Alin, p 53.
24. Boström, p 9.
25. Norman 1993, p 166 and 176.
26. Raä nr 25, Visby.
27. Kraft 1983a, p 70.
28. Raä nr 16, Sundre sn.
29. Kraft 1983a, p 87.
30. Kraft 1983a, p 85.
31. Raä nr 24, Garde sn.
32. Kraft 1983a, p 85.
33. Almgren 1904, p 55.
34. Kraft 1983a, p 83.
35. Raä nr 72, Hortlax sn.

36. R. Sjöberg 1996, p 17.
37. Broadbent 1989, p 100.
38. Raä nr 92, Släps sn.
39. Raä nr 219, Styrösö sn.
40. Göteborgsinventeringen nrs. 207-209 and 210.
41. Raä nr 8, Ålems sn and a report with map by Erik Bellander 3.11. 1932, ATA.
42. Raä nr 29, Nicolai sn.
43. Raä nr 31, Nicolai sn.
44. Raä nr 30, Nicolai sn.
45. Raä nr. 30, Nicolai sn.
46. Raä nr. 6, Ornunga sn.
47. EU 24619, 1943 and VVF 2260, 1944.
48. Unsigned article in Elfsborgs Läns Tidning 11.6. 1930.
49. IFGH 5886, p 38, 1956 and Karl Eriksson, p 9.
50. Raä nr 24, Fridlevstads sn.
51. Wirde, p 158.
52. Stjernström 1989, p 110.
53. Broadbent 1989, p 99.

Appendix 8

1. Kraft 1985, p 7 and 2015, p 109.
2. Kraft 2017, p 13.
3. Kraft 1980, p 78.
4. According to Andersson 1972, p 8: Trøiaborgh 1421, Trøghiaborgh 1447, Throïaborgh 1457, Trøyaborgh 1461 and Trøyaborgh 1502.
5. Sahlgren 1942, p 169.
6. Andersson 1972, p 8 and Kraft 1980, p 78.
7. Alin, p 50.
8. Boström, p 9.
9. Kraft 1979, p 8.
10. Raä nr 30, Nicolai sn.
11. Indebetou, p 2.
12. Meding-Pedersen, p 9.
13. Based on my interview with Eric Ericsson in 1987 and on the memorandum of 15 December 1986 by Estrid Esbjörnson at Örebro läns museum.

Appendix 9

1. this appendix is based on my two articles: Kraft 1978 and Kraft 1984c and the works referred to therein. These papers are in turn based on more comprehensive reports written by me, which can be searched under Fridlevstad parish, ATA.

Appendix 10

1. Andersson 1972, p 8.
2. Nordén 1943, p 181.
3. Fasta fornlämningar, antecknade av K E Sahlström 1921, Horns socken, Vadsbo härad. ATA.
4. Report by J Kraft 9.7. 1978, ATA.
5. Boström, p 9.
6. Ahnlund, p 47.
7. Nordström 1877, p 3.
8. Engström, p 43.
9. Hofberg 1912, p 113.
10. Palmblad, W. Opublicerade anteckningar från Möklinta 5.6. 1930, Landsmålsarkivet i Uppsala (som tillhör ISOF), nr. 2795:5, p 23.
11. Sveriges kyrkor, Gotland, volume 3, p 346.
12. Thordrup 2002, p 43. In a letter to me 30.4. 2002, Thordrup has repeated this tradition, which he received from Bror Jansson at Halmstad.

Appendix 11

1. This appendix is mainly based on Jörgen Thordrup's account in the articles "Fra Tranedans til Hækkeløb" (1976), "Labyrinter i nordiske kirker" (1995) and the book *Alle Tiders Labyrinter* (2002) with addition of elements from my articles "Gotlands trojeborgar" (1983) and "Labyrinths in Nordic Churches" 1991.
2. Rancken, p 27.

