

*Still Lives, Botanical Illustrations, and Garden Design in Seventeenth-Century Sweden: A
Geo-History of Art*

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates how a growing interest in flowers and plants during the seventeenth century was shared and expressed by artists, scientists, horticulturists, patrons, and estate owners. The focus is on cultural production in Sweden and I argue that information on artistic developments as well as knowledge of botanical discoveries between this Scandinavian country and other parts of the world were shared more frequently and more extensively than has been generally suggested. The thesis' premise is that both painters and patrons participated in multidirectional geographic travels, and that artistic exchanges were not dictated by national borders. This dissertation consequently contributes to an increased interest within the field of art history in widespread circulation of artistic forms and knowledge. In addition, topics traditionally considered marginal in art-historical discourse, such as scientific illustrations and garden design, are analyzed with the aim of bringing attention to the interactions between different areas of artistic production. This thesis does not subscribe to symbolic readings of still lifes or interpretive parameters based on a perceived domination by a few national schools of art. Instead, this dissertation brings attention to the exciting prospect of new insights obtained through an openness to alternative analytical approaches. The introduction explores the reasons behind a noticeable surge in cultural production in Sweden during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including the importance of Gothicism and the country's participation in the Thirty Years' War. Chapter one analyzes flower still lifes painted by Johan Johnsen, bringing the knowledge of this artist's production forward for the first time since the mid-twentieth century. The first chapter also situates depictions of

individual plants in a social context, as celebrations of rare or exotic specimens. In a discussion of the botanical research carried out by Olof Rudbeck the Elder and his son Olof the Younger, chapter two brings attention to significant and influential achievements by these professors of medicine that have traditionally received limited attention.

Illustrations for their botanical texts were commissioned from a range of artists; my examination of the career of little-known draughtswoman, engraver, and painter Anna Maria Thelott highlights the working conditions for women artists in Sweden at the turn of the eighteenth century. Thelott's production also illustrates the ease with which artists moved between different forms of artistic expression, which sheds light on common features between floral still lifes and botanical illustrations. Chapter three discusses mapping as a way to raise a country's political status and includes Olof Rudbeck the Younger's documentation of the unique flora and fauna in Sweden's northernmost region, Lapland. Fortification officer Erik Dahlbergh's promotional album, the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, is analyzed with a focus on the depicted gardens, a topic which has been omitted from most discussions of this collection of prints. Chapter four is devoted to André Mollet, an influential garden architect and a representative of the multidirectional travels taken by many artists during the seventeenth century. While Mollet's garden designs elsewhere in Europe have been analyzed, this dissertation examines a little-known period in his career, the five years he spent in Sweden, thereby contributing to the understanding of this artist's oeuvre. In addition, a treatise published in 1659 by Mollet is here reviewed for the first time. Chapter five discusses gardens created in Sweden in the late seventeenth century and the particular topographical and climatic challenges of transposing formal layouts to a Nordic environment. The conclusion provides a few

eyewitness accounts in order to demonstrate the fluidity of artistic activities and confirm the ubiquitous fascination with flowers and plants in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse examine comment l'intérêt croissant pour les fleurs et les plantes au XVII^e siècle a été partagé et exprimé par des artistes, des scientifiques, des horticulteurs, des mécènes, et des propriétaires de domaines. L'emphasis est mise sur la production culturelle en Suède; je soutiens que les informations sur les développements artistiques ainsi que la connaissance des découvertes botaniques entre ce pays scandinave et d'autres parties du monde ont été disséminés plus souvent et plus largement que ce qui a été suggéré traditionnellement. La prémisse de cette thèse est que les peintres et leurs mécènes ont participé à des voyages multidirectionnels, et que ces échanges artistiques n'étaient pas limités par les frontières nationales. Par conséquent, cette thèse contribue à un intérêt accru dans le domaine de l'histoire de l'art pour la circulation des formes et des connaissances artistiques. De plus, des sujets traditionnellement considérés marginaux en histoire de l'art, tels que les illustrations scientifiques et la conception de jardins, sont analysés dans le but d'attirer l'attention sur les interactions entre des domaines de production artistique différents. Cette thèse n'adhère pas aux théories d'interprétation symbolique de natures mortes ou aux paramètres d'interprétation basés sur une domination perçue par quelques écoles d'art nationales. Au contraire, cette thèse suggère la possibilité stimulante d'arriver à de nouvelles réalisations grâce à une ouverture envers des approches analytiques alternatives. L'Introduction explore les raisons d'une augmentation remarquable de la production culturelle en Suède aux XVII^e et au début du XVIII^e siècles, y compris l'importance du Gothicisme et la participation du pays à la Guerre de Trente Ans. Le premier chapitre analyse les natures mortes florales peintes par

Johan Johnsen, faisant progresser la connaissance de l'œuvre de cet artiste pour la première fois depuis le milieu du XXe siècle. Le premier chapitre situe également les images de plantes individuelles dans un contexte sociale, en tant que célébrations de spécimens rares ou exotiques. Dans une discussion sur les recherches botaniques menées par Olof Rudbeck l'Ancien et son fils Olof le Jeune, le deuxième chapitre attire l'attention sur les réalisations considérables et influentes par ces professeurs de médecine, des réalisations qui ont traditionnellement reçues un intérêt limité. Les illustrations destinées à leurs encyclopédies botaniques ont été commandées à un nombre d'artistes; mon analyse de la carrière de la dessinatrice, graveuse, et peintre peu connue, Anna Maria Thelott, met en lumière les conditions de travail des femmes artistes en Suède au tournant du XVIIIe siècle. L'œuvre de Thelott démontre également la facilité avec laquelle les artistes alternaient entre des médias différents, ce qui illustre les traits partagés entre natures mortes florales et illustrations botaniques. Le chapitre trois traite de la cartographie comme un moyen de rehausser le statut politique d'un pays et comprend la documentation par Olof Rudbeck le Jeune de la flore et faune uniques de la région la plus septentrionale de la Suède, la Laponie. L'album promotionnel créé par l'officier de fortification Erik Dahlbergh, le *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, est analysé avec une emphase sur les jardins, un sujet qui a été omis de la plupart des discussions de cette collection de gravures. Le quatrième chapitre est dédié à André Mollet, un architecte de jardins influant et un représentant des voyages multidirectionnels de nombreux artistes au XVIIe siècle. Les conceptions de jardins par Mollet ailleurs en Europe ont été analysées; cette thèse examine une période peu connue de sa carrière, les cinq ans passés en Suède, contribuant ainsi à une compréhension plus globale de l'œuvre de cet artiste. De plus, un traité publiée

par Mollet en 1659 est ici examiné pour la première fois. Le cinquième chapitre consiste d'une discussion des jardins créés en Suède à la fin du XVIIe siècle et les défis rencontrés au niveau de la topographie et du climat en cherchant de transposer des aménagements formels dans un environnement nordique. La conclusion fournit quelques témoignages afin de démontrer la fluidité des activités artistiques et de confirmer la fascination omniprésente pour les fleurs et les plantes au XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècles.

CONTENTS	Page
ABSTRACT / RÉSUMÉ	ii
CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
TERMINOLOGY AND NAMING CONVENTIONS	xx
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xxiv
INTRODUCTION	1
Geography of Art: Sweden, the Baltic Region and Beyond	3
Political Progress and the Gothic Myth	10
Literature Review and Chapter Summaries	30
1 ARTISTS WITH AN EYE FOR FLOWERS	41
1.1 Locally Inspired Motifs and Imported Imagery	48
1.2 A Botanical Approach	60
1.3 The <i>Chinoiserie</i> Cabinet	66
1.4 Flower Paintings as Collectibles	73
1.5 Local Artists and Exotic Flowers	76
1.5.1 Flower Still Lives in Outdoor Settings	76
1.5.2 Sleeping Beauty – the Agave at Noor Castle	82
2 SAME FLOWERS, DIFFERENT APPROACH: RUDBECK'S <i>BOOK OF</i>	

<i>FLOWERS AND THE CAMPI ELYSII</i>	92
2.1 Olof Rudbeck the Elder – Physician with a Passion for Botany	93
2.1.1 The Uppsala Botanical Garden	95
2.1.2 <i>Campi Elysii</i> and the <i>Book of Flowers</i>	107
2.1.3 Botanical Illustrations as a Source of Knowledge	115
2.1.4 Professional Artists or Talented Students	117
2.1.5 Rudbeck Father and Son, Precursors to Linnaeus	135
3 BOTANY AND POLITICS	142
3.1 Herman Grim in the Service of the Dutch East India Company	143
3.2 Art and Botany in the Service of Political Ambition	151
3.2.1 Lapland - Mapping to the End	157
3.2.2 The <i>Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna</i> and its Gardens	167
4 THE GEOGRAPHY OF GARDEN ART	186
4.1 Garden Literature	188
4.1.1 <i>Oeconomias</i> or <i>Hausväter Literature</i>	189
4.1.2 Garden Manuals	203
4.2 Garden Designer André Mollet	206
4.2.1 André Mollet's Five Years in Sweden	206
4.2.2 Mollet's First Book	220
4.2.3 French or European?	230
4.2.4 Mollet's Second Book	234

5	GARDEN DESIGN IN SWEDEN AFTER MOLLET	244
5.1	Sweden Cold and Dark	245
5.2	Topography	251
5.3	Up-keep	254
5.4	Infrastructure and City Growth	255
5.5	Case Study: Venngarn Castle	257
5.6	Swedish Formal Gardens in the Late Seventeenth Century	262
5.6.1	Horticultural Knowledge and Live Plants	262
5.6.2	Garden Design after André Mollet – Some Case Studies	267
	CONCLUSION	286
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	292
	Manuscripts and Unpublished Documents	292
	Primary Sources	295
	Literature	319
	INDEX	377

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Johan Johnsen, *Forsmarks bruk och kyrka (Forsmark Mill and Church)*, c.

1700. Oil/canvas, 146 x 201 cm. Private collection.

Figure 2. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers*. Oil/canvas, 87x58 cm.

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 3944).

Figure 3. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x

58 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 3945).

Figure 4. Johan Johnsen, Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*.

Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Private collection.

Figure 5. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x

58 cm. Private collection.

Figure 6. Johan Johnsen. *Flower Still Life on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Sold by

Åmells art gallery, Stockholm, 2004.

Figure 7. Johan Johnsen. *Still Life with Flowers on Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm.

Sold by Bukowskis auction house, Stockholm, 2012.

Figure 8. Johan Johnsen. *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x

58 cm. Private collection.

Figure 9. Johan Johnsen. *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*.

Watercolour/paper, 31 x 20 cm. Private collection. Photo by author.

Figure 10. Johan Johnsen, Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet of Flowers with Blue*

Ribbon and a Moth.) Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 11. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Blue)*. Watercolour/ paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 12. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Red)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 13. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet with Blue Ribbon and Blue Flowers)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 14. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet with Blue Ribbon and Variegated Tulip)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 15. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet with Blue Ribbon and Red Flowers)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 16. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Red and Blue with Blue Ribbon)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 17. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Red and Grey with Blue Ribbon)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

Figure 18. Johan Johnsen, *Flower Decorations on a Chinoiserie Cabinet*, signed and dated 1702. Height without legs 90 cm. Private collection.

Figure 19. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Bouquet of Flowers*. Oil/canvas, 65.5 x 50 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 487).

Figure 20. Johan Aureller the Younger, *Portrait, likely depicting Gustaf Otto Stenbock, 1614-1685, Count, Admiral (Porträtt, troligen föreställande Gustaf Otto Stenbock, 1614-1685, greve, riksamiral)*. Oil/canvas, 114 x 104 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 4129).

Figure 21. Johan Aureller the Younger, *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, 1622-1686, Count, Chancellor (Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, 1622-1686, greve, rikskansler)*.

Oil/canvas, 114 x 104 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 4130).

Figure 22. David von Cöln, *Pineapple (Ananasväxt)*, 1729. Oil/canvas, 112 x 91 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 473).

Figure 23. David von Cöln, *Pineapple in a Pot (Ananas i kruka)*, 1729. Oil/canvas, 149 x 115 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 1308).

Figure 24. David von Cöln, *Orange Tree in a Pot (Orangeträd i urna)*, 1733. Oil/canvas, 140 x 91 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 503).

Figure 25. Johan Spiegelberg, *Vera & Accurata Delineatio Aloes Americanæ*, based on drawing by Elias Brenner. Engraving. Brenner, *Poetiske dikter 1713*, p. 222.

Litteraturbanken.se.

Figure 26. Johan Spiegelberg, *Vera magnitudo Floris Aloes Americanæ*, based on drawing by Elias Brenner. Engraving, Brenner, *Poetiske dikter 1713*, p. 228.

Litteraturbanken.se.

Figure 27. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, *Aloë*, 1709. Watercolour/paper, slightly smaller than 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers*, 7.430a. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department. Photo by author.

Figure 28. Johannes van den Aveelen, *Noor versus occidentem*, 1698. Engraving, 23 x 33 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:116).

Figure 29. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Tulips*, c. 1660. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.

Figure 30. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Tulips*, c. 1660. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.

Figure 31. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Tulips*, c. 1660. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.

Figure 32. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Iris (Iris germanica)*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author. Image cropped.

Figure 33. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Morning glory (Convolvulus tricolor)*, dated 10 August 1659. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author. Image cropped.

Figure 34. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Two Crocuses*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author. Image cropped.

Figure 35. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Carnations*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.

Figure 36. Anna Maria Thelott, *Flowers and Berries (Blommor och bär)*, 1704-09. Watercolour/paper, 13.5 x 22 cm. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (ID 13909).

Figure 37. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, *Tomato (Solanum lycopersicum)*, 1689-1702. Watercolour/paper, 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers, Liber 5, folio 25*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 79-89). Photo by author. Image cropped.

Figure 38. Anna Maria Thelott. *Self-portrait (Anna Marija ein geborene Thelotten)*, 1704-09. Watercolour/paper, 13.5 x 22 cm. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (ID 3537).

Figure 39. Herman Grim, Morning glory, (*Convolvulus sylvatico fl. albo*), 1684.

Miscellanea curiosa 1685. Österreichische Nationabibliothek, <http://digital.onb.ac.at>

Figure 40. Herman Grim, Morning glory (*Convolvulus sylvatico, fl. albo*), 1684.

Miscellanea curiosa 1685. Österreichische Nationabibliothek, <http://digital.onb.ac.at>

Figure 41. Beach morning glory (*Convolvulus maritimus*), 1689-1702.

Watercolour/paper, c. 25x15 cm. *Book of Flowers, Liber 8, folio 26*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 79-89). Photo by author.

Figure 42. Paul Hermann, Beach morning glory (*Convolvulus maritimus*), 1687. *Horti*

Lugduno-Batavi, page 175. Österreichische Nationabibliothek, <http://digital.onb.ac.at>

Figure 43. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, Arctic butterbur (*Petasites frigidus*), (loose leaf on left), c. 1695, signed ORfil. Watercolour/paper, slightly smaller than 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers, Liber 5, folio 316a*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 79-89). Photo by author.

Figure 44. Arctic butterbur (*Petasites frigidus*), 1695. Watercolour/paper, 34x22 cm, *Iter Lapponicum, folio 6*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 92). Photo by author.

Figure 45. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, Bunchberry (*Cornus suecica*), 1695.

Watercolour/paper, 34x22 cm. *Iter Lapponicum, folio 5*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 92). Photo by author.

Figure 46. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, Bunchberry (*Cornus suecica*), 1695.

Watercolour/paper. *Iter Lapponicum, folio 26*, Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 92). Image cropped.

Figure 47. Anders Holtzbom, *Bunchberry* (*Cornus suecica*), left image dated 1 July 1695.

Watercolour/paper, 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers, Liber 8, folio 149*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 79-89). Image cropped.

Figure 48. Erik Dahlbergh, *Stavsund Main Building and Wing* (*Stavsund huvudbyggnad och flygel*), 1684–85. Sketch/paper, 33x43 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:41 verso).

Figure 49. Erik Dahlbergh, *Stavsund*, 1684-84. Sketch/paper, 33x43 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb. Handt 5:41 recto.)

Figure 50. Erik Dahlbergh, *Stavsund, detail studies* (*Stavsund, detaljstudier*), 1684-85. Sketch/paper, 33x42 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:42).

Figure 51. Atelier of Tessin the Younger, *Staaq-sundh*, 1685. Pencil, pen and watercolour/paper, 32x73 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 11:19).

Figure 52. Erik Dahlbergh, *Plan of Parts of Stavsund Park* (*Plan över delar av Stavsunds park*), after 1685. Pencil and pen/paper, 31x31 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:45).

Figure 53. Erik Dahlbergh, *Plan of Parts of Stavsund Park* (*Plan över delar av Stavsunds park*), after 1685. Pen/paper, 33x60 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:44 recto).

Figure 54. Erik Dahlbergh, *Plan of Parts of Stavsund Park* (*Plan över delar av Stavsunds park*), after 1685, Pen/paper, 33x60 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:44 verso).

Figure 55. Willem Swidde, *Staaf sund*, c. 1687. Engraving, 22x42 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:141).

Figure 56. Johan Lithén (Litheim), *Malmwiik*, before 1693. Pencil, wash, and pen on paper, 13x33 cm. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 4:51). Image cropped.

Figure 57. André Mollet, *Parterre at Kungsträdgården, Stockholm. Jardin de Plaisir*, plate number 6, 1651. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Figure 58. Erik Dahlbergh, *Embroidery motif, Kungsträdgården (Kungsträdgården broderikvarter*, 1661. Pencil and pen/paper, 12x20 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 1:54b).

Figure 59. André Mollet, *Plate number 1. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Figure 60. André Mollet, *Plate number 2. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Figure 61. André Mollet, *Plate number 23. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Figure 62. André Mollet, *Plate number 14. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Figure 63. Balthazar Florisz van Berckenrode, *View of Honselaarsdijk*, c. 1638. Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 64. André Mollet, *Plate number 5. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Figure 65. André Mollet, *Plate number 24. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>.

Figure 66. David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, *Still Life with Melon*, 1678. Oil/canvas. Private collection. Netherlands Institute for Art History, <https://rkd.nl>.

Figure 67. Willem Swidde, *Delineatio magnifici pulcherrimi: Palatii Siöö qua Orientem spectat, W. Swidde Holmiae Ao 1696*. Engraving, 22x41 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:137).

Figure 68. *Sjöö Castle*, 1995. Riksantikvarieämbetet (kmb.raa.se).

Figure 69. *Venngarn Castle garden*. www.wenngarn.se, consulted 2014.

Figure 70. *Drottningholm Palace, embroidery parterre seen from second floor*, 2015. Photo by author.

Figure 71. Willem Swidde, *Drottningholm versus meridiem*, detail, 1692. Engraving, 27x57 cm. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:78).

Figure 72. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, *The Tessinska Palace. Plan for the Main Building and the Garden. With explanations*, detail, 1696. Pencil and ink, wash in gray, watercolour in green and blue/paper, 159.3x76.4 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMC THC 1262).

Figure 73. *Tessinska Palace, embroidery parterre seen from second floor*, April 2015. Photo by author.

Figure 74. Johannes van den Aveelen, *Piperska Muren*, c. 1700. Engraving, 29x37 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (ID 10925830).

Figure 75. Johannes van den Aveelen, *Sandmare versus Septentrionem*, 1699. Engraving, 23x34 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb II:25).

Figure 76. Jean de la Vallée, attributed, *Plan for Beatelund Manor garden*, seventeenth century. Graciously provided by S. Westerberg.