Appendix 12

1. Kuratov, p 67 and 69.
2. Aspelin 1877a, p 159.
3. Finlands svenska folkdiktning VIII, Lekar och spel, p 970.
4. Cederhvarf, p 16.
5. Report by Emil Elenius 13.11. 1919, Museiverket, Helsinki. Jörgen Thordrup gave me access to a Danish translation of Elenius' report.
6. Bäcksbacka, p 69.
7. The carvings were reported in 1968. Bo Stjernström has exposed and described them. Westerdahl mentions two labyrinth carvings (2016, p 192), which is probably a mistake.
8. Nationalmuseet, SKM 4074:10 and Wennervirta, p 199.
9. von Baer, columns 70 and 78.
10. Kraft & Selirand, p 34.
11. Kraft & Selirand, p 33.
12. The manuscript *Liber cantus* is kept in the Landsarkivet, Härnösand.
13. Grundberg & Sjöberg, p 86.
14. Riksarkivet, Västergötland 1624, 12:2.
15. Erland Hofsten, Värmlands historia och Beskrifning, Celsiska samlingen 97, Manuskript S99, Uppsala University Library.
16. Havercamp, p 293, XXXVII and Table XLV.
17. Kern 2000, p 200.
18. Kraft 1997.
19. Gynther, Sven Wilhelm, Blekings fornminnen. Manuscripts from the early 19th century, Fm 48, Royal Library, Stockholm.
20. EU 4534, 1932.
21. EU 6847, 1934.
22. EU 5433, 1933.
23. EU 5033, 1933.
24. EU 24637, 1943.
25. EU 25711, 1944 and EU 24817, 1943.
26. EU 31468, 1946.
27. EU 1311, 1930.
28. R 623:1, p 74. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library.
29. Kraft 1983a, p 63.
30. Lampa, p 34.
31. Ljungström, p 82.
32. Svenska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift 1875-1877, p 229.
33. EU 16031, 1940.
34. EU 5176, 1933.
35. EU 5193, 1933.
36. Vester-Rekarne härads fornlemningar beskrifna af Olof Hermelin. Manuscript, probably from 1866, D 23, p 483-484, ATA.
37. EU 24793, 1943.
38. EU 24633, 1943.
39. EU 25393, 1943.
40. EU 17229, 1941.
41. EU 24589, 1943.
42. Brusewitz, p 9.

43. Kraft 1979, p 23.
44. Borås Museum, Pl 3678.
45. Nordiska museet, nr 86 309.
46. Hedberg, p 14.
47. Gotlands fornsal, nr C 1909.
48. Nordiska museet, nr 104 918.
49. Söderby-Karls fornminnes- och hembygdsförenings museum (Erikskulle), nr. 402 (Karman-Ohlberger, p 25).
50. In 1979 the Museum of Dalarna wrote in its publication Dagsverket about a chest with a painted labyrinth in the lid, from Övre Gärdsjö, Rättvik parish, and asked readers to contact them with information about other chests. At the same time, the museum reported on a similar chest discovered in an old photo album from Svärdsjö parish (Dagsverket nr. 2, 1979, p 15).
The search paid off. The next year, the museum was able to report on two more labyrinth chests: one in Rönndalen in Enviken parish and another in Dala-Järna parish that had been bought at an auction in Falun (Dagsverket nr. 1, 1980, p 13). The chest lid in Dala-Järna had been reused as a door on a cabinet. The chest from Rönndalen was dated 1717.
In 2016 Christer Westerdahl published information about two chests at Övre Gärdsjö, Rättvik parish (Westerdahl 2016b, p 82). Both are owned by the photographer Inge Nilsson. They are dated 1727 and 1730. The latter was identical to the chest that the museum wrote about in 1979. But Nilsson also had another, previously unknown chest with the date 1727. Both of Nilsson's chests are from Börtasgården at Övre Gärdsjö, Rättvik parish.
Since I contacted Inge Nilsson in 2019, he has found another labyrinth chest, from Björkboda in Enviken parish. It is in the Dalarna Museum and has the date 1736.
Two of the chests were found on the same farm, Börtasgården at Övre Gärdsjö, Rättvik parish. Two other chests have been found in different farms in the parish of Enviken. One can therefore suspect that the chests were made and painted at Övre Gärdsjö or somewhere in Enviken parish. The distance between these places is only about 30 kilometres.
51. Cinthio, p 316.
52. Kraft 1983b, p 184.
53. Raä nr 7, Arboga sn.
54. Thordrup 2002, p 79.
55. Thordrup 2002, p 136.
56. Knudsen, p 204.
57. Frederik Knudsen's samling, nr. 5847, Dansk folkminnesamling, Royal Library, Copenhagen.
58. Marstrand & Moe.
59. Munch-Petersen.
60. Schetelig, p 15 and fig. 34.
61. Nr 5970.
62. Letter to me from Lars Asle Vold 25.3. 1979.
63. Bord, p 153.
64. Weiser-Aall, p 126 and 140.
65. Østmoe Kostveit, p 94.
66. Sørgård, p 19.
67. Kraft 1986, p. 32 and Jákupsson, p 17. Also letters from Jákupsson to Jörgen Thordrup 20.10. 1977 and to me 28.8. 1981.
68. Schuster/Carpenter 1988, p 346, Saward 1998, p 60 and Jónson.
69. Kern 2000, p 277.
70. Kålund 1882, p 86 and Fra AM 736 III, 4to, Små stykker 1-16, 1884-1891, p 198.
71. von Baer, p 79.

72. "Die Mauern von Stadt Jericho". Meyer was given the information by a "Herr Grünbaum" (Meyer, p 277). It is unknown where Grünbaum experienced this drawing lesson, but it can be suspected that it took place in southern Germany where Meyer worked. Meyer was born in Speyer in 1845, graduated from Würzburg in 1863 and worked in Munich until 1886.

Appendix 13

1. The account here is mainly based on my 1982 article "Labyrinter i magins tjänst."
2. Letter to me from Johan A. Udde in 1976.
3. Örnköldsviks-Posten, 19.1. 1945.
4. Svenska Dagbladet, 20.2. 1973.
5. Västernorrlands Allehanda, 30.8. 1974.
6. Mey.
7. information to me from Urmas Selirand.
8. Matz, p 179.
9. Kraft 1981, p 13 and report by Kraft 10.9. 1979, ATA.
10. Westin, p 78.
11. Wikström, p 27.
12. Interview with Björn Ola Lind in the newspaper Norra Västerbotten, 31.10. 1997 with corrections and additions from Lind to me, via e-mail, 9.9. 2019.
13. Janhem, p 216.
14. Dagens Nyheter, 20.2. 1977.
15. Malm, p 117.
16. Stjernström 1981, p 139.
17. Slotte, p 21.
18. Svenska litteratursällskapets arkiv, SLS 998.
19. Kraft 1981, p 9.
20. Westerdahl 2016, p 52.
21. Knudsen, p 205.
22. Olofsson, p 147.
23. Kjell Lundholm in Norrbottens-Kuriren 22.6. 1978.
24. Kraft 1986b, p 15.
25. Reports by J. Kraft 9.9. 1982 and 11.11. 1982, ATA.
26. Kraft 1982b, p 24.
27. Wiklund, p 27.
28. EU 5436, 1933.
29. EU 25597, 1943.
30. Kraft 1979, p 9 and report by Kraft 9.7. 1978, ATA.
31. EU 5195, 1933.
32. Kraft 1978, p 129.
33. Kraft 1984c, p 75.
34. Kraft 2003, p 57.
35. Bøhn, p 24.
36. Munch-Petersen.
37. Sörgård, p 65.
38. Vuorela.
39. Nationalmuseets etnologiska samlingar 959:20 and 959:22.
40. Risla, p 14.
41. Herrgård, p 60.
42. Castrén 1894, p 255 and 236.
43. Bäcksbacka, p 65.
44. Labyrinten – ett gåtfullt minne, Vestmanlands Läns Tidning 8.4. 1933.

Appendix 14

1. The encyclopaedia word *Trinneborgs slott* in Svenskt konversationslexikon, 1850, 4th part, p 99.
2. IFGH 5738, 1951, p 6.
3. Report by J. Kraft 9.7. 1978, ATA.

4. Bergman, p 46.
5. Report to Riksantikvarien dnr 4472, 1.12. 1930, ATA.
6. Norrbottens-Kuriren 28.7. 1953.
7. Fett, p 15.
8. Sunnmørsposten, 17.7. 1985.
9. Niemi 1986, p 55 and Sörgård, p 27.
10. Sörgård, p 47.
11. Bøhn, p 24.
12. Pastor, p 47 and 51. "It has been said that the purpose of the said stones is to give testimony and intercession for persons who had undertaken to go to Jerusalem for penance, but were prevented from doing so, or for those who were accused, but for whom no sufficient proof was found. These persons had to crawl through all the aberrations to the centre with constant prayer, and then back without getting lost or touching the stones."