TERMINOLOGY AND NAMING CONVENTIONS

Cultural Heritage Act (*Kulturmiljölag 1988:950*), law regulating the preservation of ancient monuments (*fornlämningar*), ancient finds (*fornfynd*), and shipwrecks (*skeppsvrak*), as well as areas of ancient remains (*fornlämningsområde*), ecclesiastical monuments (*kyrkliga kulturminnen*), and listed buildings (*byggnadsminnen*). The Cultural Heritage Act is enforced by the County Administrative Boards (see below) regarding private properties, and by the Swedish National Heritage Board (see below) for public buildings. Online: www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/kulturmiljolak-1988950_sfs-1988-950

National Library of Sweden (*Kungliga biblioteket*). The national library of Sweden is situated in Stockholm. Since 1661, publishers of texts and documents – and since 2012 also of web-produced material – must provide a copy to the national library. Online: www.kb.se

County (*Län*). Administrative regions. Sweden is divided into 21 counties.

County Administrative Board (*Länsstyrelse*); the government's representatives in each *län*. Responsibilities are, among others, food inspections, animal protection, regional growth, infrastructure, cultural heritage, civil defense, natural conservation, and environmental protection. Online: www.lansstyrelsen.se

County governor (*Landshövding*). Director of a Country Administrative Board. The director is appointed by the government.

Province (*Landskap*). Sweden is divided into 25 regions based on historical, cultural and geographic identification. The *landskap* have no longer any political or

administrative function. However, dialects, local celebrations, and traditional costumes are commonly referred to according to *landskap*.

County Council (*Landsting*). A local authority responsible for public health, as well as cultural activities and events. Its directors are elected. There are currently 20 *landsting* in Sweden.

Malmgård. A residence or retreat built in one of the areas surrounding central Stockholm – called *malmar* – during the early modern period. The *malmar* areas, Norrmalm, Östermalm, Södermalm and Kungsholmen (Västermalm) are now integrated parts of central Stockholm.

National Museum of Fine Arts (*Nationalmuseum*). The national gallery of Sweden is situated in Stockholm. Online: www.nationalmuseum.se

Swedish National Heritage Board (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*), with offices in Stockholm and Visby, is responsible for the preservation of historical monuments and sites. Online: www.raa.se

Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*), situated in Stockholm, with local archives in Göteborg, Härnösand, Lund, Uppsala, Vadstena, Visby, and Östersund. Online: <https://riksarkivet.se>

During the early modern period names could be spelled in various ways. In Sweden patronyms were popular. Several immigrants to Sweden adjusted their names to something more easily recognizable locally. An example is the gardener Jean Mollet (†1708) who changed the spelling of his family name to Molette, and his first name from Jean to Johan. He even added the patronym Andersson, in reference to his father André.

Jean's children later spelled their name Molett. When Swedish citizens were ennobled, they were free to choose a completely new and different family name, often opting for a reference to their profession or interests. Jean Mollet's son Johan (1655-1700) was thus honoured in 1695 and chose the name Stiernanckar (star + anchor) in reference to his work as naval captain. Abraham Momma (1623-1690) and Jakob Momma (1625-1678) were raised to peerage in 1669. The brothers had travelled to Lapland on several occasions, and both chose to adopt the name Reenstierna (reindeer + star). If several members of a family were ennobled, they could *de facto* choose different names. The pharmacist Simon Wolimhaus' (1601-1658) two sons, both government officials, became known as Jakob Gyllenborg (1648-1701) and Anders Leijonstedt (1649-1725).

On the other hand, some people preferred to simply make slight or no adjustments to their original family names. The garden designer Johan Horleman (1662-1707) simply altered the spelling to Hårleman. Throughout the text, I have used the names most commonly employed or still in use, if necessary, with a clarifying explanation in parenthesis. Finally, the well-known botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) was ennobled in 1757, whereby he changed his name to von Linné. In this dissertation I use Linnaeus, as he is known in the English-speaking world.

Jakobsdal Castle, a few kilometers north of Stockholm, was built by Jakob De la Gardie (1583-1652) in 1644, who then named it Jakobsdal. In the late 1660s, the De la Gardie family sold the estate to dowager queen Hedvig Eleonora (1636-1715), who, in 1684, donated the palace to her grandson Ulrik (July 1684-May 1685). The castle was then renamed, and in spite of the prince's untimely death, it is still known as Ulriksdal.

Unless otherwise indicated, the spelling of artists' names is based on RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis (Netherlands Institute for Art History, <https://rkd.nl/en>).

Names of buildings and places are used in their original form and not translated. However, professional titles have been translated into English whenever appropriate in order to convey the function and position of a given individual.

For reasons of clarity, Swedish geographical locations are indicated in relation to the capital, Stockholm.

Artwork measurements are given in centimetres, height before width.

All translations are by me, unless otherwise stated.

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INTRODUCTION

In the late 1670s, a German painter in his mid-twenties arrived in Forsmark, a small village some 150 kilometers north of Stockholm. The artist, Johan Johnsen (1653-1708) had been hired by Georg de Besche the Elder (1641-1711), an industrialist of Wallonian descent, to work as the family's live-in painter and art consultant. Johnsen stayed with the de Besches until 1708, when he passed away at the age of fifty-five. Johnsen painted a large number of flower still lifes, works that reveal an appreciation for nature – on behalf of both artist and patron -- and a desire to immortalize plants in paint. Johnsen's attention to the minutiae of the plants he recorded and the likelihood that some of his motifs were inspired by specimens found in the garden at Forsmark Manor make these works of art an appropriate point of departure for my investigation.

In this thesis, I explore interactions between people with shared interests in art, botany, horticulture, and garden architecture. By focusing on written and verbal exchanges of information, the goal is to dissolve the concept of national schools of art and to challenge the notion of artists working in inspired isolation. The paintings, botanical illustrations, and gardens that are discussed throughout this dissertation have been chosen for their capacity to illustrate communication between artists, scholars, and patrons within and beyond Sweden. In addition, my intent is to demonstrate that explorations of scientific illustrations and historic gardens have the potential to widen and enrich the field of art history.

This thesis is divided according to different areas of artistic expression centred around flowers and floral still life paintings, botanical illustrations, and garden designs.

The first section examines still life paintings and their relationship to botanical investigations and illustrations, focusing specifically on the immigrant artist Johan Johnsen and his Swedish production of floral still lifes, garland pictures and other images of vegetation. Chapter two takes up Olof Rudbeck the Elder's (1630-1702) projected *florilegia*, twelve volumes of botanical illustrations, a monumental task which involved the labour of a number of artists and botanists. In addition to being subjects of scientific exploration, plants could also serve to convey political or social messages, a topic discussed in chapter three, which focuses on the exploration of Lapland in 1695 and the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, an illustrated album of buildings, gardens, and towns. The possibility of using plants to make political or social statements is further explored in the final two chapters, which discuss historic gardens. Particular attention is given to the garden architect André Mollet (c. 1600-1665), who spent five years in Sweden (chapter four). Chapter five explores garden design in the seventeenth century, especially from the viewpoint of international exchanges between horticulturists and garden architects. In short, this thesis examines the careers of artists and illustrators in conjunction with those of botanists and garden designers. Throughout, the focus is on how artists, scientists, estate owners and horticulturists came together in a shared passion for flowers and plants, and how these sorts of interactions were interconnected with a burgeoning global interest in botany.

This introduction is divided into three sections. First, I will review traditional art-historical interpretive models and discuss the implications of analyses based on national borders. Secondly, Sweden's social and political situation in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is reviewed. Emphasis is given to phenomena or opinions that pertain

to artistic life at the time. The last part of my introduction is a summary of the thesis' individual chapters and a review of the literature that has led to the formulation of my arguments.

Geography of Art: Sweden, the Baltic Region and Beyond

This dissertation engages with recent scholarship that considers the history of art in relation to geography and nationalism. While artists have always travelled and exchanged ideas, the discipline of art history, which emerged in the nineteenth century, developed a classification system for painting, architecture, and sculpture based on the artist's country of birth and the period, or era, in which he or she worked. In order to bring coherence to this model of thought, the art-historical discourse focused on a few productive nations and their artists, for instance by attributing specific characteristics to works from France, Italy, England, Spain, or the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. Paintings or buildings created in other places were then compared against these normative groups, with peripheral art often found to be lacking in innovation or finesse. And although national borders have shifted, and many artists travelled widely during their careers or lived for extended periods in distant regions, the nation-based traits were considered to overrule any external influences. But what happens in the case of an artist born in one nation and educated in another? The difficulty in upholding national categories is apparent when trying to label an artist such as Johan Johnsen—born in Kiel, (likely) educated in Amsterdam, but employed in Forsmark. Had he internalized a Germanic visual vocabulary by birth, or did he belong to the Dutch Golden Age? Or did he, at some point, become a Swedish painter?

When art historian Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann published *Toward a Geography of Art* in 2004, several attempts to clarify the connection between art and place had already been made.¹ Discourse during the twentieth century had become fixated on perceived character traits that were unique to (ethnic) groups or nations, for instance claiming that French art would express some truly French features that remained unchanged over time, and that French art could only be created by people born within the country's borders. If a French artist then travelled abroad, he or she would exert an *influence* on the local population, where imitations of lesser value would be created. Kaufmann instead proposed an approach focusing on *exchanges* between artists. In other words, the French painter or architect would not only bring a French style or iconography on his travels, but also return with fresh ideas from elsewhere. He might even share various impressions on stops along the way. This approach consequently suggests the existence of many centres of artistic creativity and limitless cross-border communication.

Kaufmann defines a geography-oriented history of art as an investigation into “how art results from or expresses a response to geographical circumstances, either directly, or in the way that such conditions have shaped human differences that have led to the production of distinctive kinds of objects.”² In a study that resonates with Kaufmann's approach, art historian Lars Olof Larsson suggests that art should be discussed according to *artistic landscapes*, with attention to regional features irrespective

¹ The relationship between art and location had become a topic of particular interest during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when a people's traits could be used to define the character of a – newly formed – nation. In Germany, *Kunstgeographie* became a tool to justify claims of superiority by the Nazi regime. For a discussion of the historiography of artistic geography see Bialostocki, “Baltic Area;” Kaufmann, “Baltic Area;” Kaufmann, “Early Modern Ideas;” Kaufmann, “Geography of Art: Historiography;” Kaufmann, “Netherlandish Model;” Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*; Kaufmann, Dossin and Joyeux-Prunel, *Circulations*; Kaufmann and Pilliod, *Time and Place*; Larsson, “Konstgeografi och nationalstil;” Larsson, “Konstnärlig utveckling;” Olin, “Karolinerna, bildkonsten;” Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 8-20.

² Kaufmann and Pilliod, *Time and Place*, 1-2; Kaufmann, “Geography of Art: Historiography,” 169.

of political borders.³ I propose that analyzing art and artists from a perspective not bound by nationality opens up the discourse to novel interpretive models, for instance by allowing, even accepting, that artists such as Johnsen and his contemporaries accumulated multiple stimuli from geographically varied places, and a likelihood that these experiences found expression in their art. In other words, there is no need to establish whether Johnsen was a German, a Dutch, or a Swedish painter. It is more interesting and historically accurate to explore how he drew from and contributed to the circulation of new knowledge about flower still lifes and the depiction of botanical specimens. While plants were studied in antiquity, empirical examinations became more common in the sixteenth century in continental Europe but also in more distant regions. Visual records were increasingly appreciated, and flowers were depicted both through art and for the benefit of scientific research. Part of these investigations consisted of finding out what allowed plants to grow in different climates, and the cultivation of specimens in the far north constituted an additional challenge. While Johnsen was not the only artist to paint flowers in Sweden, he is a representative of the tradition to capture successful blooms in works of art.

The renewed focus on multi-directional communication between artists has led to a need to change vocabulary, speaking less of influence, and more of *diffusion* and *exchange*.⁴ Kaufmann concludes the introduction of his study by stating: “there is still a long way to go before a comprehensive view of the geography of art can be elaborated

³ Larsson also recognizes that artistic landscapes change over time. Larsson, “Konstgeografi och nationalstil,” 73; Larsson, “Konstnärlig utveckling,” 282.

⁴ Kaufmann, “Geography of Art: Historiography,” 179; Kaufmann, “Netherlandish Model,” 275; Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 13; Kaufmann and Pilliod, *Time and Place*.

satisfactorily... it might in the end be best to speak of the *geohistory* of art.”⁵ The use of a term such as “geohistory” would signify a recognition that variables other than chronology (and, by extension, era-defined schools of art) have had an impact on the development of art.⁶ Such a change in terminology can have a significant impact on art-historical research, mainly by no longer considering artistic developments in distant regions as anecdotal compared to the traditional normative schools of art.⁷ A more open definition of art history can, in my opinion, include a simultaneous attention to forms of art that have traditionally been considered of less artistic pertinence, such as scientific illustrations or garden design. In a reflection of this tendency to stretch the parameters for art-historical research, my thesis accordingly investigates artistic expression in seventeenth-century Sweden while highlighting the similarities between painting and illustration, as well as exploring the many artistic aspects of garden design.

An early attempt to theorize the notable artistic exchanges between Northern and Eastern Europe was made by art historian Jan Bialostocki in 1975.⁸ Bialostocki suggested that, from around the year 1500, the Baltic area constituted a distinct artistic region. Bialostocki’s definition of this “community of artistic forms” encompassed not only countries bordering on the Baltic Sea – coastal Germany, Denmark, southern Sweden, northern Poland, Latvia, Estonia -- but also extended to the Northern and Southern Netherlands. He argued that this region’s “common features” were not based on national

⁵ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 13.

⁶ In countries such as Germany and Sweden art *history* is increasingly known by a term less focused on chronological narratives, *Kunstwissenschaft*, *Konstvetenskap*, which roughly translates to *art knowledge or -science*.

⁷ Tomasz Grusiecki’s recent dissertation, *Globalising the Periphery: Poland-Lithuania and Cultural Entanglement, 1587-1668*, is an example of new areas of study facilitated by such a shift in focus.

⁸ Bialostocki, “Baltic Area.”

characteristics but appeared because of shared topographical, political, and social phenomena. Bialostocki mentions specifically the flat coastal landscapes, the rarity of stone as building material, the Reformation and the ensuing changed attitude to art, and a reticence to personal ostentation. The concept of a Baltic artistic region contributes to an understanding and contextualization of cultural phenomena shared by Sweden with places around the Baltic Sea. In recent years, a focus on *Mare Balticum* has inspired further exploration not only with regards to artistic development but also in terms of commerce, trade, and history.⁹ While Bialostocki's challenge to nationalistic histories of art was a step in the right direction, I would argue that the concept of artistic geography is even broader than the regional similarities he identified. In the course of researching this dissertation, I discovered many patterns of communication that extended beyond the Baltic region, as far as Asia and the Americas, which indicates the importance of global exchange when assessing local cultural production. An eloquent example of how knowledge was sought and shared not only locally or regionally but also across great distances -- and invoked in my text -- are the books, articles, and illustrations published in Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Augsburg, Jakarta, Geneva, and Nuremberg by the physician and amateur botanist Herman Grim (1641-1711), material he collected while working and travelling in Asia, Africa, and Europe. The notion of an art history that takes into account the global dimensions of cultural transmission is thus applicable throughout this thesis.

⁹ Some examples of recent interest in the Baltic region as a topic of inquiry are Harasimowicz, Oszczanowski and Wislocki, *Opposite Sides*; Kreslins, Mansbach and Schweitzer, *Gränsländer*; Lemmink and Koningsbrugge, *Baltic Affairs*; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*. The *Tijdschrift voor Scandinavistiek* dedicated an entire issue to the Baltic region in 1995. Papers presented at a conference on cultural traffic and cultural transformation around the Baltic Sea 1450-1720 were published in *Scandinavian Journal of History* in 2003. The Södertörn University, Stockholm, created a Centre for Baltic and East European Studies (CBEES) in 2005.

Painters, sculptors, graphic artists, architects, and garden designers became increasingly mobile during the seventeenth century, travelling and working in different regions across Europe, and also beyond the continent. Although not all artists ended up spending the rest of their lives working for a foreign employer in a foreign country, Johan Johnsen's career choice was not unique. While Johnsen settled for good in Forsmark, many artists worked and spent time in several regions during one or many trips. Similarly, while patrons in Sweden sought out and appreciated foreign talent and innovation, a number of local painters left the country, especially in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, thereby constituting a counterpoint to the country's artistic influx. For example, the portraitists Michael Dahl (1656-1743) and Hans Hysing (1678-1753) and the miniaturist Otto Fredrik Peterson (1673-1729) settled in London in 1682, 1700, and 1709 respectively.¹⁰ Before moving to London, Dahl had trained under Swedish court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1628-1698), originally from Hamburg and with a lengthy European study tour under his belt.¹¹ Landscape painter Johan Richter (1665-1745) initially worked for another Swedish-born artist, Johan Sylvius (1620-1695) on the decorations at Drottningholm Palace close to Stockholm.¹² In 1710, Richter moved to Venice where he continued his training under Luca Carlevaris (1663-1730) and later became a celebrated *veduta* painter. At this point in his peripatetic career, he began using the more Italian-sounding first name Giovanni instead of Johan. Portraitist Martin Mijtens

¹⁰ Alm et al, *Barockens konst*, 426; Hafström, *Bildande konsternas utövare*, 21; Holkers, *Svenska målarkonstens historia*, 67; Granberg, *Svenska konstsamlingars historia II*, 126; Lindgren et al, *Svensk konsthistoria*, 254; Olin, *Svensk porträttmålare*; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*, 419.

¹¹ Hysing had studied under David von Krafft (1655-1724), nephew to Ehrenstrahl and also from Hamburg.

¹² Sylvius had spent a large part of his career in Italy and England before returning to Sweden where his extensive experience was highly valued. Berefelt, *Svensk landskapskonst*, 51; Granberg, *Konstnärsfamiljen Richter*.

the Younger (1695-1770) was born in Stockholm and trained by his father, Martin Mijtens the Elder (1648-1736), originally from The Hague, but like many others sought further education in the Dutch Republic, England, and Paris.¹³ In 1721, Mijtens the Younger settled in Vienna, where he was appointed court painter in 1730. At about the same time, he made a year-long visit to Sweden and created a few portraits during this sojourn. Mijtens then returned to Vienna and eventually became director of its Art Academy in 1759.¹⁴ Clearly, when we take into account the geographical mobility of artists, it becomes impossible to speak of national or even regional styles and characteristics. My study accordingly shifts the focus to consider wide-ranging and complicated exchanges and diffusion of knowledge and know-how, which characterized “Swedish” cultural production in the seventeenth century.¹⁵

In a development within recent art-historical investigations of artistic mobility and cultural exchanges in the early modern period, art historian Kristoffer Neville suggests that Denmark and Sweden were part of the Central European sphere, and not as dependent on regions or cities such as the Dutch Republic, Paris and Rome to the extent previously argued. According to Neville, the Scandinavian courts were active, even “vibrant”, parts of Central Europe during the seventeenth century.¹⁶ A shift in focus to relationships

¹³ Lindgren et al, *Svensk konsthistoria*, 255; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 136.

¹⁴ Gustaf Hesselius (1682-1755), from central Sweden, left his country and the continent altogether. This organ builder and painter settled in North America in 1712. Fur, *Konsten att se*; Leijonhufvud, *Gustaf Hesselius d.ä.*; Lindgren et al, *Svensk konsthistoria*.

¹⁵ Not only Swedish-born *artists* settled abroad, but similar exchanges were taking place within a number of professional groups. For instance, university professors Lars Banck (c. 1617-1662) in Franeker, and Johan Broen in Leiden, both came originally from Sweden. Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 62, 400.

¹⁶ Central Europe, in its expanded version, comprises Austria, Poland, the Czech Republic east to Hungary, western Russia, the regions corresponding to modern Germany, plus the kingdoms of Sweden (including Finland) and Denmark (including Norway). Neville, *Scandinavian Central Europe*, xiii, 6.

between the Nordic countries and Central Europe promises new insights within art-historical research.

Political Progress and the Gothic Myth

Cultural contacts between Sweden and continental Europe had developed slowly over a long timespan. The country's court and nobility had sought contributions from foreign artists at least since the period of King Gustav Vasa (reigned 1523-60), mainly in order to be immortalized in portraits. Nevertheless, prior to the seventeenth century, Sweden remained to a large extent an artistically and socially contained nation.

An increase in cultural investments, both in terms of quantity and quality, coincides with a series of political, financial, and military achievements for the country in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a period later labelled its Era of Greatness.¹⁷ This period is usually defined as having started with the reign of King Gustav II Adolf (1594-1632) in 1611 and ended with the death of King Karl XII in 1718. It designates over a century of continuous warfare and suffering, but also of significant successes militarily and politically.¹⁸ However, while the term is often used as a reference to the country's territorial expansion and heightened international status, I suggest that

¹⁷ *Stormaktstiden* translates to the somewhat awkward-sounding Great Power Period. In addition to Era of Greatness, other English translations are Age of Greatness, Great Power Era, and Age of Imperial Greatness. Art historian Magnus Olausson refers to the Grand Siècle, which "in Sweden coincides with its status as a European superpower, i.e., the period from 1648 to 1718." Ellenius, *Baroque Dreams*; Losman, Lundström and Revera, *Age of New Sweden*, 103; Nordin, "Spirit of the Age," 102; Olausson, "Aesthetic and Social Reception," 206; Söderberg, "Long-term Trends," 461; Suneson, "Introducing Swedish Garden History," 146, 149.

¹⁸ In September 2019, the Amsterdam Museum announced its decision to no longer use the expression Dutch Golden Age, since it "ignores the many negative sides of the 17th century." A similar revision is foreseeable in Sweden with regards to the use of the term *Stormaktstiden*. In December 2019, historian Marian Radetzki invoked the suffering on the battlefields and in Sweden caused by the Thirty Years' War and suggested the removal of a plaque in Stockholm commemorating military gains between 1521 and 1710. www.dn.se/asikt (Dec 10, 2019); www.theguardian.com (Sept 13, 2019).

Sweden flourished also commercially and culturally during this time.¹⁹ Historian Aleksander Loit proposes that in order to achieve greatness on the battle fields, Sweden first had to reform itself and many sectors were re-structured during the seventeenth century, such as its administration, both on state and local levels, the judiciary system, the economy, the social fabric, religious life and not least the educational system, the sciences and culture. Loit therefore concludes that: “also this rapid and radical modernization of Swedish society justifies talking about an Era of Greatness.”²⁰

It is not my aim to dismiss the significance of the military gains and losses between 1611 and 1718 but rather to bring attention to events in the arts and other aspects of civilian life taking place alongside the wars for which this period is known. For instance, the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Sweden are characterized by a noticeable increase in the number, scope, and knowledge of visiting artists and scholars. The artists’ origins were more varied, as were the skills, the techniques, and the styles and genres they represented. With increasing purchasing power and a more active art market, Swedish patrons’ tastes and the consumption of cultural goods evolved gradually but steadily. Portrait commissions continued to dominate. In a small market such as Sweden, artists had to be versatile and prepared to work in several fields; still lifes were painted by about a dozen artists but most of them made only one or two such compositions.²¹ Johan

¹⁹ Historians Lars-Olof Larsson and Eva Österberg suggest that the reigns of Gustav II Adolf, Queen Kristina, and Karl X Gustav, Karl XI, and Karl XII are characterized by an “aggressive force” in terms of foreign policy, military achievements, by economic growth, and administrative development. Behre, Larsson and Österberg, *Sveriges historia*, 74.

²⁰ “Även denna snabba och radikala modernisering av det svenska samhället ger fog för att tala om en stormaktstid.” Loit, “Sveriges Stormaktstid,” 20.

²¹ Such as Johan Aureller the Younger (1657–1733), Govert Camphuysen (1623/24–1672), David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, Johan Kloppe (1670–1734), Hans Georg Müller (c. 1650–1713), Franz Roos (1672–1715), Christian Thum (1625–1696), and Cornelis Vermeulen (1642-c. 1691).

Johnsen's close to thirty extant flower pieces therefore constitute an exception.²²

Landscape scenes were more numerous, especially when taking into account fortification officer Erik Dahlbergh's (1625-1703) 353 plates with views of towns, prestigious residences, and natural sights, the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, which is discussed in chapter three. While the demand for two-dimensional works of art remained relatively stable, architectural investments became an important signifier of success and sophistication. Historian Claes Ellehag estimates that eighty-two castles or palaces were constructed in Sweden during the seventeenth century, out of which thirty-five were built or re-built during the 1660s and 1670s alone.²³ Finally, garden design was an increasingly popular art form and pleasure gardens a way to express the owner's status and accomplishments, as will be explored further in chapters four and five.

The growing taste for art in Sweden occurred in parallel with an increased curiosity about the natural sciences, a field of study already burgeoning elsewhere in Europe. Art historian Claudia Swan claims that around 1550, as previously unknown plant species were discovered, a desire to update classical knowledge of botany spread across Europe and many herbals were produced.²⁴ Botany became a key area of research

²² Demand for genre paintings also remained low and Govert Camphuysen, a Dutch artist who worked in Sweden from around 1652 to 1664, was one of the few artists who depicted daily life. Religious commissions were relatively modest. Contemporary events, on the other hand, were an appreciated topic, such as glorifications of kings and queens in elaborate compositions with mythological or quasi-religious overtones. From 1661, when he was appointed court painter, David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl made numerous allegorical compositions. Several of these works can be seen at Drottningholm Palace, for instance in its Ehrenstrahl Salon, entirely dedicated to the depiction of important events in the history of the royal family.

²³ Ellehag, "När stormaktsslotten byggdes," 5.

²⁴ "La découverte des espèces fournies par Quackelbeen à Pier Andrea Matthioli et à Carolus Clusius fit le raccord avec une révolution botanique qui secouait l'Europe. À partir de 1550 environ, on observe un souci de rassembler et de publier des descriptions très complètes du monde végétal (herbier) qui viendraient corriger et remplacer les études partielles des auteurs classiques." Swan, "Fleurs comme curiosa," 93. Willem Quackelbeen (1527-1561) was personal physician to Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1521/22-1591), Holy Roman ambassador in Istanbul.

at Uppsala University north of Stockholm. The driving force behind the town's Botanical Garden, the field excursions, and the creation of floral encyclopaedias was university professor Olof Rudbeck the Elder. Rudbeck's contributions in these areas are discussed in chapter two. An important component of botanical research was the act of visually recording individual specimens in order to analyze and fully comprehend the plants' composition, function, and relationships. Looking at the common thread between the three areas of flower painting, botany, and gardening, a typical early modern web emerges: a network of artistic creativity, social connections, exploratory travel, cross-border exchanges, and scientific discoveries. Treating these activities as an interconnected and coherent phenomenon will allow us to deepen our understanding of early modern life, and a part of society that evolved alongside the almost continuous military campaigns that are associated with Sweden's long seventeenth century.²⁵

The Swedish participation in the Thirty Years' War was politically, geographically, and financially rewarding and the country's post-war position meant that it had become a key player on the international scene. It is possible that the investments in architecture, garden design, and works of art in the second half of the seventeenth century were partly motivated by a desire to live up to this new position of power, a visible expression of *noblesse oblige*.²⁶ The political leaders of the country must have realized that they would be taken more seriously on the international stage if they presented themselves with a level of decorum. But could there have been other driving forces

²⁵ For the expression "long seventeenth century", see Loit, "Sveriges stormaktstid," 24.

²⁶ Revera points out that belonging to the nobility entailed expectations of maintaining a certain lifestyle and to invest in visible markers of one's status. Many aristocrats preferred to put themselves in debt rather than fail to live up to the proper style. Ekstrand, *Tre Karlar*; Fryxell, *Berättelser*, 20:185; Janzon, "Överdåd på kredit."

behind the increase in cultural spending in Sweden in the post-war period? Art historian Allan Ellenius argues that investments in art and architecture in the country were rather a case of inter-European envy. Upon finding itself “in the centre of western politics” the Swedish reaction was to “raise the architecture and the arts to a level that could compete with foreign countries, particularly France.”²⁷ For example, in his application for a royal privilege to publish the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, Erik Dahlbergh wrote: “I want to create a work concerning Sweden similar to that by which Merian has glorified Germany. Foreigners should be made aware of all that is great and beautiful in our country.”²⁸ The *Suecia* continues being described as an example of a perceived need to improve the standing of Sweden vis-à-vis its European counterparts. When the exhibition *Beyond the Mountains People also Live* was announced in 2016 at the Kungliga biblioteket in Stockholm, it was suggested that: “the name of the exhibit is derived from the *Suecia*’s goal – to show that Sweden was a cultured country. When he [Erik Dahlbergh] began work on the *Suecia* in 1661 the uncultured Swedes were sneered at on the continent for their simple habits and lack of sophistication.”²⁹ As this publicity reveals, feelings of having been at the receiving end of European influences continue among some scholars. The decision to focus on three-hundred-and-fifty-year-old feelings of inferiority in the

²⁷ Ellenius, *Baroque Dreams*, 7.

²⁸ “Jag vill över Sverige utföra ett arbete, liknande det, varmed Merian förherrligat Tyskland. Utlänningarna böra få se, huru mycket stort och vackert finnes inom vårt fädernesland.” Jonsson, *Stormaktstid*, 100; Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 14; Magnusson, “Erik Dahlbergh och hans bilder,” 73; Magnusson, “Sweden Illustrated;” Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*, 63; Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 54; Wallin, *Kring Svecia Antiqua*, 123. English translation in Magnusson, “Sweden Illustrated,” 34.

²⁹ “Utställningens namn [Bortom bergen bor ock folk] kommer från Erik Dahlberghs målsättning med Suecian – att visa att Sverige var ett kulturland. När han inledde Sueciaarbetet 1661 hånades de okultiverade svenskarna på kontinenten för sina enkla vanor och brist på bildning.” Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm, web site www.kb.se/aktuellt/evenemang/2016/Vernissage-Bortom-bergen-bor-ock-folk--ett-titthall [sic]-in-i-1600-talets-Sverige, (consulted June 2016). Swedish feelings of inferiority are also discussed in Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 15-19.

twenty-first century is, in my opinion, further proof of the need for deepened study of cross-cultural exchanges in order to conjure a more balanced view of European relations in the early modern period.

Another reason for the increase in cultural spending in Sweden in the seventeenth century is proposed by art historian Bertil Rapp, who suggests that political and military instability throughout the century prompted people to seize every opportunity for “a good and happy life”, for example by decorating their residences with paintings of “hunting spoils, caught fish, produce from the castle garden, and other natural bounty.”³⁰ I propose, however, that the underlying causes were more multi-layered than a series of unrestrained purchases by a frustrated aristocracy or a generalized need for visual distraction. I suggest that the country’s politico-military experiences brought about a series of profound changes to society, which, among other effects, led to an increased awareness of the importance of cultural expression. During the Thirty Years’ War, the Swedish military campaigns in Germany and other parts of Europe created, or increased an already existing, appreciation for works of art among the country’s military leaders.³¹ King Gustav II Adolf and his army did not enter the war until 1630, but there were to be ample opportunities to visit churches and other buildings during the years spent on the European continent. In spite of a difficult context, this particular type of travel—the campaigns of war—facilitated exposure to art and architecture among the Swedish officers. Historian

³⁰ “Det var naturligt, att människorna under stormaktstiden med dess politiska oro och tätt återkommande krigsperioder gärna togo vara på de tillfällen, som erbjödos, till ett gott och glatt leverne... Det var denna glada lust till livet och dess goda, som utgjorde en av anledningarna till att man nu ville pryda sina salar med bilder av jaktbyten och fiskfångster, alster från slottsträdgården och andra naturens håvor.” Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 42.

³¹ Historian Magnus Bernhard Swederus suggests that, among other things, Swedish officers encountered a “more developed horticulture” in Germany during the Thirty Years’ War. For examples of field marshal Carl Gustaf Wrangel’s (1613-1676) exposure to garden design, see Losman, “Lust och välbehag,” 30-31. Swederus, “Svensk hortikultur,” 6.

Sten Lindroth suggests that the army's presence on the continent led to a new "European awareness" within the Swedish government, aristocracy, and the educated classes.³² Lars Olof Larsson points to knowledge obtained not only during warfare, but also to encounters that came about because of political alliances and to the fact that large numbers of Swedish military personnel were mercenaries with varied backgrounds.³³ The spoils of war that were brought back (looting was an accepted form of procurement at the time) included many precious and previously unknown artefacts that led to greater knowledge about cultural treasures also among the non-military segments of the population. For instance, the looting of Munich in 1632 allowed the Swedish army to send some forty paintings back to Stockholm. Charles Ogier (1595-1654), secretary during a French embassy to Stockholm in the mid-1630s, refers to this event in his diary: "On January 24, [1635] I saw at the house of Eric Larsson von der Linde a large number of the most exquisite artists' paintings; spoils of war from Germany. In itself, Sweden does not have an abundance of old paintings."³⁴ A few months later, the French delegation returned to view von der Linde's collection once again:

May 8 [1635] ... The Ambassador made yet another tour through the house of von der Linde, the most splendid in the entire city, where we saw many excellent

³² Lindroth also points out that the lengthy peace talks in Münster and Osnabrück brought the Swedish delegation into daily contact with "the finest representatives for aesthetic and literary culture." Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 56, 57. See also Ellehag, "När stormaktsslotten byggdes," 2-3; Magnusson, "Erik Dahlbergh och hans bilder," 73; Magnusson, "Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna," 100.

³³ Larsson, "Konstnärlig utveckling," 271.

³⁴ "24 jan. [1635] såg jag hos Eric Larsson von der Linde en mängd av de yppersta målars taylor, krigsbyte som tagits i Tyskland. Självt har Sverige nämligen icke något överflöd på gamla målningar." Erik Larsson von der Linde (†1636), of Dutch descent, was a successful merchant and government official. According to agronomist Rune Bengtsson, the French ambassador's visit took place at von der Linde's estate Malmvik, twenty kilometers west of Stockholm. On Malmvik, see also chapter four. Ogier, *Sveriges storhetstid*, 50.

paintings and sculptures, for which I have procured a catalogue out of interest for the sculptors' and painters' signatures. All of it is war spoils from Würzburg, Munich and other towns captured by Gustavus Adolphus, because the Swedes of old times did not spend any money on the procurement of such things.³⁵

The Frenchman's reaction to the works of art in the von der Linde home reveals that the recent openness toward collecting in Sweden was noticeable, and that even foreign visitors were aware of the historically low levels of cultural investments in the kingdom. More war trophies would be shipped to Sweden before the war ended and before the Treaty of Westphalia was ratified. In 1643, the Swedish army captured the Kroměříž Palace, in the eastern part of the Czech Republic, but the biggest treasures were obtained during the looting of Prague in 1648, which enabled shipments to Stockholm of fifty-two "raretez des Indes" plus more than 500 paintings, precious manuscripts, and a living lion.³⁶ The wealth of curiosities and luxury goods that suddenly streamed into Stockholm undoubtedly provided a major source of inspiration for the local artists and patrons who had an opportunity to see them as they arrived in the country. Spoils of war not only opened the eyes of consumers to cultural artefacts, they also contributed to an increased interest in the sciences. For instance, the First Danish War (1657-1658) secured Joachim Burser's (1583-1639) herbarium, the *Hortus siccus*.³⁷ This voluminous collection was to

³⁵ "8 maj [1635] ... Ambassadören gjorde därefter ännu en rond genom von der Lindes hus, det mest lysande i hela staden, där vi sågo många utmärkta taylor och skulpturer, som jag förskaffat mig katalog över av intresse för bildhuggarnas och målarnas signaturer. Alltsammans är krigsbyte från Würzburg, München och andra av Gustaf Adolf erövrade städer, ty forna tiders svenskar nedlade inga kostnader på att förvärva sådana saker." Ogier, *Sveriges storhetstid*, 106.

³⁶ Noldus, "Dealing in Politics," 219; Wolke, *Trettioåriga kriget*, 323.

³⁷ Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 74; Krok, *Bibliotheca botanica*, 110; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 20; Stafleu and Cowan, *Taxonomic Literature*, 419; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 551.

have a significant impact on the development of Swedish botanical research in the pre-Linnaean period (chapter two).

The encounters with art on the continent and the arrival of pilfered treasures in Sweden had a stimulating effect on the nation's cultural life. The looted goods added a layer of knowledge to an already existing web of inter-European cultural exchanges, such as travels, letters, and literature. However, military campaigns have an impact on society in a multitude of ways and result in more than the capture (or loss) of land, money, and precious objects. A victory in war can also alter the population's perception of its history, geography, even its *raison d'être*. To many Swedes in the early modern period, success on the battlefield seemed pre-destined.

Historical theories of national distinctiveness accompanied Sweden's rise to power. Partisans of Gothicist theory interpreted the recent politico-military events in Europe as proof of an inherent greatness, even pre-eminence, in the Swedish people harking back to ancient times.³⁸ As early as 1434, at the Council of Basel the Swedish bishop Nils Ragvaldsson (1380s-1448) had introduced a concept called Gothicism.³⁹ Seeking to improve his delegation's prestige and standing, Ragvaldsson suggested that the inhabitants of the Swedish provinces Västergötland and Östergötland, called *götar*, were directly descended from the ancient Goths.⁴⁰ The message was that the Goths – the very

³⁸ The discussion of Gothicism is based on Söhrman, "Gothicism"; Berntson, "Politiskt inkorrekt historia"; Ellenius, "Exploring the Country"; Eriksson, "Göticismen"; Frick, "Erik Dahlbergh"; Grandien, "Göticismen"; Holmquist, "Till Sveriges ära"; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 235; Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*; Magnusson, "Sweden Illustrated"; Neville, "Gothicism and Early Modern Historical Ethnography"; Neville, "Land of Goths and Vandals"; Neville, "Pursuit of Gothic Heritage".

³⁹ The *Council of Basel* (held between 1431 and 1449) was a series of conferences organized by the Roman Catholic Church. Participants came from all over Europe, bishops, theologians, and delegates from dioceses and monasteries. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

⁴⁰ Once the island Gotland, whose inhabitants are known as *gutur*, became part of Sweden in 1645, the argument was further strengthened.

same tribes who had brought the Roman Empire to its knees – had originated in Sweden. Ragvaldsson supported his claims with Jordanes' *Getica*, a text from 551 CE, in which the author discusses a possible Nordic origin of the Goths.

The fact that Gothicism implies an ethnic rather than religious identity is significant. Ragvaldsson's concept does not so much imply a sense of religious predestination as a desire to be part of world history. The church in Sweden had not lost in influence, but other interests and beliefs were expressed simultaneously.

While the Swedish claims have dominated the literature on Gothicism, Kristoffer Neville contributes to a more balanced historiography pointing out that other countries claimed the same ancestry, especially Denmark, Spain and Germanic states. At the same time, Poles and Hungarians suggested ties with the ancient Sarmatians and the Dutch claimed descendancy from the Batavians.⁴¹ The Dutch Republic was also experiencing a period of significant prosperity and success in trade, politics, the sciences, and art – its so-called Golden Age. The Swedish and Dutch peak periods were on different scales and played out in different ways. Contrary to Swedish sentiments, the Dutch Golden Age entailed a feeling of fulfilling a divine mission, of having made a covenant with God. For instance, in 1668 the minister Jacobus Lydius (1610-1679) explained the nation's success in the Second Anglo-Dutch war by divine support: "When men ask how the Netherlanders, with such little power, could overcome their enemies on land and destroy them at sea and on so many occasions snatch victory from the jaws of defeat... then we can only say that this could only have come about through the eternal *covenant* made

⁴¹ Neville, "Gothicism and Early Modern Historical Ethnography," 214, 228; Neville, "Pursuit of Gothic Heritage," 620.

between God and his children below (*Nederkinderen*).’’⁴² This sort of religious rhetoric was less common in Sweden.