Appendix 15

1. Karling, p 78.
2. Article by Hjalmar Eneroth in Svenska Dagbladet, 12.6. 1921.
- 3 Wallin, p 45.
4. Hubernius.
5. Danmarks Riges Breve, p 38.
6. Lunds Domkapitels Gaveböcker, p 176.
7. Andersson 1972, p 3.
8. The first five examples are from Andersson 1972, p 8. The other five are from Nordén 1943, p 181.
9. Sahlgren 1942, p 169.
10. Andersson 1972, p 8.
11. IFGH 4231, 1939.
12. Report by Oscar Montelius 1872, Skärvs sn, ATA.
13. Berthelson, p 48.
14. Kraft 1979, p 30.
15. Ortnamnen i Skaraborgs län XII, p 36.
16. Schück, p 170.
17. Palmskiöld lived 1667-1719 and his extensive collection is now in Uppsala University Library.
18. Strinnholm, p 202.
19. Heidenstam, p 110.
20. Map by Johan Larsson Groth 1638-1639, LMS, D7:1.
21. Nordén 1943, p 182.
22. Rannsakningar efter antikviteter II:I, p 291.
23. Lorin, 2006, p 41.
24. Boström, p 9.
25. Rannsakningar efter antikviteter I:I, p 55.
26. Manuscript Ff 10, a collection of short notes by Johan Hadorph, Royal Library, Stockholm.
27. Ahnlund, p 47.
28. Rudbeck writes nothing about labyrinths in the *Atlantica*. But there is a drawing of a labyrinth-like stone figure that is not mentioned in the text. See Appendix 26, note 1.
29. Rudbeck, Part II, p 432.
30. Rudbeck, Part I, Chapter XXXVI, p 508.
31. Rudbeck, Part I, Chapter XXXVI, p 505.
32. Kraft 1978, p 135 and Gynther, Sven Wilhelm, Blekinges fornminnen. Manuscript from the beginning of the 19th century, Fm 48, Royal Library, Stockholm.
33. LMS, G 16, Nr 31.
34. Nordén 1943, p 181.
35. Västmanland fornminnesförenings tidskrift 56, 1978, p 66.
36. Vester-Rekarne härads fornlemningar beskrifna af Olof Hermelin. Manuscript, probably from 1866, D 23, p 483, ATA.

37. In the minutes of the board of Domänstyrelsen 28.1.1960, the labyrinth in Kungsör is called *Drottning Kristinas ridstig* 'Queen Kristinas riding path'.
38. in a letter to Riksantikvarien 14.4. 1922, it is called *Jerusalemens väg* 'the Jerusalem Road', ATA.
39. Erland Hofsten, *Värmlands historia och Beskrifning*, Manuskrift S99 i Celsiska samlingen 97, Uppsala University Library.
40. Lohman is best known for his book *Arboga kännning 1737*.
41. Manuscript S154, p 179, Uppsala University Library.
42. Ryding.
43. LMS, G. 131.
44. Map by Johan Fineman 1740-1744, LMS.
45. Kraft 1983a, p 70.
46. Map by And. Säman 1764, LMS.
47. Wiklund, p 27.
48. Linnaeus 1745, p 130.
49. Linnaeus 1751, p 130.
50. Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län, II, p 192.
51. Meding-Pedersen.
52. Kraft 1986c.
53. Djurklou, p 202.
54. Vester-Rekarne härads fornlemningar beskrifna af Olof Hermelin. Manuscript, probably from 1866, D 23, p 483, ATA.
55. Hedberg, p 14.
56. Baudou, p 66.
57. Hildebrand, p 178.
58. Brusewitz, p 10.
59. Nordström, p 225.
60. Almgren 1901, p 8.
61. Almgren 1904, p 54.
62. Sörgård, p 15.
63. Sörgård, p 53.
64. Sörgård, p 17.
65. Strøm, p 261.
66. Kjaer, p 215.
67. Westerdahl 2016b, p 193.
68. Nicolaysen, p 130.
69. Sørensen, p 5.
70. Norske gaardnavne I, p 148.
71. Kraft 1984b, p 19.
72. Knudsen, p 205.
73. Knudsen, p 207 and Ursin, p 6.
74. I refrain from listing them all here, as lists have already been published by Knudsen, p 205 and Kraft 1984b, p 17.
75. Knudsen, p 202.