During the centuries following Ragvaldsson’s intervention, the theory of Gothicism was explored and expounded by a number of Swedish scholars, such as the theologian Ericus Olai (†1486) in his *Chronica Regni Gothorum*, and by the brothers and bishops Johannes (1488-1544) and Olaus Magnus (1490-1557). The older brother’s *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* traces the Swedish royal lineage all the way back to Noah’s grandson Magog, who is said to have settled in this Nordic country after the Flood, leading to his conclusion that Swedish would be the world’s first and original language. Ironically, these claims were written in Latin. Another supporter of Gothicism was Johannes Bureus (1568-1652), Sweden’s first national antiquarian and librarian and a renowned specialist on runes.⁴³ Bureus was also tutor to the future King Gustav II Adolf, and later to his daughter Queen Kristina (1626-1689) and undoubtedly shared his views on the country’s legacy with his royal students. In the light of the basic tenets of Gothicism, the necessity of (once again) crushing the Holy Roman Empire became self-evident. Gustav II Adolf took on the role of the great defender of Protestantism, and his convictions had a determining influence on the monarchy’s decision to engage in the Thirty Years’ War. The military victories and the ensuing favourable content of the Treaty of Westphalia strengthened the sense of fulfillment. One of the war trophies taken in Prague, the *Codex Argenteus*, was written in a Gothic language, and its capture undoubtedly reinforced the sense of entitlement and the

⁴² Schama, *Embarrassment*, 45.

⁴³ Hadenius, Nilsson and Åselius, *Sveriges historia*, 152.

fascination with Gothicism.⁴⁴ Olof Rudbeck the Elder, the Uppsala professor who was a leading force in botanical research in Sweden in the seventeenth century (chapter two) also became one of the most ardent supporters of Gothicism. His discovery of the lymphatic system had earned him a solid international reputation, and his efforts to prove the veracity of Gothicism provide an example of how the interest in this ideology had reached the top levels of society. Alongside his many academic undertakings, Rudbeck for many years worked on a revision of Western history, the *Atlantica sive Manheim*.⁴⁵ This ambitious literary project, of which the first tome was published in 1679, intended to examine and confirm the key concepts of Gothicism. Rudbeck found his proof in geographical and linguistic interpretations and analyses. Among many theories, he suggested that the sunken island Atlantis had been situated off the coast of Sweden, that the nation had been the site of the Hyperboreans as well as of the Elysian Fields, plus the location of the Gardens of the Hesperides. In sum, Rudbeck aimed at showing, explaining, and ultimately proving that Sweden had been the source of all major historic sites and events, and that this country on the outskirts of Europe was destined to become, once again, a great power. Neville argues that while the earlier proponents of Gothicism aimed at enhancing the country's status, Rudbeck went further and "sought to make all of western culture derive from his homeland."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The *Codex Argenteus*, or *Silver Bible*, was written in the sixth century. Queen Kristina later gave the document to her librarian Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) and Vossius brought the book when he returned to the Dutch Republic. In 1662, Swedish Lord High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622-1686) purchased the *Codex* and brought it to Sweden once again. Holmquist, "Till Sveriges ära," 128. See also Uppsala University: <https://ub.uu.se/about-the-library/exhibitions/codex-argenteus/>.

⁴⁵ According to Icelandic author Snorri Sturluson (1179-1241), Manheim was another name for Svithiod, the land of the Swedes. Marklund et al. *Nationalencyklopedin*, 13:45. See also Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 121.

⁴⁶ Neville also suggests that "Rudbeck pushes this logic further than any other writer." Neville, "Gothicism and Early Modern Historical Ethnography," 219; Neville, "Pursuit of Gothic Heritage," 637.

With contributions from scholars such as Rudbeck and from respected authors such as Georg Stiernhielm (1598-1672), Gothicist theory spread throughout society, an influential account of national superiority.⁴⁷ I therefore argue that investments in artworks and other forms of cultural consumption by the Swedish aristocracy, even by the middle class, were driven in part by a feeling of entitlement. This sentiment provided a stronger incentive than a simple desire to imitate the lifestyle of European neighbours. Within such a patriotic mentality, works of art, botanical encyclopedias, and pleasure gardens became means to reinforce the message; even the simplest image depicting local flora spoke of pride in Nature's gifts to a deserving and unique people.⁴⁸

In the early modern period, Gothicism did not meet much criticism. However, a few foreign visitors were sceptical about Rudbeck's theories and conclusions. French author Jean-Francois Regnard (1655-1709), who visited Uppsala in the early 1680s, was not taken in by the project. Regnard wrote: "He made efforts to convince us that Hercules' pillars had existed in his country, and a lot of other things, which you can believe, if you want to."⁴⁹ Already in 1674, Florentine author and diplomat Lorenzo Magalotti (1637-1712) had been vocal about his distrust of Gothicism. He noted:

He [Rudbeck] is working on a book, which he has written in Swedish and already completed in that language, but which he now translates to Latin. I am told that in

⁴⁷ Stiernhielm, author and poet, was also the first director of *Antikvitetskollegiet*, the State Board of Antiquities, an organization heavily invested in the promotion of Swedish Gothicism. Delblanc, "Stiernhielm," 185; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*.

⁴⁸ See Ellenius, *Baroque Dreams*, especially the chapter "Exploring the Country. Visual Imagery as a Patriotic Resource."

⁴⁹ "Il s'efforça de nous persuader que les colonnes d'Hercule avoient été en son pays; & quantité d'autres choses que vous croirez si vous voulez." Regnard, *Oeuvres de Regnard I*, 160. See also Carr, *Travels*, 192; Chancel, *New Journey over Europe*, 54; Julius, *Sverige med främlingsögon*, 77.

this book he wants to clearly prove that Scandinavia was the first populated land, after Noah's sons divided the earth between them, and that all other nations emanated from here. He lets the Gauls, or Frenchmen, come from a place in the midst of Lapland, where he has found a river by the name of Gallus, and he claims, that the Salic Law was sanctioned in Uppsala or by Salberget, because these locations are situated by the river Sala. He also claims to be able to clearly prove that the Temple of Janus in Rome was built with the Old Uppsala Temple as model, and that there is, in the entire world, not two temples that resemble each other as much as these. He also finds in the Gothic, or rather, Swedish language the explanation to the names of all Greek gods, something which Plato, according to his own avowal, could not find in his own Greek language. Finally, he suggests that Odysseus', Aeneas' and the Argonauts' travels were carried out in the Baltic Sea, and he lets the Cumaeen Sibyl reside by the Gulf of Bothnia and places Hercules' pillars in the Sound [between Sweden and Denmark]. If this book can be successful, I refer to the blind admiration for such a respected and learned man. But I cannot avoid noticing that the Swedes are extremely gullible, perhaps even more so than the Germans.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ "Han [Rudbeck] håller på med en bok, som han skrivit på svenska och redan fullbordat på detta språk men som han nu öfversätter till latin. Man säger mig, att han i denna bok vill tydligt ådagalägga, att Skandinavien varit det först bebyggda land, sedan Noaks söner delade jorden sinsemellan, och att alla andra nationer utgått härifrån. Han låter gallerna eller fransmännen komma från ett ställe midt i Lappland, där han funnit en flod som heter Gallus, och han påstår, att den Saliska lagen blifvit stiftad i Uppsala eller vid Salberget, emedan dessa orter ligga vid floden Sala. Han påstår sig också kunna klarligen bevisa, att Janustemplet i Rom blifvit byggt med det gamla templet i Uppsala som förebild, och att det i hela världen icke funnits två tempel, som likna hvarandra så mycket som dessa. Han finner också i det gotiska eller rättare svenska språket förklaringen till alla grekiska gudarnas namn, något som Plato, efter hvad han själf erkänner, icke kunde finna i sitt eget grekiska språk. Slutligen påstår han, att Odysseus', Eneas' och Argonavternas resor utförts i Östersjön, och han låter den cumanska sibyllan ha sitt tillhåll vid Bottniska viken samt förlägger Herkules stoder till Öresund. Om denna bok kan göra lycka, hänvisar jag till den blinda vördnaden för en så högt ansedd och lärd man. Men jag kan dock icke underlåta att göra den

Rudbeck's work on Gothicism seems today an unfortunate sidestep by a man of great intellectual capacity. His son, the equally educated and well-travelled Olof Rudbeck the Younger (1660-1740), embarked on his father's quest and spent increasing efforts on Gothicism. During his botanical-ornithological excursion to Lapland in 1695 (chapter 3), the region's geographical names prompted Olof the Younger to pen quite lengthy reflections on the similarities between Swedish, Scythian and Hebrew, as shown in his travel journal *Nora Samolad*.⁵¹

After a peak in popularity in the seventeenth century, the Gothic ideology simmered on for many years. While no longer supported by figures of authority, the notion of a prestigious and ancient history was still cherished by some people.⁵² The *Samfundet Manhem*, a pro-Nazi organization basing both its name and its philosophy on Rudbeck's work was founded in 1934, shortly before the Second World War. By merging Gothicism with Nazi ideology, this group appropriated seventeenth-century notions of historic pride for their racist and xenophobic agenda. Art-historical discourse in the first half of the twentieth century was also preoccupied by schools of art based on the distinctiveness or superiority of nations or ethnic groups, as discussed above.⁵³ It is interesting to note that similar thought processes had been at play already in the seventeenth century.

anmärkningen, att svenskarna äro i högsta grad lättrogna, kanske ändå mera än tyskarna." Magalotti, *Sverige år 1674*, 67–68. See also Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 270. On the reception of Rudbeck's Gothicism theories, see also Neville, "Pursuit of Gothic Heritage," 644.

⁵¹ Rudbeck, *Nora Samolad*, for instance p. 24–33.

⁵² A *Götiska Förbundet* was formed in 1811 but ceased its activities in the 1830s. The *Manhemsförbundet*, promoting a "patriotic-moral life-style in a Gothic Christian spirit" existed 1815–23. *Nordisk familjebok* 1883, 6:426; *Nordisk Familjebok* 1912, 17:767.

⁵³ I do not suggest that art historians of the early twentieth century therefore subscribed to Nazi ideology.

As I have argued thus far, a heightened awareness of paintings and other cultural artefacts combined with a ubiquitous sense of pride directed the Swedish population toward an increased consumption of cultural goods. However, one more piece of the puzzle was needed for actual investments to take place; financial means to achieve the desired lifestyle. The access to monetary funds large enough to invest in art, architecture and pleasure gardens was also, in part, a product of the Thirty Years' War and other armed conflicts in its wake. The many military operations led to increased demands for a number of products, many of which were based on natural resources available within the country's borders, such as iron for cannons and weaponry and wood to build ships.⁵⁴ Sweden became the foremost exporter of iron in Europe while dominating the commerce of tar and similar products.⁵⁵ During the course of the seventeenth century, Sweden grew into an industrialized nation with strengthened purchasing power and room for conspicuous consumption. The demand for war material was such that it became necessary to seek skilled labour abroad, such as mining engineers and foundry workers.⁵⁶ Many of the professional immigrants brought not only industrial experience and knowledge but also a desire to maintain the type of life they had known on the continent. Demands for a wide range of products and services increased in turn, including paintings. With time, the custom of investing in art spread throughout society. Leipzig-born Anders

⁵⁴ The wars had an impact on all levels of society. Brechtgien "Birgitta" von Crakauw (1619-1683), originally from Hoorn in the Dutch Republic, married Swedish county governor Magnus (Nilsson) Durell (1617-1677) in 1647 and settled at Vallen Castle in the south-western part of the country. Von Crakauw taught knitting – locally known as binding, later *binge* -- to her servants and to people in the area. Soldiers preferred knitted socks to the woven equivalents and the army's needs provided steady employment for the local population. The workshop system set up by von Crakauw and centred at Vallen, grew into an atelier-type industry that lasted for several centuries. Behre, Larsson and Österberg, *Sveriges historia*, 84; Du Rietz, "Militärindustri;" Hazeliuss-Berg, "Stickade tröjor," 92; Johansson and Nilsson, *Binge*, 10.

⁵⁵ Behre, Larsson and Österberg, *Sveriges historia*, 84, 86.

⁵⁶ Behre, Larsson and Österberg, *Sveriges historia*, 76; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 57.

Düben the Elder (c. 1597-1662), a composer and organist at the German Church in Stockholm, appears to have decorated his home with many works of art.⁵⁷ Ogier describes also this in his diary:

Düben owns an interesting collection of paintings, of which I particularly want to mention The Holy Trinity, surrounded by angels' heads. It is either a copy or a second work by the artist himself, which I saw in Danzig at the house of a painter from Schleswig and who assured me it was painted by Albrecht Dürer.⁵⁸

Whether Ogier ascertained the artist's name with Düben is not revealed, but his account suggests that by the third decade of the seventeenth century also people outside of nobility were decorating their homes with works of art. Another example illustrating that collecting had become popular throughout society is the account of a Stockholm portraitist by the name of Martin Hannibal (1640-1720) who paid his barber in paintings, an arrangement that went on for twenty-six years. Problems arose when the barber died, and his widow claimed that the value of the artworks did not correspond to services rendered. The court ordered Hannibal to paint one more work for the somewhat unlikely

⁵⁷ Düben had studied in Leipzig and Amsterdam before arriving in Sweden in 1620. In a discussion of German immigration to Sweden, linguist Bo Andersson specifically mentions the Düben family's musical contributions to cultural life in the capital. B. Andersson and Raag, *Nyens Skans*, 141; *Nordisk familjebok* 1907, 6:1140; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

⁵⁸ Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) was a highly valued Renaissance artists. "Düben äger en intressant samling taylor, av vilka jag särskilt vill nämna Den heliga treenigheten, omgiven av änglahuvuden. Det är antingen en kopia eller ett av konstnären själv utfört andra exemplar af en tavla, som jag i Danzig såg hos en schlesisk målare och som denne försäkrade var målad av Albrecht Dürer." Ogier, *Sveriges storhetstid*, 82.

art collector.⁵⁹ It is worth emphasizing that the barber's wife agreed to be paid off by yet another painting, not by money.

Besides artworks, other exclusive or precious objects became available to Swedish collectors, confirming a change in consumption behaviour during the seventeenth century. Sweden did not establish an East India Company until 1731, but customers in the country could, on the other hand, benefit from international trade carried out by other nations, such as the commercially oriented Dutch Republic. Theology student Andreas Bolinus (1642-1698) wrote a diary when he travelled from Unnaryd, a hamlet in the south of the country, to Uppsala in 1670. One of his first stops was in the town of Jönköping, and Bolinus noted that the inhabitants “conduct rather a lot of commerce and trade in here and have boats from Holland and other countries, and that way receive beautiful wares via [the lakes] Wäneren and Wätteren.”⁶⁰ Bolinus' mention of the items' pleasing appearances indicate that he likely referred to decorative objects and not to tools or other utilitarian products. Perhaps a delivery was made at the time of his visit. If Dutch ships reached a small town like Jönköping, they naturally sailed to larger places, such as the capital.⁶¹ Let's once again turn to Charles Ogier, who, in 1635, described the changing face of Stockholm:

⁵⁹ Hahr, *David von Krafft*, 38. On Hannibal, see also Alm et al, *Barockens konst*, 426; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*.

⁶⁰ "Sedan så drifwa de tämmeliga stoor kiöpen skap och handel här inne och hafwa seglats ifrån Hålland och andra land, att the kunna bekomma hit sköna wahrer i genom Wäneren och Wätteren." Bolinus, *Upsalafärd*.

⁶¹ In 1650, there were 1,289 inhabitants in Jönköping and approximately 35,000 in Stockholm. www.ortshistoria.se (12 December 2019).

I went today with my friends down to the harbour, where some Dutch merchandise was exhibited, for a few days ago a large shipment had arrived: wine, sugar, cheese, nuts and so on, which the Dutch bring here, faïence vessels, dolls, plaster figures, rattles and other toys, precious textiles, pomegranates and everything else, that Sweden needs and that the Indians and the Indians' exploiters the Dutch are in abundance of.⁶²

The importation of products such as those enumerated by Ogier confirms not only the interest in exclusive and exotic products but also, presumably, a capacity to pay for them. The fact that the cargo was exhibited in the harbour possibly means that it was not shipped with a specific customer in mind but rather to be introduced to a wider market. Kaufmann has observed that, in spite of their strong presence in the Baltic region, the Dutch were not interested in territorial expansion, but preferred to exert an economic and aesthetic influence, for instance in Sweden, which is confirmed by the eyewitness accounts from Bolinus and Ogier.⁶³ And customers in Sweden appreciated products from the continent. Dutch consumer goods became synonymous with quality, prestige, and exclusivity.⁶⁴ In a letter dated 9 April 1681, noblewoman Catharina Ehrensteen (1627-1719) asked her daughter Margareta Gyldenstolpe (1659-1721), who lived in The Hague at the time, to buy a collar in black taffeta with folds and ribbons for her.⁶⁵ The following

⁶² "Jag gick idag med mina kamrater ner till hamnen, där en del holländska varor voro utställda, ty för några dagar sedan hade en stor sändning anlänt: vin, socker, ost, nötter m.m., som holländarna införa hit, fajanskärl, dockor, gipsfigurer, skramlor och andra leksaker, finare vävnader, granatäpplen och allt annat, som Sverige behöver och som indierna och indiernas utplundrare holländarna hava överflöd på." Ogier, *Sveriges storhetstid*, 105.

⁶³ Kaufmann, "Påverkan västerifrån," 17.

⁶⁴ Kaufmann, "Påverkan västerifrån," 41.

⁶⁵ "Min hjärtans Greta, om jag nämdes be dig låta göra mig en sådan svart taftskrage med veck och sedan knytning, behövde jag honom mycke väl ty min är nu mycke blader." Wallenstedt, *Allrakäraste*, 235.

month Ehrensteen expressed her joy at having received the desired item, which “would not have been so well made here.”⁶⁶

As indicated, the increase in cultural consumption led to a more active market for artworks, and several painters from the continent decided to relocate to the north. Some were attracted by prospects of financial success, a few fled financial or legal troubles at home, yet others came in search of inspiration and creative renewal, perhaps coupled with a sense of adventure.⁶⁷ Kaufmann suggests that a saturation of local markets was another reason why many artists relocated abroad.⁶⁸ It appears that foreign-born artists did not have any difficulties finding work among the, by now very patriotic, Swedish court and aristocracy. Rather, the desire to invest in cultural artifacts necessitated an openness to foreign artistic expressions. Likely, Swedish customers were aware of the scarcity and limited experience of local artists and appreciated the arrival of external talent. We have also seen that many of the art patrons and consumers were immigrants themselves, who sought to maintain the aesthetic surroundings they had been accustomed to. Foreign artists were likely seen as being able to do just that.

The Thirty Years' War and other conflicts in the seventeenth century brought many changes to Sweden. An increased exposure to the European visual and cultural traditions, a surge in patriotism, and a relative financial prosperity together created a

⁶⁶ "Min akste dotters käre brev av den 6 maj bekom jag förliden torsdags tillika med den vackra svarta kragan som var så lagom åt mig som han vari märkter... De kunna inte få honom här så väl gjord," Wallenstedt, *Allrakäraste*, 248.

⁶⁷ Landscape artist Allart van Everdingen (1621-1675) visited Sweden and Norway in 1644. After his return to the Dutch Republic he continued producing Nordic, preferably mountainous, scenes that were highly appreciated by local patrons. Everdingen's success is an example of how artistic inspiration travelled in multiple directions in the early modern period. Sidén, "Kulturförbindelser," 239.

⁶⁸ The negative aspects of a highly competitive art market are also discussed by art historian Arnold Hauser. Hauser, *Social History of Art* 2, 216; Kaufmann, "Netherlandish Model," 280.

favourable market for art and artists. Somewhat ironically, the many wars and armed conflicts are what led to an increase in cultural investments in Sweden.

Review of Literature and Chapter Summaries

The first chapter of the dissertation, ‘Artists with an Eye for Flowers’, consists of an examination of still lifes with plant motifs created in Sweden in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with a focus on works by Johan Johnsen and David von Cöln (1689-1763). Evaluations and opinions of still lifes have undergone several phases over the past century, many of which have informed the formulation of my research. In 1927, art historian Erwin Panofsky proposed the Iconological Method of interpretation, which meant taking into consideration both a painting’s formal features and iconographic content.⁶⁹ Such an approach worked well with narrative art, for instance scenes based on religious or mythological texts. Panofsky’s concept was subsequently applied to landscape scenes, genre paintings, and still lifes, but without depictions of recognizable narratives scholars were forced to focus on individual objects as carriers of meaning. Art historian Ingvar Bergström consequently arrived at the conclusion that many still lifes from the seventeenth century were essentially created as reminders of life’s brevity and as warnings against a carefree existence.⁷⁰ Flowers, with naturally short lifespans, became particularly effective messengers of imminent death and decay.

Art historian Eddy de Jongh elaborated on Panofsky’s concept and suggested that paintings of “everyday things and occurrences” contained moral advice inspired by

⁶⁹ Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*.

⁷⁰ Bergström, *Holländskt stillebenmåleri under 1600-talet*, in translation *Dutch Still Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*.

emblem books and other types of seventeenth-century literature.⁷¹ According to de Jongh, the images' aesthetic or witty compositions served to stimulate the viewer's thought processes thereby allowing the decoding of (hidden) messages. Struggling with the pictures' realistic appearance, de Jongh introduced the term "Seeming Realism" in order to suggest a layer of meaning to be found behind a deceptively straight-forward visual record.

The iconological method was later disputed, notably because of the scarcity of art theoretical literature from the period suggesting, or even mentioning hidden messages in art. Critics also pointed to the dangers of being blinded by a determination to uncover meanings, which could lead to a disregard for other aspects of a painting, thereby producing one-sided, even inaccurate analyses. Especially noteworthy is the 1983 book by art historian Svetlana Alpers, which proposed that parameters established for the analysis of narrative paintings did not adequately address the descriptive nature of Dutch art.⁷² Instead of approaching each painting as a window opening up to a scene displayed with the help of linear perspective, Alpers claims that Dutch art was influenced by a contemporary interest in the sciences, such as optics and the inventions of the microscope and the camera obscura. According to Alpers, Dutch painters wanted to record or "describe" their surroundings through art, leading to a focus on the visual aspects of motifs as seen in the meticulous renderings of the surfaces of depicted objects. Consequently, to Alpers still lifes did not contain any hidden riddles.

⁷¹ Jongh, "Interpretation of Still-Life Paintings," 27. By Eddy de Jongh, see also "Realisme en schijnrealisme," in translation "Realism and Seeming Realism;" "Notes on Interpretation."

⁷² Alpers, *Art of Describing*.

DaCosta Kaufmann criticized Alpers for presenting *Dutch* art as an isolated entity without any interaction with surrounding regions.⁷³ In the *Cambridge History of Science*, art historians Carmen Niekrasz and Claudia Swan expressed appreciation for the attention Alpers brought to the shared interests between art and the sciences in the seventeenth century, but simultaneously criticized the exclusive focus on fine arts at the expense of scientific imagery.⁷⁴ Drawing on these methodological debates about still life painting, my thesis accordingly considers floral still lifes together with other types of botanical depictions, and presses beyond national boundaries to situate such imagery in an international context.

A large factor in the development of my thesis was the fact that Johan Johnsen was offered a position with the de Besche family and decided to pursue his career in Sweden. Arnold Hauser, Marxist art historian claims that those who invested in art in the Dutch Republic, the middle-class, lacked taste and were simply guided by what was popular.⁷⁵ According to Hauser, this situation led to an over-production of artworks and the relocation of many painters in search of better working conditions. While the forces of supply and demand likely played a role in the career choices among many artists, I found it more worthwhile to explore Johnsen's emigration to Sweden in terms of inter-European, and inter-national, travels and exchanges among artists. His relocation prompted questions about the value of education vis-à-vis local sources of inspiration, artistic exchanges and – for a painter depicting flowers -- the importance of topography and climate.

⁷³ Kaufmann, "Independent Dutch Art;" Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*; Kaufmann, "Geography of Art: Historiography;" Kaufmann, "Netherlandish Model".

⁷⁴ Niekrasz and Swan, "Art".

⁷⁵ Hauser, *Social History of Art* 2, 216.

In addition to discussions of iconography, still life paintings have been analyzed in the hope of unearthing factors that had an impact on their creation in the seventeenth century, even suggesting the existence of issues of which the artists, or their patrons, were unaware. Historian Hal Foster claims that still lifes exude a visual intensity that reveals a Dutch ambivalence toward objects, such as feelings of guilt regarding the accumulation of goods, or the "need" for perfectly traced and glossy motifs to respond to anxieties regarding capitalism and commodity fetishism.⁷⁶ Theorist Roland Barthes criticized the "sheen" of still life objects, suggesting that the depicted articles had no other purpose than to "lubricate man's gaze amid his domain".⁷⁷ Like Foster, Barthes interprets still life paintings in relation to the expansion of capitalism.

Art historian Julie Hochstrasser has conducted a detailed examination of objects depicted in still life paintings and the conditions in which they had been acquired.⁷⁸ Once again, the focus is directed at what is hidden from view, but this time the discussion concerns working conditions in the seventeenth century and the lengths to which merchants would go in order to procure desired items. To Hochstrasser, still lifes white-washed the depicted objects from any connotation of exploitation and the paintings thus became celebrations of accumulation. In drawing attention to the negative sides of the global networks of commodity exchange, Hochstrasser expands on Barthes' and Foster's Marxist arguments and criticizes the fact that the artists' "pictorial virtuosity" relieved the viewers of the "distressing details of colonial domination."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Foster, "Art of Fetishism," 253.

⁷⁷ Barthes, "Le Monde-Objet," in translation "World as Object".

⁷⁸ Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*.

⁷⁹ Hochstrasser, "Conquest of Spice," 184.

Informed by these debates about the functions of still life paintings, I will argue that Johnsen's depicted flowers were not vanitas images, nor were they "descriptions" of his environment, or even triggered by subconscious and unresolved issues. Instead I propose that he, and his employer, were motivated by an interest in the plants' botanical features and a desire to preserve their appearances for future viewing and examination. The topic of international trade in *naturalia*, such as plants, is explored in relation to these paintings and I conclude that successful cultivation of exotic flowers often led to a desire to record such significant events in art. I thus approach floral imagery in terms of the overlap between paintings and scientific images. For example, in 1708, an agave kept at Noor Castle started blooming. Besides having been a botanical *tour-de-force*, the celebrations and imagery made to mark this occasion introduce the topic of how flowers could be assigned political roles in the early eighteenth century.

In the second chapter of my thesis, 'Same Flowers, Different Approach: Rudbeck's *Book of Flowers* and the *Campi Elysii*' the exploration of scientific illustrations is deepened. I trace how botanical literature of the seventeenth century – as opposed to earlier *herbals* and *florilegia* – is characterized by an increased focus on visual records. The claim was that images could reveal knowledge not accessible through written descriptions. The dissertation's second chapter examines the botanical work by Uppsala professor Olof Rudbeck the Elder, which included the construction of a complete botanical garden offering didactic teaching sessions and the production of illustrated encyclopedias, both projects that involved large numbers of collaborators and contributors. Rudbeck was a highly influential figure and literature on this scholar is extensive. However, his medical discoveries and his involvement in Gothicism still

dominate his legacy. Oftentimes his botanical contributions have been regarded as a sideline of lesser value. My aim in this dissertation is to rectify such dismissals and to situate the educational garden and the botanical book projects in a national as well as international context. Historian of science Gunnar Eriksson has conducted a comprehensive investigation of Rudbeck's oeuvre, which has been an essential source on the professor's activities.⁸⁰ Rudbeck's botanical work has been studied from a scientific point of view by botanists Karin Martinsson and Svengunnar Ryman, providing information on a number of Rudbeck's botanical projects.⁸¹ Particularly valuable are the interpretations of plant names as well as the identification of many of the student artists who made the illustrations for the *Campi Elysii* and *Blomboken*. My dissertation builds on Martinsson's and Ryman's work, for instance in the discussion of the reliance on visual records in the seventeenth century, the role of artists and illustrators, and the shared visual qualities between artistic and scientific imagery.

The connections between art, botany and trade in the early modern period have been examined by scholars in various fields. Art historian Claudia Swan and historian of science Londa Schiebinger propose that early modern scientific discoveries became an important source of inspiration for countries competing for land and natural resources, and that at the same time botanical research reaped the benefits of the expansion of trade networks and colonization.⁸² Historian of medicine Harold Cook suggests that empirical, hands-on, (scientific) investigations were linked to the Dutch Republic's success in trade.⁸³ More recently, historian Daniel Margócsy discusses how botanical encyclopedias

⁸⁰ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*.

⁸¹ Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*; Martinsson and Ryman, *Hortus Rudbeckianus*.

⁸² Schiebinger and Swan, *Colonial Botany*.

⁸³ Cook, *Matters of Exchange*.

became tools in the efforts to establish commonly agreed plant names, necessary when exchanging or trading *naturalia*.⁸⁴ My approach draws from the insights of these scholars. By considering the literature on Rudbeck together with these more wide-ranging approaches to art and botany, I suggest that the *Campi Elysii*, for which Rudbeck wanted to include all the known plants, was intended to provide structure to the attribution of plant names and facilitate communication between intellectuals, collectors, and botanists in different parts of the world. I argue that, through his work, Rudbeck paved the ground for Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) and the classification system he introduced half a century later (chapter two).

In a discussion of a particular type of scientific imagery and employing the term “specimen logic” in reference to artists’ focus on individual, often small, motifs, art historian Janice Neri explores how images of insects could contribute to the creation of artistic identity. Neri suggests that depictions of insects had an influence on the way nature was viewed and commercialized. Neri also suggests that highly detailed depictions were presented as evidence of artistic talent and observational skill, a statement that, once again, blurs the distinctions between art and scientific illustration. Swan argues that botanical gardens and natural history collections were related expressions of a desire to observe and seek knowledge, while also being sites for exchange and socialization.⁸⁵ Such insights are certainly applicable to my case studies in chapter two. For instance, Rudbeck employed a large number of students for the elaboration of his botanical publications, one of which was Anna Maria Thelott. This prompted my investigation into the working conditions for women artists in early modern Sweden. The significance of gender roles

⁸⁴ Margócsy, *Commercial Visions*.

⁸⁵ Swan, “Of Gardens.”

has been studied by art historian Elizabeth Honig who argues that boundaries between private and public spaces in the seventeenth century were rather fluid, making artistic production a feasible and more accessible activity for women.⁸⁶ Honig also discusses the many forms of creative expressions among women, an article that brought valuable nuances to my understanding of Thelott's oeuvre, which included painting, drawing, and engraving.⁸⁷ Art historians Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock established that activities that became labelled "female" in the nineteenth century were not necessarily considered gendered artistic occupations in the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ A self-portrait, in which Thelott chose to depict herself embroidering is consequently not a reference to her feminine pastime, but rather intended to signal her artistic versatility. Parker further examined the status and development of embroidery in *The Subversive Stitch – Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, a thought-provoking investigation that leads to the conclusion that works of embroidery certainly deserve more consideration in the field of art history.⁸⁹

The third chapter, 'Botany and Politics', continues the exploration of how flowers and horticulture could be used in a political context, for instance through the publication of images of many of the country's most elegant estates; the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*. Art historian Börje Magnusson's dissertation has provided essential and detailed knowledge about this project.⁹⁰ Magnusson has continued examining Dahlbergh's oeuvre. Recently, Magnusson and historian Jonas Nordin published an amply illustrated account

⁸⁶ Honig, "Space of Gender."

⁸⁷ Honig, "Art of Being Artistic."

⁸⁸ Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*.

⁸⁹ Parker, *Subversive Stitch*.

⁹⁰ Magnusson, *Illustrera Fäderneslandet*.

of Dahlbergh's album tracing its progression from the first drawings in 1661 until the second decade of the twenty-first century, when digitization of the entire material at Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm, was concluded.⁹¹ Expanding from these studies, in my text, I show that not only the depicted buildings but also their surroundings reveal valuable knowledge about cultural spending and the development of garden design in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Neville has conducted a detailed reading of the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* from a Gothicism perspective, which has added a level of understanding of Dahlbergh's oeuvre.⁹²

Chapter four, 'The Geography of Garden Art', explores a field of study that touches on several areas, such as art history, history of science, botany, horticulture, architecture, and archeology. It is therefore a topic that fits well within the parameters of this thesis and is a logical extension of my discussion of the seventeenth-century interest in flowers and other plants. The major part of the chapter is dedicated to the work carried out by André Mollet during his five years in Sweden 1648-53. In addition, Mollet's garden designs and travels before and after his time in Sweden are discussed since they contribute to an understanding of the complexity of the period's multi-directional artistic exchanges.

Art historian Erik de Jong's research on historic gardens has aided in positioning Swedish formal garden designs in a wider context. In *Nature and Art: Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650-1740* de Jong discusses how plants, fountains, and statuary in seventeenth-century formal gardens were chosen with specific political or social

⁹¹ Magnusson, "Erik Dahlbergh och hans bilder;" Magnusson, "Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna;" Magnusson, "Sweden Illustrated;" Magnusson, "Tryckningen av Suecia Antiqua;" Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*.

⁹² Neville, "Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna."

messages in mind.⁹³ Compared to the pride expressed on the occasion of a flowering exotic plant, gardens were carriers of meaning on a whole new level. De Jong does not hesitate to label some designs as propaganda. My study is, in addition, indebted to de Jong's discussion of the tradition among international travellers to visit gardens, and the importance of the subsequent written accounts in the dissemination of horticultural and garden knowledge across regions and nations.⁹⁴

Also, of importance for my chapter on formal gardens is the work of historian John Dixon Hunt. Re-applying a sixteenth-century concept, Dixon Hunt posits that garden design is the last level of "the three natures", the culmination of human imprint on our world.⁹⁵ In *Site, Sight, Insight* Dixon Hunt explores the temporality of gardens suggesting that they not only change over the years and with different seasons, but also during the course of a visit, "even hour by hour, as a result of light and atmosphere."⁹⁶ Gardens therefore necessitate different ekphrastic responses compared to paintings or even three-dimensional works such as statues. I found this very useful when considering gardens as works of art, especially since the garden is most often omitted from art histories of this period.

The last chapter of my dissertation, 'Garden Design in Sweden after Mollet', consists of a discussion of the development of formal garden designs created in Sweden after 1653 and until the second decade of the eighteenth century. Gardens are living works of art and the impact of particular Nordic conditions – climate, topography, temperatures, sea levels -- on historic gardens over the past centuries is reviewed. My dissertation also

⁹³ Jong, *Nature and Art*.

⁹⁴ Jong, "Nicodemus Tessin;" Jong, "Plants and Gardeners;" Jong, "Vackra igenom konst."

⁹⁵ Hunt, "Natur gånger tre."

⁹⁶ Hunt, *Site, Sight, Insight*.

shows that, when preserving this particular type of art, extant material in many instances provides the information required to restore a historic layout.

Through the analyses of three areas of artistic production; still lifes, scientific illustrations, and garden design, my dissertation contributes to on-going debates regarding the interconnectedness of art and science and also seeks to participate in exciting developments in the field of art history. My work demonstrates how different forms of artistic expression were inter-related and that a far-flung community of people were drawn together through shared interest and curiosity about plants, botany, and horticulture: such collaborations contributed to the advancement of knowledge in these fields. In addition, numerous examples clearly illustrate the multi-directional communication and exchanges between artists and scholars in a country in the far north and with their counterparts in Europe and beyond. It is time that the belief in the isolation of the country “beyond the mountains” is revised.

1 ARTISTS WITH AN EYE FOR FLOWERS

Still life painting became an increasingly appreciated genre in Northern Europe during the course of the seventeenth century. Popular motifs were breakfasts and plates of food, music instruments, tobacco with smoking accessories, fish and meat, imported objects such as Chinese porcelain, skulls and other reminders of life's brevity, and also fruits and flowers. It can be argued, and *has* been, that depictions of ephemeral items such as flowers were references to death and decay and that such paintings therefore belong to the vanitas category.⁹⁷ However, this chapter will investigate flower still lifes from another viewpoint and explore their relationship to discoveries in botany, which were taking place at the same time. In the first section, the œuvre by immigrant painter Johan Johnsen will illustrate one way that knowledge of artistic developments arrived in Sweden. Secondly, a series of monumental flower images by little-known artist David von Cöln exemplify the desire to create visual records of spectacular and unusual species. Finally, the fascination with exotic plants came to a pinnacle in the early eighteenth century when an agave growing at Noor Castle north of Stockholm produced more than five thousand flowers. Images to celebrate, and record, this event were created both by a botanist and by an artist.

Johan Johnsen, the son of a baker, was born in Kiel on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea.⁹⁸ Rapp suggests that it was in Amsterdam that Georg de Besche the Elder,

⁹⁷ Ingvar Bergström, Eddy de Jongh. See Introduction.

⁹⁸ The discussion of Johan Johnsen is based on Alm et al, *Barockens konst*, 418-19, 507; Berefelt, *Svensk landskapskonst*, 53-57, 88-89; Cavalli-Björkman, Norrman, and Ernstell, *Blomsterspråk*, 91; Hafström, *Bildande konsternas utövare*, 45; Hahr, *David von Krafft*, 38; Moselius, *Cronstedts samlingar*, 41; Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 13, 152-171, 189-90. Johan Johnsen is also mentioned in the following overviews: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* (online); Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique*; *Blouin Art Sales Index* (online);

merchant, entrepreneur, and collector of art and curiosities, met Johnsen.⁹⁹ De Besche invited the young artist to work for him at his new residence in Sweden and Johnsen arrived in Forsmark in the late 1670s. Forsmark was a so-called mill village (*bruksort*), a settlement that grew up around the exploitation of natural resources in the early modern period. These agglomerations were typically located in proximity to a mine (in Forsmark's case the Dannemora iron mine), to energy sources (trees and rivers), and to convenient transportation, such as the Baltic Sea, which gave access to the entire continent. For reasons of convenience, employees lived close to work and eventually an entire village grew up, encompassing the industrial installations, lodgings, a church and a stately residence for the mill owner.¹⁰⁰

Johnsen likely relocated to Sweden for one of several reasons: Dutch and German immigration had created large local communities and Johnsen would not have had any difficulties communicating or adapting to his new home country.¹⁰¹ The other determining factor was probably the contract offered by de Besche. Rapp suggests that Johnsen would have enjoyed a rather distinguished position as in-house painter and artistic advisor at Forsmark.¹⁰² Kaufmann suggests that Dutch artists who moved abroad were part of a

Nationalmuseum, *Äldre utländska målningar (1958)*; *Nordisk familjebok*; Pavière, *Dictionary of Flower*; *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* (online); *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*. I have, furthermore, consulted material at Nationalmuseum (Bildarkivet, Biographica) and at Kungliga biblioteket (Handskriftsavdelningen), both in Stockholm, and received verbal and written information from private owners of Johnsen's paintings.

⁹⁹ Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 152–53, 163–64, and 170; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*, 3:300. Rapp supports his reference to Amsterdam by stylistic similarities between Johnsen's oeuvre and that of painters active in that city in the 1660s and 1670s.

¹⁰⁰ Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 10. See also Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 168.