Appendix 16

1. Stjernström 1992, p 62 and report by J Kraft 28.7. 1979, ATA.
2. EU 24793, 1943.
3. Report by J. Kraft 18.7. 1979, ATA.
4. Nordström 1877, p 228.
5. Göteborgsinventeringen nr 32, Ölmevalla sn.
6. Raä nr 69, Onsala sn.
7. Hofberg, Herman, 1876. *Hallands Fornlemningar och Minnesmärken, Höks och Tönnersjö härader*. Manuscript, ATA.
8. Bexell, p 394.
9. Kraft 1985, p 175.
10. Kraft 1978, p 124 and Kraft 1984, p 75.
11. Dnr 2365, 15.9. 1924, ATA.
12. Raä nr 36, Töre sn.
13. Cinthio, p 316.

14. Knudsen, p 195.
15. Knudsen, p 196.
16. Knudsen, p 210.
17. Knudsen, p 210.
18. Knudsen, p 210.
19. D. Harbe 1943, Skagershult, Närke, p 16. Landsmålsarkivet i Uppsala (som tillhör ISOF), nr 16200.
20. Kraft 1986c, p 11.

Appendix 17

1. Rannsakingar efter antikviteter II:I, p 291.
2. Kraft 1978, p 124 and Kraft 1984, p 75.
3. EU 24589, 1943.
4. Knudsen, p 204.
5. Knudsen, nr 9 and 19, p 192, Nikolajsen, p 21 and Danmarks stednavn, 14, Odense Amt, 1969, p 141.
6. Kraft 1978, p 135.
7. Kraft 1983b, p 180.
8. Lindälv, p 289.
9. Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län, III, p 221 and Göteborgsinventeringen nr 46-49, Styrö sn.
10. IFGH 5738, 1951, p 5 and 6.
11. Danbratt-Odenvik, p 22.
12. Göteborgsinventeringen nr 11, Tanums sn.
13. Svenskt konversationslexikon 1850, part 4, p 99.
14. Göteborgsinventeringen nr 498, Tanums sn and Hallström 1923, nr. 60.
15. Göteborgsinventeringen nr 616, Tanums sn and Hallström 1923, nr 240.
16. Göteborgsinventeringen nr. 110, Torsby sn.
17. Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län, IV, p 158.
18. IFGH 4298, 1939, EU 13886, 1939 and Kraft 1979, p 14.
19. EU 25597, 1943.
20. Ortnamnen i Skaraborgs län XII, p 36.
21. EU 24619, 1943, IFGH 2175, 1930, p. 27, IFGH 5886, 1956, p. 10 and Kraft 1979, p 6.
22. Raä nr 24:1, Södra Ny sn.
23. Aspelin 1877a, p. 157. The information comes from the well-known folklorist Carl Axel Gottlund (1796-1875).
24. Reseberättelse av Jean Berglund sommaren 1908 i skärgården kring Piteå, ATA.
25. Raä nr 4, Norrfjärdens sn.
26. Åkerblom, p 12.
27. Dnr 2367b, 15.9. 1924, ATA.
28. Raä nr 36, Töre sn.
29. Dnr 2365, 15.9. 1924, ATA.
30. Kraft 1986, p 58.
31. Knudsen, p 200.
32. Ortnamnsregistret, OAU (som tillhör ISOF).
33. Håkansson, p 14.
34. Täir & Erixån, p 180 and Antila, p 120.
35. Feilberg, p 845 and Frederik Knudsen's collection in Dansk folkminnesamling, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen.
36. Knudsen, p 210.
37. Kraft 1986a, p 52.

Appendix 18

1. EU 50396, 1922 and Westerdahl 2016b, p 149.
2. EU 12264, 1934.
3. Information provided to me 1992 by Åke Sandström in Umeå.
4. Landsmålsarkivet i Uppsala (som tillhör ISOF), nr. 1365:26.
5. EU 6847, 1934.
6. Ohlson, 1941.

7. Aspelin 1877a, p 157.
8. Cederhvarf, p 11.
9. Report to Riksantikvarien 28.11. 1930, ATA.
10. Engström, p 43.
11. EU 24716, 1943.
12. A Hamrin, p 21.