¹⁰¹ Linguists Bo Andersson and Raimo Raag suggest that, before the late eighteenth century, religious and political coherence was more important than linguistic unity. Therefore, the usage of German or Dutch languages in Stockholm would not have been seen as problematic. Bo Andersson provides ample examples of documents, letters and literature written and published in German in Sweden during the seventeenth century. B. Andersson and Raag, *Nyens Skans*, 7–9, 137–162.

¹⁰² Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 154.

larger context in which groups of the population left for the Baltic area because of “business interests, tempting opportunities or religious persecution.”¹⁰³

At Forsmark, Johnsen could find artistic inspiration in local nature while also continuing to use sketches and notes he had brought from Germany or the Dutch Republic. Johnsen’s Swedish production consequently both highlighted the local scenery, but also introduced European motifs, a concrete example of the type of cross-cultural exchanges that were typical of early modern artistic production. One of many channels through which artistic knowledge was diffused across Europe was through albums with motifs and patterns, frequently produced in the Dutch Republic, that artists such as Johnsen could bring when relocating abroad, or that were sold and shipped to interested customers. Woodcuts and engravings were easy to reproduce and therefore less expensive, and printed sheets were even easier to transport than books. Kaufmann suggests that the copying of prints was one of the ways that a Dutch visual idiom was introduced across the entire Baltic region.¹⁰⁴

Johnsen worked for the de Besche family for three decades and would have produced an extensive number of artworks. However, armed conflicts and a house fire have reduced the number of extant paintings. Between 1719 and 1721, the Russian navy carried out raids along the eastern coast of Sweden in order to put pressure on peace talks to end the Great Northern War (*Stora Nordiska kriget*, 1700-21). Forsmark became one of its targets, and on 20 July 1719 the entire area was pillaged and burned to the ground.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Kaufmann, “Påverkan västerifrån,” 24.

¹⁰⁴ Kaufmann, “Påverkan västerifrån,” 23; Larsson, “Konstnärlig utveckling,” 270.

¹⁰⁵ A detailed account of the attack on Forsmark can be found in Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*. See also Hellström, *När Forsmarks bruk brändes*. It has been suggested that the Russians specifically attacked mill towns in order to eradicate Swedish competition in the iron industry. See Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 39. The overall history of the Forsmark mill, manor, and village is discussed in Ahrlund, *Forsmark*;

In the days leading up to the attack the de Besche family had been reassured that the village would be well defended and did not move any objects to safety. Georg de Besche the Elder had been a collector of art, *naturalia*, coins, old weapons, wine, and had possessed an extensive library.¹⁰⁶ In the course of a day all was lost, not only the precious objects and artworks, but also the industrial installations and all the homes, both those of the mill owner and of the workers, as well as the gardens and the church's interior.

Luckily, Georg the Elder had not been the only art collector in the family and a number of works created by Johan Johnsen had been moved from Forsmark before the events of 1719, and therefore saved to posterity. Rapp suggests that a lot of approximately sixty paintings had been bequeathed to the eldest child in the family, Margareta Beata (1667-1749). She would have received the items when her father passed away in 1711, by which time she was married and living in Stockholm.¹⁰⁷ However, a testament dated 28 January 1708 reveals that Georg the Elder's sister Anna de Besche-Bergenhielm (1642-1709), who did not have any children of her own, had decided to bequeath her belongings "without exception" to her brother's grand-daughter Margareta Beata (1689-1772), in other words to the daughter of the earlier mentioned Margareta Beata.¹⁰⁸ Confusingly,

Berg and Berg, *Forsmark före rysshärjningarna*; Dahlgren, *De uppländska bruken*; Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*; Randers, *Forsmarks bruk*. After the Russian devastation Forsmarks bruk was rebuilt in the 1720s and remained in operation until 1897. Today the manor belongs to Forsmarks Kraftgrupp, a nuclear power plant situated nearby. The residence is open to visitors during the summer season. The workers' lodgings are private homes.

¹⁰⁶ Hellström, *När Forsmarks bruk brändes*, 619; Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 21; Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*, 81; Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 152; Roosval, *Svenska slott och herresäten* (1909), 305.

¹⁰⁷ Rapp, *Djur och Stilleben*, 156. The same information is repeated in Randers, *Forsmarks bruk*, 20; Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 38.

¹⁰⁸ "Ehuru wäl jag Anna Bergenhielm boren de Besche, under dato den 8 Januari innewarande år 1708, månde skriffteligen förklara och uptaga min K. Broders Wälborne Hr GEORGE DE BESCHES dotterdotter, den wälborna Fru MARGARETA BEATA [née] GRUNDEL för mitt enda barn och rätta arfwinge, med all den förmånn, som hade jag henne under mitt Echtenskap hijt till werlden födt och framburit, så att hon Fru MARGARETA BEATA [née] GRUNDEL i krafft der af wid min dödelige afgang bör allena hafwa att tillträda all min effterlåenskap i löst och fast, intet undantagandes..." Bergenhielm, *Testament*. Many thanks to Carl

mother and daughter went by the same name. The younger Margareta Beata had married government official Jacob Cronstedt (1668-1751) in 1707 and inherited the paintings two years later when her great-aunt passed away.

Since the extant paintings by Johnsen originally belonged to Georg the Elder's sister, it can be concluded that the artist worked not only for his immediate employer, but also for the extended family, many of whom also lived at Forsmark. On the other hand, a series of written petitions reveals that Anna de Besche-Bergenhielm's will was contested and, possibly, that ownership within the family was fluid. In one document dated 1711, Georg the Elder claimed that his sister "did not have authority in the least to donate and bequeath everything."¹⁰⁹ However, by 1716 the issue was settled, and the paintings remained in the Cronstedt home.

A reconstruction of Johnsen's complete oeuvre is, unfortunately, not feasible. No documents or images describing paintings and other decorations at the de Besche home prior to 1719 exist, and it is, consequently, not possible to establish what other works were created by Johnsen during his time in Sweden. Extant documents regarding the Forsmark residence focus on financial aspects and little or no attention is given to works of art. For instance, an inventory of the estate was drawn up in 1717, but the aim was simply to establish the monetary value of the property.¹¹⁰ This document is, consequently,

Johan Cronstedt for providing this document. Anna de Besche was married twice, first (1663) to estate steward Johan Stensson Hammarström (1632-1699) and four years after Hammarström's death, she married government administrator Johan Bergenhielm (1629-1704). Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor*, 1:162, 2:195.

¹⁰⁹ "...hafwandes jag och uti Libellen wijst, att min syster icke hade macht det ringaste att borttgifwa och förtestamentera alt..." De Besche, 14 July 1711. See also Cronstedt, *Westin* 650:262; Cronstedt, *Westin* 667:243; Cronstedt, *Westin* 667:210; De Besche, 8 July 1711. Many thanks to Carl Johan Cronstedt for providing these documents.

¹¹⁰ The inventory was carried out on behalf of Jacob Grundel (1657-1737) – the husband of Margareta Beata the Elder, who, after the death of her father was one of four co-owners of Forsmark – who needed

limited to buildings and installations, with ample comments on the quality of roofs, windows, hinges and locks. One feature, but only mentioned in passing, is the second floor of a “garden building” having belonged to the late steward Johan Stensson Hammarström (and therefore also to Anna de Besche), which included “a large, beautiful hall, with thereto useful paintings.”¹¹¹ National antiquarian Gösta Selling suggests that these works of art had been created by Johnsen.¹¹² Since the 1717 inventory did not take individual property or detachable items into consideration, the notation likely refers to some type of frescoes or other form of wall decoration believed to augment the value of the estate. The contents of a curiosity cabinet decorated by Johnsen or other artworks are not discussed, nor even mentioned. This document was drawn up the year after the settlement of Anna de Besche-Bergenhjelm’s testament and would not have included the bequeathed paintings.

It would be too hazardous to attempt to estimate the number or quality of paintings by Johnsen at the Forsmark Manor at the time, although the sixty-odd extant works give an indication of what the artist had accomplished during the three decades he was employed by the family. As per royal instructions, an assessment of the damages caused by the Russian attack was drawn up on 16 November 1719, four months after the raid.¹¹³ There is a possibility that this inventory painted a dramatically grim picture of the situation and sought to enhance the value of lost property. Nevertheless, the list is likely

to use the couple’s share of the estate as guarantee for a loan. Forsmark, *Inventarium*, dated 6 May 1717. See also Berg and Berg, *Forsmark före rysshärjningarna*; Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 35-38.

¹¹¹ “Salig herr Hammarströms trädgårdsbyggning... I övre våningen fanns ’en stor vacker sal, med därtill tjänliga målningar’.” Berg and Berg, *Forsmark före rysshärjningarna*, 7–8.

¹¹² Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 37.

¹¹³ Wallerius, Boor and Wiris, *Värderingsinstrument*, dated 16 November 1719. Reproduced in Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*, 93–100.

trustworthy in terms of its overall description of the estate. In addition, in its depiction of the devastation, the inventory of 1719 indirectly confirms the document from 1717.

Regrettably, regarding artworks and other decorations the post-raid document is equally and frustratingly lacking in detail. The manor's rooms are simply described as having been "all with their furnishings well provided." In addition, the home of the late Daniel de Besche (1648-1685) had had "most of the rooms decorated and painted."¹¹⁴ Like his sister Anna, and in spite of his premature death, it is likely that also Daniel owned paintings by Johnsen, the family artist.

In addition to paintings created for the de Besche homes, Johnsen would have been responsible for the embellishments of the village church, which was customarily built and financed by the mill owner. Rapp claims that Johnsen created the altar piece for the Forsmark church, and also decorated the pulpit, the pews and possibly also painted the family coat of arms, which was exposed in this building.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, while the Russians spared the church exterior, they destroyed its furnishings and therefore this part of Johnsen's oeuvre also is lost.

Like many merchant and industrialist families, the de Besches owned a secondary residence in the capital.¹¹⁶ Johnsen thus visited Stockholm regularly, among other reasons in order to purchase painting material. Art historians Frits Scholten and Joanna Woodall emphasize that when relocating to a new city "Netherlandish artists (and other

¹¹⁴ "En stor röd byggning... av 2 stora salar, 9 kamrar, 3 kök och 3 förstugor, alla med sina tillhörigheter väl försedda... Salig herr Daniel de Besches byggning av 2ne våningar med 8 rum och tvenne förstugor... mest alla rummen målade och anstrukna..." Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*, 95. Daniel de Besche, an army officer, was a younger brother to Georg de Besche.

¹¹⁵ Rapp, *Djur och Stilleben*, 155. See also Berg and Berg, *Forsmark före rysshärjningarna*, 3; Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*, 103; Randers, *Forsmarks bruk*, 25.

¹¹⁶ Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 47. The de Besche Stockholm residence was, like that of many Dutch immigrants, situated in the Södermalm area of the capital. In 1670 approximately 3,000 people of Dutch origin lived in Stockholm, or 7,5% of an estimated total population of 40,000.

foreigners)” often joined compatriots in both formal and informal groups, such as guilds and churches.¹¹⁷ Consequently, it can be expected that Johnsen met fellow Germans living in the capital during these trips.¹¹⁸ He was friends with Johan Berendz (†1723), the owner of the pharmacy *Hvita Björnen*, and who endorsed Johnsen’s request for a travel pass in 1705, the only trip the artist is known to have made after settling in Sweden.¹¹⁹ Stockholm is also where Johnsen died in April 1708, although he was later buried at Forsmark. Unfortunately, any artworks kept at the de Besche home in Stockholm were lost in the spring of 1723, when the building was destroyed by an accidental fire.¹²⁰ Therefore, due to the misfortune of two fires our knowledge of Johnsen’s oeuvre is limited to the paintings inherited in 1709. Nevertheless, the extant works span several motifs, sizes, and materials and can provide valuable information on the interest in depicting flowers and other plants in Sweden during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

1.1 Locally Inspired Motifs and Imported Imagery

When exploring artistic mobility, the accessibility to sources of inspiration can be particularly revealing, especially when a painter of *naturalia* relocates to an unfamiliar

¹¹⁷ Scholten and Woodall, “Netherlandish Artists,” 18.

¹¹⁸ The St Gertrud Community had been founded by German immigrants to Stockholm in 1571, and the eponymous, and still active, church was inaugurated in 1642.
www.svenskakyrkan.se/deutschegemeinde/uberuns.

¹¹⁹ “The secretary is asked to write a travel pass for Mons: Johan Johnsen, to be issued to Wismar to collect his heritage and then return home again. Meanwhile, he has no debts to anyone here. Certified in Stockholm Ao [1]705, 22 June.” The original was written in German: “Der Herr Secretarius beliebe anzeigen Mons: Johan Johnsen einen Reijsepäss zu geben welcher auf Wismar Reijssset umb sein Erbguth ein zu holen und wieder hier kompt. Und Niemandt Hier das Geringste Schuldig ist. So hiermit Attestire, Stockholm Ao [1]705, d. 22 Junij.” Johnsen and Berendz, *Travel document*; Rapp, *Djur och Stilleben*, 153. Translation by Suse and Hans Eierkus, Falkenberg, Sweden.

¹²⁰ *Biographiskt lexicon 1838*, 4:69; Gezelius, *Försök*, 4:109; Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 39; Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*, 81. Olof Rudbeck the Younger wrote a poem reflecting on the “cruel and horrific” series of city fires having struck Stockholm on 24 April, 1 May, and 14 May 1723. Rudbeck, *En bedröflig ihugkommelse*.

climate and topographic situation. Within an oeuvre that includes still lifes, religious scenes, a self-portrait, and landscapes, Johnsen's flower pieces occupy the largest part. For these compositions, Johnsen could find motifs among the plants and herbs surrounding the residence at Forsmark. It is therefore worthwhile to once again scrutinize the two Forsmark inventories in search of additional clues to Johnsen's working environment.¹²¹ The 1717 document describes two gardens; one small one divided into three parterres and planted with flowers and rose and currant bushes, and a larger one used for herbs, vegetables, and fruit trees. In addition, the Hammarström residence nearby had an orangery for exotic plants, or more likely for *all* non-native species since the summers are short and the winters can be quite unforgiving that far north. It therefore appears that Johnsen had access to both hardy and more fragile plants and flowers. An annotation by Olof Rudbeck the Younger provides the names of more than a dozen species that he received from Forsmark at the turn of the century (see chapter two), which corresponds to an active period in the artist's career. The connection between botanical gifts and artists' working environment has rarely been made, if ever, and constitute a promising avenue for further research.

The 1719 inventory regarding the destruction carried out by the Russian fleet earlier in the year is somewhat more detailed regarding the surroundings at Forsmark:

[There had been] a flower garden outside the large building with embroideries, separate parterres, cold frames, picket fences and other accessories, burned, spoiled and mostly destroyed. A large garden next to it with trees and bushes,

¹²¹ The two inventories were drawn up approximately a decade after the artist had passed away but can still provide valuable information on the Forsmark surroundings.

divided into numerous parterres, 2 graceful and well-built gazebos, seedbeds and a well-maintained wooden fence equally destroyed. A garden building with 2 rooms with an attic above, and underneath a large vaulted cellar, which still exists, and a smaller [cellar] for garden fruit destroyed... The late Mr. Hammarström's garden of rather good size and width, consisting of fruit trees and bushes arranged in parterres; surrounded by a wooden fence with poles, all burnt; and the garden for the largest part spoiled; with its greenhouse and small garden house intended as orangery...¹²²

Through these descriptions, an image of what the Forsmark environment looked like emerges: the two main gardens were of geometric design and divided into parterres; one contained flowers and embroidery motifs, the other was of a more utilitarian nature with herbs, vegetables, and fruit trees. Potted plants were kept in greenhouses during the cold season and undoubtedly transferred outside in the summer. Therefore, many of the flowers depicted by Johnsen were likely based on specimens cultivated at Forsmark, either in the orangeries or outdoors in the gardens.

The 1717 and 1719 inventories were drawn up at a time when the concept of pleasure gardens was widely accepted across large parts of Europe, especially among the segments of the population who wanted to project an image of elevated social standing,

¹²² "En blomstergård utanför stora byggningen med ritningar, avdelade kvarter, lavar, 'spihl' plank och annat tillbehör, förbränd spolierad och mest fördärvat. En stor trädgård där bredvid med trän och buskar, uti åtskilliga kvarter avdelad, 2ne sirliga och välbyggda lusthus, drivbänkar och ett väl behållet brädplank däromkring även lika fördärvat. En trädgårdsbyggnad av 2ne rum med vind ovanpå uppå, samt därunder en stor välvd källare, som ännu är behållen, och en mindre till trädgårdsfrukt fördärvat... Salig herr Hammarströms trädgård av tämlig storlek och vidd, försedd med fruktbärande trän och buskar i sina kvarter rangerade; däromkring ett brädplank med stolpar, allt avbränt; och trädgården till största delen förskämd; med dess drivbänkar och ett litet trädgårdshus ämnat till orangeri..." Wallerius, Boor and Wiris, *Värderingsinstrument*, dated 16 November 1719. Reproduced in Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*, 93–100.

financial ease, and time for pleasurable living, such as mill owners and merchants. It is therefore worth noting that in the above documents, edible plants and fruit trees still appear to dominate. This particular aspect of Swedish garden design will be further discussed in chapter five.



Figure 1. Johan Johnsen, *Forsmarks bruk och kyrka* (Forsmark Mill and Church), c. 1700. Oil/canvas, 146 x 201 cm. Private collection. Photo by author.

Sometime before the year 1700, Johnsen made a large painting depicting the entire Forsmark village (figure 1).¹²³ This bird's-eye-view provides a complement to the information provided by the two inventories discussed above. Few such landscape scenes were created in the country at the time and Johnsen's work not only allows a visualization

¹²³ Selling suggests that the panorama was painted before 1694. Janson and Janson, *Forsmarks bruk*, 35-38.

of industrial installations of the early modern period, but also shows the residences and gardens approximately two decades before the Russian destruction. The large panorama takes in all aspects of village life; the blast furnace and the trip hammer, the dam and the waterways, the manor, the workers' lodgings, the church and the bell tower. The residences belonging to Georg de Besche and his extended family are red, as well as the fences surrounding them. It appears that in addition to being surrounded by fences, the gardens were also raised on stone platforms, either to create a flat planting surface or to protect from floods by the dam situated very close by. Again, the painting confirms the accessibility to both cultivated and wild plants in and around Forsmark.



Figure 2. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers*. Oil/canvas, 87x58 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 3944).



Figure 3. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 3945).

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Figure 4. Johan Johnsen, Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 5. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Private collection.



Figure 6. Johan Johnsen. *Flower Still Life on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Sold by Åmells art gallery, Stockholm, 2004.



Figure 7. Johan Johnsen. *Still Life with Flowers on Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Sold by Bukowskis auction house, Stockholm, 2012.

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Figure 8. Johan Johnsen. *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Oil/canvas, 87 x 58 cm. Private collection.

Johnsen painted flower still lifes in different media, such as watercolour and gouache. He also created a series of seven *Flower Piece on Pedestal* (figures 2-8) in oil on canvas. Each work measures 87 x 58 cm and are among the largest known by this artist. The bouquets are symmetrical in shape, with identical opaque backgrounds, which push the motif toward the spectator and by the same token reduce the sense of depth. The vases rest on wooden supports. The reflection in the vessels is, in each case, set to the left, which would indicate a light source from that direction. However, the flowers are evenly lit and do not cast any shadows. The fact that the blooms barely overlap conveys a feeling of artificiality, and these motifs were possibly based on sketches. On the other hand, the

depicted flowers, such as roses, tulips, carnations, larkspurs, ivy, and irises were known and cultivated in Sweden at this time.¹²⁴ During his years on the European continent, Johnsen likely had had the opportunity to see, and copy, works by artists such as Jacques de Gheyn II (c. 1565-1629), and still life painters such as Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573-1621) and his sons Ambrosius the Younger (1609-1645) and Johannes (c. 1610-c. 1650).¹²⁵ However, since Johnsen's apprenticeships and movements prior to his move to Sweden have not been determined, I suggest that Johnsen could also have been inspired by artists such as Georg Flegel (1566-1638), and especially, by one of Flegel's pupils, Jacob Marrel (1614-1681). The latter studied and worked in Frankfurt am Main and Utrecht in the 1630s and 1640s, and Johnsen could have come into contact with his art in one of those places.¹²⁶ Marrel's bouquets, set against monochrome backgrounds, are triangular in design with one prominent flower at the top, which are features also seen in Johnsen's pedestal series. Finally, early and late blooming flowers, such as daffodils and roses, are shown side by side in Johnsen's series, which could indicate that the compositions were based on sketches or prints, and perhaps even painted during the winter months. Assuming that Johnsen used motifs brought from Germany or the Dutch Republic, the pedestal series provides a tangible example of how art and visual culture spread throughout Europe in the early modern period.

¹²⁴ The flowers mentioned are, for instance, included in Olof Rudbeck the Elder's catalogues (from 1658, 1666, and 1685) of plants growing in the Botanical Garden in Uppsala. They are also listed in a 1666 inventory of the garden at Ulriksdal Castle. Martinsson and Ryman, *Hortus Rudbeckianus*; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*; Rudbeck, *Deliciae Vallis Jacobaeae*.

¹²⁵ Sources of inspiration suggested by Moselius, *Cronstedts samlingar*, 41; Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 158; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*, 300.

¹²⁶ See for instance Marrel's *Flower Piece*, from 1634. Bergström, *Holländskt stillebenmåleri*, 96; Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting*, 156.

Still lifes depicting flowers that would normally bloom at different times of the year, grouped together in one composition, were common in the seventeenth century.¹²⁷ Typically, each specimen is shown at its prime. Contemporary theorist Gerard de Lairesse (1641-1711) suggested that only the most rare and beautiful flowers should be painted, which implied not limiting oneself to bouquets of plants that were picked at the same time.¹²⁸ De Lairesse felt that merely copying plants' appearances from the life, *ad vivum*, was a lowly and mechanical activity, with a risk of showing "the deficiencies of nature."¹²⁹ Art historian Sam Segal suggests that seventeenth-century artists chose blooms from different seasons in order to illustrate, or incite the observer to reflect on, the passing of seasons. According to Segal, Balthasar van der Ast's (1593/4-1657) *Flowers in a Wanli Porcelain Vase* (c. 1628) combines flowers, fruits and insects to depict "a distinct vision of Creation and the cycles of Nature."¹³⁰ Segal's suggestion means, however, that most still lifes featuring a bouquet of flowers could be read as references to the seasons or to nature's yearly renewal. Art historian Celeste Brusati instead views flower depictions as part of a larger phenomenon of social interactions and activities, evoking similarities between still life painting and collecting. Brusati suggests that Jan Brueghel the Elder's (1568-1625) bouquets, described as "additive assemblages of separately observed elements," were never simple imitations of motifs he had stumbled upon but rather

¹²⁷ This discussion excludes flowers included in vanitas images, where their inherent ephemerality was generally an allusion to life's brevity.

¹²⁸ Lairesse, *Art of Painting 1738*, 548.

¹²⁹ Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting*, 83, 84.

¹³⁰ "... we can see a distinct vision of Creation and the cycles of Nature expressed in a single composition: spring flowers, such as the lily-of-the valley and the tulip; the young, ripening buds of summer roses; the fruits of the autumn; and finally the return of the lizard awakening in spring from its winter hibernation. The butterfly and the dragonflies which renew themselves from the wingless state of their youth also fit into this cycle of nature." Segal, *Prosperous Past*, 108. Still life painting referring to the four seasons is also suggested by Cavalli-Björkman and Nilsson, *Stilleben*, 11.

planned and arranged for viewing in a manner similar to the way a collector assembled objects in a *Wunderkammer*.¹³¹ Brusati invokes the possibility that “bouquets of striated tulips, fritillary, and similar cultivars may well have existed *only* as painted artifacts,” not only because these flowers bloomed at different times of the year, but also since arranging highly valued plants in vases would have shortened their already limited lifespans.¹³² What Brusati suggests, then, is to take a step back from the identification or interpretation of individual species, and instead see the impetus to paint bouquets as an expression of a contemporary behaviour and attitudes toward the accumulation of objects.¹³³ Art historian Elizabeth Honig also argues that still lifes drew upon “common mentalities and experiences of collecting.” *Wunderkammers* typically presented *naturalia* detached from their original or familiar environments, items that through the juxtaposition with other items were given new meanings.¹³⁴ Curiosity cabinets and still lifes consequently became expressions of the seventeenth-century society’s “way of managing the unusual and exciting nature of an increasingly diverse material culture.”¹³⁵ In sum, it can be argued that artists chose to depict particular plants not to reflect on the way nature evolved but rather on the way society evolved. I suggest that Johnsen’s flower still lifes are not only expressions of the growing interest in natural history seen on a global scale, but also that his paintings assemble and preserve specimens in order to facilitate the study, exploration, examination, and comprehension of botanical motifs.

¹³¹ Brusati, “Natural Artifice,” 150. On Jan Brueghel the Elder, see also Cavalli-Björkman, Norrman, and Ernstell, *Blomsterspråk*, 70.

¹³² Brusati, “Natural Artifice,” 148.

¹³³ Segal also compares gardens to cabinets of curiosity. Segal, *Prosperous Past*, 93.

¹³⁴ See also Merriam, *Garland Paintings*, 85.

¹³⁵ Honig, “Making Sense of Things,” 183.



Figure 9 Johan Johnsen. *Still Life with a Vase of Flowers on a Pedestal*. Watercolour/paper, 31 x 20 cm. Private collection. Photo by author.

The wooden plinths in Johnsen's pedestal series, occupying as much as the bottom third in each painting, feature two different designs. Three of the bouquets rest on a pedestal decorated with a sunflower, the remaining four on a base decorated with a face, possibly that of a lion (there are whiskers). Besides the seven oil paintings, Johnsen made a small watercolour with a similar design of a bouquet of flowers resting on the sunflower base (figure 9). The aquarelle was likely a preparatory sketch for the larger works. However, this particular composition has not been used for any of the oils. The reason could be that Johnsen's employer preferred other flowers than the ones shown in the watercolour, or else because an eighth painting was planned, perhaps even executed. If that is the case, there would have been four works with each pedestal motif. A retrospective exhibition in Stockholm in 1898 showcased two works by Johnsen. The catalogue's entry number 115 refers to a *Vase of Flowers*, which Rapp suggests

corresponded to one of the pedestal paintings.¹³⁶ However, the author of the catalogue, Ludvig Looström, also mentions that the painting is signed, which does not appear to be the case for any of the seven oils. Again, this could point to the existence of an eighth work in the series.

1.2 A Botanical Approach

If the pedestal paintings suggest the importation of sketch material to Sweden, another set of flower pieces by the same artist rather reveal inspiration by local sources. Johnsen created a series of eight flower still lifes (figures 10-17) in watercolour on paper and in small format, each work measuring 22 x 18 cm. Six of the bouquets are held together by a blue ribbon; the other two are completely unattached. Flowers, stems, and leaves are recorded in minute detail with attention to both design and colour. Likely, de Besche had asked the artist to depict some of the most spectacular items in the garden, in order to keep visual records of such prized possessions.



Figure 10. Johan Johnsen, Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet of Flowers with Blue Ribbon and a Moth.)* Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

¹³⁶ Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 158 n 22.



Figure 11. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Blue)*. Watercolour/ paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.



Figure 12. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Red)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.



Figure 13. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet with Blue Ribbon and Blue Flowers)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.



Figure 14. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet with Blue Ribbon and Variegated Tulip)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.



Figure 15. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet with Blue Ribbon and Red Flowers)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.



Figure 16. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Red and Blue with Blue Ribbon)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.



Figure 17. Johan Johnsen, *Blombukett (Bouquet in Red and Grey with Blue Ribbon)*. Watercolour/paper, 22 x 18 cm. Private collection.

The artist has chosen not to weigh his compositions down with vases or other supports. The background is white, further enhancing the feeling of lightness. Compared

to the pedestal paintings, the flowers in the watercolour series have a greater sense of three-dimensionality in spite of the non-spatial backgrounds. Furthermore, there is a sense of spontaneity, expressed through rounded brushstrokes and more nuances in the colouring, and the compositions are likely based on live plants. Finally, Johnsen has been less stringent about the flowers' proportions and angles, letting one over-sized specimen - - such as a variegated tulip or a red poppy -- dominate an entire work.

The watercolours indicate that Johnsen's interest in flowers went beyond a desire to simply record identifiable species. The artist's focus on individual specimens, the cut stems, the lack of shadows, and the unusual and revelatory positions of the flowers point to outstanding observational skills but also to a level of curiosity resembling scientific scrutiny. Art historian August Hahr calls Johnsen's works "good *botanical* flower pieces," which hints at a cross-over status of the artist.¹³⁷ However, similar attention to detail had been exercised by still life painters on the continent for some time. Artists had started depicting natural motifs in the mid-fifteenth century, showing an interest in nature that took place in parallel to scientific explorations, for instance in botany.¹³⁸ Cook suggests that scientists preferred detailed descriptions because they "could be grasped by the senses, allowing comparison, alteration, and use for material betterment."¹³⁹ To add "detailed images" to the "detailed descriptions" was a natural development. Plants and similar motifs were painted or drawn as natural historians felt that visual records constituted a reliable source of information. In addition to the artist's scrutinizing look, a drawn or painted flower never wilted, and the image could be consulted at any time.

¹³⁷ "...goda *botaniska* blomsterstycken..." Hahr, *David von Krafft*, 39. My italics.

¹³⁸ Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, 17; Niekrasz and Swan, "Art," 773.

¹³⁹ Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, 6.

Visual records were created in increasing numbers across Europe as scientists and painters from various regions explored the flora of their particular living area.

Art historian Svetlana Alpers has suggested that a desire to *describe* the world was characteristic of Dutch artists, who were intent on rendering objects in their entirety and in high detail. Alpers argues that Italian art, on the other hand, is characterized by “an intentional turning away from individuality” as seen in their mythological, religious, or historical paintings. According to Alpers, “the Dutch trust to and privileging of portraiture, which is at the center of their entire pictorial tradition, is connected on the other hand to a desire to preserve the identity of each person and each thing in the world.”¹⁴⁰ However, the claim that meticulously executed images were a particularly Dutch phenomenon has been questioned. Detailed depictions were created in several parts of Europe, for instance in the course of scientific research, and therefore also in countries such as Italy.¹⁴¹ Kaufmann has criticized Alpers’ notion of assigning particular traits to a nation as if its artists operated in isolation.¹⁴² In *Toward a Geography of Art*, Kaufmann rejects both the idea that Dutch painters did not visit or otherwise communicate with artists in other regions, such as Central Europe, Italy, and the Baltic area, and also the presumption that (national) identity is a single expression. “... Identity is at best multiple and complex, and there are numerous identifiable Dutch forms. And the forms of these supposedly visual identities often look very much like those seen in art made in many

¹⁴⁰ Alpers, *Art of Describing*, 78.

¹⁴¹ Niekrasz and Swan argue that Alpers’ theory is one-sided since it is built around “fine works of art” and therefore disregards scientific images. Niekrasz and Swan, “Art,” 794. See also Massey, “Reflections on Temporality,” 1051; Woodall, “Laying the Table,” 999.

¹⁴² Kaufmann, “Independent Dutch Art,” 359.

other places in Europe.”¹⁴³ Consequently, I suggest that Johnsen’s meticulous watercolours were not the result of a single artistic tradition absorbed during his time in the Dutch Republic, but rather informed by a desire to record and preserve the appearance of flowers growing at Forsmark to the best of his ability, using representational techniques that were being developed across Europe at this time.

By comparing Johnsen’s two flower series, and in spite of a limited sample, they appear to point to his development as an artist. The pedestal series shows a reliance on an older generation of artists, whereas the watercolours reveal a confidence in his own capacity and training as an artist familiar with international trends.

1.3 The *Chinoiserie* Cabinet

In 1702, in addition to his works on paper and panel, Johnsen painted a large number of flowers directly on a piece of furniture. The *chinoiserie* cupboard likely had a captivating history of its own but became doubly so with the addition of cartouches and still life motifs. It is presumed that Georg de Besche the Elder bought the black cabinet with *chinoiserie* motifs in brown and gold during one of his trips to the Dutch Republic.¹⁴⁴ Several undecorated surfaces of this piece of furniture were subsequently covered by garlands of flowers and fruit by Johnsen, turning this cupboard into an exuberant and colourful feast (figure 18). This type of furniture was popular in the early modern period; it was an exotic and collectible item in itself, but also practical with many drawers for storing *naturalia* or other collectibles. De Besche undoubtedly purchased the

¹⁴³ Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, 135. For a discussion of identity, see Kaufmann, “Geography of Art: Historiography,” 175. For a discussion of the incongruity of assigning, especially historic, works of art to national schools, see Kaufmann, “Netherlandish Model,” 274.

¹⁴⁴ Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 168.

cupboard with the intent of placing it in his *Wunderkammer*, where it would function as a curiosity because of its extraordinary appearance but also as a recipient for the other rare items de Besche collected. Johnsen's decorations are painted on the inside of the cabinet and come as a surprise when it is opened up. The doors' insides are covered with flower cartouches while the central panel features one large bouquet. The central section is furthermore surrounded by fourteen small and two long drawers that are decorated with miniature swags in different colour combinations.



Figure 18. Johan Johnsen, *Flower Decorations on a Chinoiserie Cabinet*, signed and dated 1702. Height without legs 90 cm. Private collection.



Figure 19. Johan Johnsen, *Still Life with a Bouquet of Flowers*. Oil/canvas, 65.5 x 50 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 487).

Another painting by Johnsen, *Still Life with a Bouquet of Flowers* (figure 19), features a loosely formed cluster of flowers set against a black background in a manner reminiscent of the cabinet decorations, but for the *chinoiserie* images the artist has pushed the vivacity and surface polish one step further. The motifs have become brilliant gems with an almost artificial stylization. There is a sense of playfulness about these compositions with a disregard for both proportion and gravity. In comparison to the meticulous specimens in the watercolour series, the cupboard decorations have no such

connotation, and the flowers and fruit likely were conceived to add visual interest, and pleasurable surprise, in de Besche's room of curiosities.

The garlands on the insides of the two doors consist of seven small bouquets each; three along each side plus one in the lower centre. Volutes and stylized scallops in grisaille are partly obscured by the blooms, but what is perceptible adds to the sense of framing already created by the flowers. Garlands typically reserve a space for a portrait or mythological-religious scene in the centre. There is no indication of the cupboard decorations being incomplete, and the most remarkable aspect is therefore that the central areas of the cartouches have been left empty.¹⁴⁵

Garlands of flowers were commonly used in the early seventeenth century to surround religious motifs, such as images of the Virgin Mary. Typically, two artists would collaborate on the composition, with a still life specialist contributing the floral framework. Art historian Susan Merriam suggests that the dual motifs led to a visual dichotomy prompting the viewer to a deeper reflection on the meaning of the work, the status of devotional images, and the way the trompe-l'oeil frame exposed the limits of vision.¹⁴⁶ In a discussion of "Virgin in a Garland of Flowers" (1608) by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen (1573/75-1632), art historian Victor Stoichita expresses the opinion that since the focus is on the Madonna "the painting-frame is no more than a particular way of presenting this eminent figure to the spectator."¹⁴⁷ He nevertheless concedes that Brueghel's garland is a "pictorial discourse on the actual concept of the frame" and in a note points out that correspondence sent between the artist and (the

¹⁴⁵ The cabinet is signed and dated, indicating that the artist felt that the work was complete.

¹⁴⁶ Merriam, *Garland Paintings*, 3.

¹⁴⁷ Stoichita, *Self-Aware Image*, 77.

emissary of) Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), who had commissioned the work, reveals the high degree of importance of the frame.¹⁴⁸

Merriam points out that grisaille first was used on altar pieces, to distinguish between living human beings and holy figures, but developed into a type of juxtaposition of monochrome and coloured motifs, again generating “questions about the nature of materials, representation, and seeing.”¹⁴⁹ Since Johnsen has excluded all religious connotations in his garlands, the volutes and shells painted in grisaille were likely included to provoke reflections on visual perception, especially the artist’s ability to fool the eye, to *tromper l’oeil*.

As the genre of garland painting developed over the course of the century, some artists replaced the central images of the Virgin by a chalice or other religious items, and even by sculpture. Two cartouche paintings (figures 20 and 21), attributed to Johan Aureller the Younger (1657-1733) include portraits in the form of busts of Lord High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622-1686) and Admiral Gustaf Otto Stenbock (1614-1685).¹⁵⁰ The two sitters not only knew each other; they were brothers-in-law and neighbours.¹⁵¹ Stenbock resided at Torpa Castle, some 150 kilometers south of De la Gardie’s seat at Läckö Castle.

¹⁴⁸ Stoichita, *Self-Aware Image*, 79, 292n.

¹⁴⁹ Merriam, *Garland Paintings*, 111.

¹⁵⁰ On Aureller the Younger, see Alm et al, *Barockens konst*, 363; *Svenskt Konstnärslexikon*.

¹⁵¹ In the late 1650s, Stenbock had married the widow Christina Catharina De la Gardie (1632-1704), younger sister to Magnus Gabriel.



Figure 20. Johan Aureller the Younger, *Portrait, likely depicting Gustaf Otto Stenbock, 1614-1685, Count, Admiral*. Oil/canvas, 114 x 104 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 4129).



Figure 21. Johan Aureller the Younger, *Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, 1622-1686, Count, Chancellor*. Oil/canvas, 114 x 104 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 4130).

Aureller's two compositions are similar, as are their sizes and colour schemes, but the bodies of the sitters are both turned toward the right and the paintings were not intended to be exhibited together. All religious references appear to have disappeared, and there are, instead, two secular portraits. These are executed in grisaille, likely intended to highlight the metallic sheen of the military uniforms. A framing device in trompe l'oeil with scrolls, shells, and a small pedestal are in the same grey tones. In fact, the breastplates of both Stenbock and De la Gardie appear to rest on the pedestals, an indication that the portraits were meant to be perceived as statues. The busts are set against black backgrounds, which contrast with the luminosity of the framing objects. The still life elements are composed of fruits, leaves, and small branches. No flowers are included. Instead, there are lemons and oranges, quinces, prunes, pears, currants, cherries, rowan berries (*Sorbus*), Cape gooseberries (*Physalis*), acorns, and hazelnuts.

Although well designed and convincingly displayed, the fruit cartouches show no ambition for botanical accuracy. The possibility that the garlands are based on sketches cannot be excluded, especially when taking into account the odd relationship in size between apples and prunes, which would not have happened had the artist had actual specimens in front of him. A further indication that the wreaths are based on an existing design are the strands of wheat in the Stenbock portrait, normally employed in reference to the sacrifice of Christ and the resurrection.¹⁵² The artist would then have copied the same motif on to a secular portrait.

Aureller the Younger is known especially for his religious paintings and altar pieces, many still displayed in churches in the western part of the country. He also painted

¹⁵² Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606-1683) included strands of wheat, alongside a crucifix and a snake, in a swag painting in 1653, *Vanitas Fruit Piece*. Merriam, *Garland Paintings*, 92; Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting*, 161.

portraits for the family epitaph at Medelplana Church, located a few kilometers east of Läckö Castle.¹⁵³ Since Aureller's extant production includes no still lifes or trompe-l'oeil motifs, I suggest that the two garland paintings attributed to him were, in fact, collaborations between him and another artist. Renovations carried out at Läckö Castle, where Aureller was employed, attracted large numbers of artisans and artists, creating an environment of artistic exchanges and cooperation.¹⁵⁴ More research on this topic could contribute to a better understanding of artistic collaboration and activities outside of the capital in the seventeenth century.