Appendix 19

1. Aspelin 1877a, p 156 and Cederhvarf, p 11 and 16.
- 2.. Killinen, p 191.
3. IF 1984/011:001, IF 1984/011:016 and IF 1984/011:017.
4. IF 1984/011:044.
5. IF 1984/011:045.
6. IF 1984/011:034 and IF 1984/011:035.
7. IF 1984/011:032 and IF 1984/011:039.
8. IF 1984/011:028 and IF 1984/011:030.
9. IF 1984/011:002.
10. IF 1984/011:010.
11. IF 1984/011:011.
12. IF 1984/011:041.
13. Brenner, p 38.
14. Killinen, p 190 and 192.
15. Aspelin 1877a, p 157.
16. Eskil Olsson: Reseberättelse öfver undersökningar i Ångermanland sommaren 1909, p 124, ATA.
17. ULMA (som tillhör ISO), nr 1365:26.
18. IFGH 1139, 1927, p 23-25.
19. EU 5193, 1933.
20. Report by J Kraft 11.8. 1978, ATA.
21. Freudenthal, p 67.
22. Unsigned article in Hufvudstadsbladet 21.5. 1899, probably written by Emil Nervander.

Appendix 20

1. Reseberättelse av Jean Berglund sommaren 1908 i skärgården kring Piteå, ATA.
2. Dnr 1249/31, ATA.
3. Skellefteå Museum, tape archive cassette nr 72.
4. Boberg, p 35.
5. Dnr 5763, 19 December 1951, ATA.
6. Mizin 2015, p 27 and Spitsyn 1904, p 108.
7. Mizin 2015, p 34 and Durylin 1914, p 9.
8. von Baer, column 72.
9. Hallström, p 14.
10. Durylin 1914 and Mizin 2016, note 10.
11. Mizin 2016, note 3.
12. Krause 1893a, p 25 and 103 and 1893b, p 43.
13. von Baer, p 79.
14. Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län, part I, p. 80.
15. Freudenthal, p 67.
16. Aspelin 1877a, p 157 and 161.
17. Allardt, p 25.
18. Hufvudstadsbladet, 22.6. 1992.
19. Mizin 2019, p 24 and 33.
20. Killinen, p 190.
21. Hufvudstadsbladet 21.5. 1899.
22. Ringbom, p 74.
23. Mey 1931, Rahi-Viik, p 316 and Kraft & Selirand, p 34.
24. Mey, 1931, I have not managed to get hold of Mey's article. Therefore, this summary is based on a translation from Estonian to English published by V. Mizin in 2019, p 33.
25. EU 4534, 1932.

26. EU 24637, 1943.
27. Rahi & Viik, p 316.
28. Raä nr 272, Konungssunds sn.
29. The map called *Stavsjö 1877*.
30. Nordén 1943, p 182.
31. EU 5033, 1933.
32. Aspelin 1877a, p 157.
33. Aspelin 1877a, p 157.
34. Mizin 2019, p 26 and more detailed information from Mizin to me 9.6. 2019.
35. Report by Emil Elenius 13.11. 1919, Museiverket, Helsinki. Jørgen Thordrup provided me with a Danish translation of the report.
36. Uino, p 338.
37. Vedin, p 66.
38. EU 24817, 1943.
39. Jan Smedh has given me this information which he found in a historical account (in an archive) where a small book by Stig Sandelin, *Öregrund vid sekelskiftet*, is referred to. The information about the labyrinth seems to be taken from an interview in 1940 with a then 81-year-old woman.

Appendix 21

1. Malm, p 117.
2. Report by J. Kraft 3.9.1978, ATA.
3. Raä nr 9, Utö sn.
4. Stjernström 1981, p 136.
5. EU 5193, 1933.
6. EU 31468, 1946.
7. Information provided to me by Åke Sandström at Umeå in 1992.
8. EU 6847, 1934.
9. Letter from Lars Berglund to me 7.8. 1979.
10. IF 1984/011:002.
11. IF 1984/011:041
12. Urke.
13. Aspelin 1877b, p 440.
14. In a letter to Riksantikvarien 1940, N.G. Gillgren stated that a labyrinth at Pellikkä in Övre Vojakkala, Nedertorneå parish, was called *Jatulintarha* by the locals (30.3. 1940, ATA). The 1947 inventory stated that it was called *Jatulintarha* 'giant enclosure' (Raä nr. 13, Nedertorneå sn).
15. EU 12264, 1934.
16. Sörgård, p 18.
17. Aspelin 1877a, p 158 and Cederhvarf, p 16.
18. Risla, p 10.
19. Bäcksbacka, p 64.
20. Killinen, p 189.
21. Cederhvarf, p 16.
22. Vestmanlands Läns Tidning 8.4. 1933.
23. Aspelin 1877b, p 440.
24. Killinen, p 189.
25. Tallgren 1918, p 101.
26. Dybeck, Runa II, p 18.
27. 1979 letter to me from Erling Matz at Statens sjöhistoriska museum, Stockholm.
28. Stjernström 1991, p 16.
29. Jansson, p 283.
30. Svärdröm, p 94.
31. Jansson, p 283 and Kern 2000, p 278.

Appendix 22

1. Rosenberg.

Appendix 23

1. P.A. Säve, R 623:1, p 74. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library.
2. P.A. Säve, 1961.
3. P.A. Säve, R 623:1, p 74. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library.
4. P.A. Säve, R 623:1, p 74. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library.
5. P.A. Säve, R 623:3, p 223. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library.
6. P.A. Säve, R 623:3, p 223. Manuscript, Uppsala University Library.
7. Birgit Hamrin in Vestmanlands Läns Tidning, 8.4. 1933.
8. EU, 24694, 1943.
9. IFGH 849, 1926.
10. Bergman 1914, p 44.
11. Koppmann, p 9.
12. Wätzgoldt, p 78.
13. Krause 1893a, p 3.

Appendix 24

1. Dybeck 1870, p 39.
2. Arwidsson, p 335
3. Knudsen, p 200.
4. Knudsen, p 209.

Appendix 25

1. Astroth, p 69.
- 2, Saward 2021, p 71
3. The clay tablets from Mesopotamia have been discussed by, among others, E.F. Weidner (1917), E. Hommel (1919), H. Holma (1919) and F.M. Th. Böhl (1935).
4. Richard Myers Shelton has extensively discussed these labyrinth images in a couple of articles. He provides references to a number of other articles and a catalogue of the clay tablets depicting animal intestines (Shelton 2013, p 7-29 and Shelton 2020, p 49-61).

Appendix 26

1. Rudbeck's illustrations were drawn by two artists: Petrus Törnwall and Samuel Otto. I have been able to show that this picture was not made by Törnwall, hence the artist should be Samuel Otto, who came from northern Norrland. I suspect that early in life he encountered a stone labyrinth on the northern coast of the Baltic and drew it. Why it later ended up in the *Atlantica* is shrouded in mystery (Kraft 2017, p 11).

Appendix 27

1. Layard 1936 and 1937 and Jensen 1939.
2. Hunke p 257.
3. Frithjof Hallman wrote 26 articles on labyrinths in Swedish newspapers in the years 1975-78, as well as 12 articles in German journals. All this is extensively reported in his book *Das Rätsel der Labyrinth*, p 184.
4. Aspelin 1877a, p 158.

Literature

In the references, the following abbreviations have been used:

AM: Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, Copenhagen.

RAÄ: The Inventories for the Economic Map, the Swedish National Heritage Board.

ATA: The Antiquarian Topographical Archive, the Swedish National Heritage Board.

EU: The Ethnological Survey, the Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

GAM: The Archaeological Museum at Gothenburg.

IF: The Department of Folklore, Åbo Akademi.

ISOF: The Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore.

IFGH and VFF: The Archive of Dialects, Placenames and Folklore at Gothenburg, which belongs to ISOF.

LMS: The Archive of the Swedish National Land Survey.

OAU: The Archive of Placenames, Uppsala, which belongs to ISOF.

ULMA: The Archive of Dialects, Uppsala, which belongs to ISOF.

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Ahnlund, Nils, 1924. *Oljoberget och Ladugårdsgärde*. Stockholm.

Alin, Johan, 1925. Labyrinterna på Onsalalandet. *Halländsk bygdekultur*, p 50-53. Uddevalla.

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Aspelin, J R, 1877b. Steinlabyrinthe in Finnland, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Teil 9, 1877, p 439-442.

Astroth, Kirk, 2021. The Minnie's Gap Labyrinth, *Caerdroia* 50, p 69-70.

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