The small selection of garland images painted in Sweden confirms not only artistic exchanges with the continent but indirectly also reveals a continued dissemination of objects traded between Asia and the Dutch Republic. The arrival of the *chinoiserie* cupboard at Forsmark is evidence of the cultural influence linked to Dutch commercial investments and immigration in Sweden. An awareness of artistic development and visual language is shown by the decorations by Johnsen on a piece of furniture and by the colourful wreaths on two portraits from the late century.

1.4 Flower Paintings as Collectibles

By the seventeenth century nature was a source of wonder and inspiration. Part of the lifestyle of the merchant class in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere was to invest in precious and rare objects. Collectors purchased both *naturalia* and *artificialia* for their *Wunderkammers*. Garden owners cultivating flowers, plants, and trees exhibited a similar

¹⁵³ The epitaph can be viewed online at Swedish National Heritage Board: kmb.raa.se.

¹⁵⁴ For instance, Bartholdt Conradt (1657-1719) from Hamburg painted cartouches, in grisaille, around landscape scenes in the audience hall at Läckö Castle around 1680. Berfelt, *Svensk landskapskonst*, 62.

type of behaviour.¹⁵⁵ Whether they specialized in shells or pineapples, in rare minerals or speckled tulips, early modern collectors shared an interest in objects that were rare, intriguing, and exclusive.¹⁵⁶ In *Den nederlandtsen hovenier*, 1669, Jan van der Groen (1635-1672) takes pride in all the beautiful objects from all over the world that could be showcased in gardens, including exotic flowers and plants. Cook points out that horticultural variety and exclusivity became comparable to cabinets of curiosities, or open-air museums.¹⁵⁷ As discussed in connection with Johnsen's flower still lifes, the reaction among many patrons was to hire artists to paint visual records of their flowers. Dutch horticulturist Agneta Block (1629-1704) commissioned different painters, including Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), to depict plants growing at her estate Vijverhof, eventually owning as many as 400 such images.¹⁵⁸ Already in 1595, the Italian naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) noted that he had five thousand paintings of "natural objects -- such as plants, various sorts of animals, and stones -- some of which have been made into woodcuts."¹⁵⁹

When de Besche built up his curiosity cabinet at Forsmark, he repeated a tradition with which he was undoubtedly familiar from his years in Amsterdam. Naturally, he would enlist his full-time artist in order to expand his collection. Discussing the connections between artistic and scientific work, Niekrasz and Swan suggest that "the laboratory and the artist's workshop were both spaces for the intensive exploration of

¹⁵⁵ See discussion in 1.1.

¹⁵⁶ Early modern collecting is a vast topic; I will here concentrate on aspects that are connected to flowers and gardens.

¹⁵⁷ Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, 318.

¹⁵⁸ Block also prepared flower scissorworks to be exhibited along other items in her cabinet. Block's estate Vijverhof was situated on the river Vecht, about half-way between Amsterdam and Utrecht. Honig, "Art of Being Artistic," 36; Jong, "Felix qui potuit," 38–39; Jong, *Nature and Art*, 108; Todd, *Chrysalis*, 134.

¹⁵⁹ Swan, "Of Gardens," 183.

nature, and each borrowed tools, technologies, materials, and even methods of observation from the other.”¹⁶⁰ Johnsen created paintings in various genres, but I propose that the flower watercolours he made should be seen in the context described by Niekrasz and Swan and the small images of tulips and roses, always shown in their prime, were created with an approach akin to scientific documentation.

Johnsen appears to have painted more flower pieces than any other genre during his time at Forsmark.¹⁶¹ The simplest explanation for this would be that his employer – repeatedly -- asked the artist to immortalize the most spectacular blooms in his garden. If this was the case, his works of art were not only records of the specimens for future reference, but they also functioned as replacement objects in de Besche’s collection; they stood in for the real thing, for instance in winter when the plants had shrivelled away or been buried under a carpet of snow. In de Besche’s *Kunstkammer* the artworks became collectibles in their own right.¹⁶² As mentioned, Johnsen’s flower watercolours are quite small and can easily be picked up and handled in the same way one would want to manipulate a rare coin or an antique weapon. The diminutive size of the paintings would, in such a context, enhance the feeling of preciousness.

Honig suggests that objects – for instance, flowers – would have represented a “container of knowledge or subject of inquiry.”¹⁶³ In other words, the depicted species, indeed all the objects in de Besche’s, and others’ collections, were vehicles, tools, to

¹⁶⁰ Niekrasz and Swan, “Art,” 774.

¹⁶¹ The preponderance of flower still lifes among Johnsen’s extant oeuvre could also be a consequence of how the paintings were distributed among the members of the de Besche family.

¹⁶² Art historian Mårten Snickare suggests that in Sweden *Kunstkammers* were commonly located within the owner’s private armory (*rustkammare*). Rapp suggests that de Besche also collected old weapons. Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 152; Snickare, “Goavddis,” 75.

¹⁶³ Honig, “Making Sense of Things,” 173.

achieve greater knowledge about nature. The fact that there were two gardens plus an orangery at Forsmark confirms de Besche's interest in horticulture, and Johnsen's meticulous depictions would have allowed him to study the specimens at any time of the year. While Johnsen went beyond the typical botanical illustration by adding decorative ribbons to the bouquets, he was still closely attentive to capturing the striations on a tulip or the folds of the petals on an iris (see, for instance, figures 13 and 14).

By viewing Johnsen's flower pieces not only as paintings intended as decoration for the de Besche home, but as possible collectibles to be exhibited alongside other precious objects, an important aspect of the artist's oeuvre emerges. Johnsen's flower images thus illustrate how immigration was one channel through which notions about social behaviour and artistic expression were diffused throughout Europe.

1.5 Local Artists and Exotic Flowers

Within a very limited group of still lifes produced in Sweden during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Johnsen's flower images occupy a dominant position. Yet, as the next two case studies explore, there were other reasons for depicting plants and vegetation. David von Cöln's images of exotic plants reflect a growing interest in colonial botany, and the depictions of a well-travelled agave plant illustrate the longevity and potential impact of horticultural gift-giving.

1.5.1 Flower Still Lives in Outdoor Settings

The flower still lifes by Swedish-born painter David (Andersson) von Cöln point to a connection between still life painting and gardening. They also provide an illustration

of the growing interest in exotic products obtained through colonial trade. It is suggested that von Cöln received his training in the studios of Ehrenstrahl, but since both his parents plus his grandfather were artists, it is likely that he was initially trained by family members.¹⁶⁴ As many painters in small markets, von Cöln was a versatile artist and his production includes portraits, animals, landscapes, and religious scenes. He also created a series of nine flower pieces. These still lifes share similar compositional features, all consisting of one plant in a ceramic pot positioned on an outdoor balustrade or table. The panels are quite large and vary in height between 108 and 225 centimeters, and in width from 91 to 170 centimeters.¹⁶⁵

In one respect, von Cöln's flower still lifes are contrary to the period's conventions since they are set outdoors, and against imaginary but figurative backgrounds. Behind each plant a seemingly endless landscape stretches out. There is enormous depth in von Cöln's compositions, but the surroundings are vague, even hazy. Typically, still lifes from the early modern period feature a flat, monochrome background. We recall that Johnsen's flower pieces were set against black or occasionally white surroundings. A focus on one single flower is also rare. Many still life painters preferred creating voluminous bouquets or elaborate garlands. Contemporary images of gardens typically depict entire estates in order to show the interaction between flowers, hedges, waterworks, statues, and architecture.¹⁶⁶ In von Cöln's paintings, there is no connection

¹⁶⁴ His grandfather was Johan Johansson von Cöln, from Stockholm. David's father was the court painter Anders Johansson von Cöln (c. 1663-1716), and his mother, portraitist Brita Stenkell (†1707). *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*.

¹⁶⁵ Short inscriptions date two of the paintings to 1729 and one to 1733, and it is likely that the entire series was created during those years.

¹⁶⁶ David von Cöln also painted a view of Ulriksdal Castle and its garden, today in the collection of the Nationalmuseum (NM 4760). See numerous examples of garden depictions in Dahlbergh, *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*.

between the plant and its surroundings, only detailed foreground and nondescript background.¹⁶⁷

On the other hand, von Cöln's flowers belong to the early modern visual tradition in the way they make a record of exotic or spectacular objects. The period is characterized by a desire to document plants, animals and even people that appeared unusual, strange or rare. For instance, court painter Ehrenstrahl was a prolific documentary artist. At the request of his royal patrons, he made numerous portraits of deformed dogs and exotic birds and animals. He also painted animals that were indigenous and yet exotic such as a moose, a reindeer, a bear, and an albino squirrel.¹⁶⁸ All of these motifs were unusual and therefore interesting and worthy of visual documentation.

Von Cöln was employed at the court of Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Younger (1688-1741).¹⁶⁹ The queen spent time at Ulriksdal Castle, situated a few kilometers north of the capital, where she took active part in the renovations of the building and the re-design of its garden. Norway spruces (*Picea abies*) were planted at Ulriksdal in the early 1720s, both in proximity to the castle and on the parterre.¹⁷⁰ Inscriptions on three of the images confirm that von Cöln did, indeed, paint his still lifes at Ulriksdal. Trimmed conifers can be seen in the background of von Cöln's *Pineapple* (figure 22), although it is

¹⁶⁷ Jan Davidsz de Heem introduced vistas behind the central objects in some of his larger still lifes, for instance in *A Richly Laid Table with Parrot and Macaw* (c. 1655). Reproduced in Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 87.

¹⁶⁸ Many of these paintings are today in the collection of the Nationalmuseum. See, for instance, *Deformed Dog* (NMStrh 31 and NMStrh 32), *Two Parrots* (NMStrh 24), *Boy with Parrots and Monkeys* (NM 1407), *Moose* (NMLeu 33), *Reindeer with a Sledge* (NMGrh 2351), *Wounded Bear in Winter Landscape* (NMDrh 7), *White Squirrel in a Landscape* (NM 5234), and *Camel with his Keeper* (NMDrh 9). The camel and his Turkish keeper Schabbasch had been captured in Hungary in 1688 and brought to Sweden. In 1691 Schabbasch was baptized and renamed Nils.

¹⁶⁹ Ulrika Eleonora reigned from the death of her brother, Karl XII, in 1718 until 1720, when she transferred the crown to her husband, Fredrik I (1676-1751).

¹⁷⁰ Kjellberg and Svensson, *Slott och herresäten i Sverige*, 276; Hahr, *Svenska kungliga lustslotten*, 574; Roosval, *Svenska slott och herresäten*, 65.

not possible to confirm that these are the Ulricksdal specimens. Keeping in mind the desire to record exceptional or rare objects, the *Pineapple* is thus explained: “This Indian Pineapple presented itself this way in its bloom at Ulricksdahl the 30th of July 1729: David von Cöln *fecit*.”¹⁷¹ Another painting, *Pineapple in a Pot* (figure 23), is inscribed: “This pineapple, *Indica maior*, became ripe at Ulricksdahl 18 November 1729.”¹⁷² It is therefore likely the two works depict the same plant, a pineapple which started sprouting in July and was ripe by the end of the year 1729.

Pineapples were prized possessions in Sweden and throughout Europe. Block had succeeded in producing a pineapple at her estate Vijverhof in 1687, the first such fruit grown in Europe.¹⁷³ Block was particularly interested in exotic plants, among which, according to de Jong “the pine-apple was the most desired specimen.”¹⁷⁴ Historian Johanna Lausen-Higgins claims that, in England, successful cultivation of pineapples from seed was not achieved until 1714-16.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, being able to coax a pineapple to grow, and then ripen, in the very north of Europe in 1729 was an event that Queen Ulrika Eleonora would have wanted to immortalize.

¹⁷¹ “DIESE INDIANISCHE ANANAS HAT SICH SO PRAESENTIRET IN IHRER BLYT AUF ULRICKSDAHL DEN XXX: IULI ANNO MDCCXXIX: DAVID VON CÖLN FECIT.”

¹⁷² “DIESE ANANAS, INDICA MAIOR IST REIF VORDEN AUF ULRICKSDAHL XVIII NOVEMBER 1729.”

¹⁷³ The feat was so memorable that in a portrait of Block and her family (1694), the artist Jan Weenix (c. 1640-1719) included the pineapple in the bottom left of the painting (Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 20359). Jong, *Nature and Art*, 108; Remington, *Painting Paradise*, 108.

¹⁷⁴ Jong, “Vackra igenom konst,” 27.

¹⁷⁵ www.buildingconservation.com/articles/pineapples/pineapples.htm. See also Remington, *Painting Paradise*, 111.



Figure 22. David von Cöln, *Pineapple (Ananasväxt)*, 1729. Oil/canvas, 112 x 91 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 473).



Figure 23. David von Cöln, *Pineapple in a Pot (Ananas i kruk)*, 1729. Oil/canvas, 149 x 115 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 1308).

A few years after commemorating the pineapple, von Cöln painted an *Orange Tree in a Pot* (figure 24) in a similar outdoor setting. He informs the viewer, this time in Swedish: “This Orange & *Pompelmoos* has become ripe at Ulricksdahl 4 December 1733; the largest fruits weigh each 40 lots.”¹⁷⁶



Figure 24. David von Cöln, *Orange Tree in a Pot (Orangeträd i urna)*, 1733. Oil/canvas, 140 x 91 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMGrh 503).

In addition to his position as court artist, von Cöln was the foreman at the P. Remeke (Reincke) wallpaper factory for eleven years, before founding his own design

¹⁷⁶ “DENNE ORANGE & POMPELMOOS HAR BLIFWIT MOGEN PÅ ULRICKSDAHL 4 DECEMBRIS 1733, STÖRSTA FRUCKTERNA VÄGA HWARDERA A 40 LOD.” 40 lots = approximately 530 grams. See also Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 401; Rudbeck, *Deliciae Vallis Jacobaeae*, 23.

company in 1749.¹⁷⁷ Author Runar Strandberg claims that von Cöln created his still lifes as prototypes for wallpaper motifs, but I find this unlikely. The flower images were painted starting in the late 1720s whereas von Cöln did not work at Remeke until 1738. Furthermore, the inscriptions confirm that the depictions were visual souvenirs of successful horticultural events. Finally, wallpaper designs measuring up to 225 centimeters in height seem excessive.¹⁷⁸

While von Cöln's potted plants can be described as crossovers between still lifes and garden landscape scenes, they are – like Johan Johnsen's flower paintings -- linked to botanical illustrations in the attention given to details and the focus on the plant's features.

1.5.2 Sleeping Beauty – the Agave at Noor Castle

Another high-profile horticultural event, and an inspiration to both artists and botanists, as well as authors, took place at Noor Castle north of Stockholm in 1708. There, in the orangery, an agave (*Agave Americana*) suddenly started sprouting flowers, and lots of them.¹⁷⁹ Noor, situated about fifty kilometers north of the capital, was the residence of diplomat Nils Gyldenstolpe (1642-1709). The diplomat and royal advisor had been *envoyé* to The Hague in the late 1670s and his mother-in-law, Catharina Ehrensteen, is the one who longed for taffeta collars made in the Dutch Republic (see Introduction). Gyldenstolpe returned to Stockholm in 1687 and held several positions in the Swedish

¹⁷⁷ *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

¹⁷⁸ *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*, 1:328.

¹⁷⁹ Agave was also known as aloe in the early modern period. The discussion of the agave at Noor is based on Hildebrand, *Sveriges minnespenningar*, 561; Jönsson, "En främling;" Kjellberg and Svensson, *Slott och Herresäten i Sverige*, 384; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 71; Martinsson, "Agave;" Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 300; Roosval, *Svenska slott och herresäten*, 333; Salvius, *Beskrifning öfver Sveriget*, 146; Swederus, "Svensk hortikultur," 12; Westin Berg, *Tulpan, nejlika och ros*, 40; Wideen, "Aloen och Hönstavlän," 173; Wollin, "Noor i Uppland." Many thanks to Bo Wijkmark for bringing Jönsson's text to my attention.

government in the late century. Although a mature pineapple was both unusual and unexpected, an agave in bloom was even more of a sensation. The Noor specimen garnered such enthusiasm that illustrations were drawn and engraved, a commemorative coin was minted, and poems were composed in its honour.¹⁸⁰ The history of this plant is known thanks to these texts. The original agave grew in The Hague.¹⁸¹ A shoot had been taken in 1617, and twelve years later the offspring was sent to Stockholm. The reasons for the transfer are not clear, but it is known to have ended up in the orangery at Karlberg Castle, where the king's brother lived.¹⁸² The agave remained at Karlberg for close to seven decades until 1698, when King Karl XII decided to honour his father's long-time friend and supporter by donating the exotic plant to Gyldenstolpe.¹⁸³ The latter brought the gift to his estate Noor and this is where it started blooming in September a full decade later.¹⁸⁴ Three years after the first flowers appeared, Rudbeck the Younger noted that the plant had produced 5,021 flowers on ten stalks, one of which reached close to 6 ½ meters in height.¹⁸⁵ The fact that the agave continued producing flowers throughout consecutive

¹⁸⁰ Sophia Elisabet Brenner (1659-1730), "Minne öfwer Aloen;" Rudbeck the Younger, "Om Nor;" Rudbeck the Younger, "Om Aloe;" Rönnow, *De Aloë Americana*; Rönnow, *De Aloe Americo-svecana*; Rönnow, *Ad Illvstrissimum Gyllenstolpe*, Schubarth, *In aloen hybernæm*.

¹⁸¹ The plant's origin, before being imported to the Dutch Republic, is not known.

¹⁸² Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm (1574-1650) was half-brother to King Gustav II Adolf.

¹⁸³ King Karl XI (1655-1697) had died the previous year.

¹⁸⁴ Rudbeck the Younger describes the plant as having been separated from the mother plant "at the same time that Gustav Adolf the Great put the crown on his head" ("... just samma tid som Gustav Adolf Store på sig här kronan satt"), which has been interpreted as the year 1611, when his reign started. However, later in the text Rudbeck refers to the agave having grown during "eight years from a hundred" ("i åtta år från hundra, har wuxit til och grodt"). I therefore suggest that Rudbeck does not refer to the beginning of Gustavus Adolphus' reign but to his coronation which took place in October 1617, which leads to a plant of 92 years by 1709, when Rudbeck wrote his first poem on the agave. Jönsson suggests the year 1618. Jönsson, "En främling," 92; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 71. Karlberg Castle, located within Stockholm city limits, today belongs to the armed forces.

¹⁸⁵ In 1718, when Rudbeck eventually published his two poems, he claimed that the agave had remained in *flor* for nine years: "My humble poem on Aloe at Nor, which for some nine years stood in its best bloom..." ("Mit ringa skaldeqwad om Aloe på Nor, Som för en nijo år stod i sitt bästa flor"). Brenner, "Minne öfwer Aloen," 235; Rudbeck the Younger, "Om Aloe," 8; Rudbeck, *Sätgården Nor*, 1.

winters – kept in a heated greenhouse, no doubt, but nevertheless flourished in spite of unstable temperatures and a lack of daylight - was an additional source of both amazement and pride.¹⁸⁶ The plant became a symbol of success against all odds. The mental leap between overcoming a harsh climate to overcoming political opposition was short. Poet Tobias Schubarth (fl. 1689-1722) drew parallels between the talent needed to coax an exotic plant into bloom and the perceived qualities of King Karl XII:

“Undoubtedly it is seen that nature reserved the wintry flowers of aloe to our times, because in our times Karl surpasses the boundaries of times, by piety, art and war.”¹⁸⁷ The poet Sophia Elisabet Brenner (1659-1730) also praised the plant, the regent, and the country:

Our time seems made
 To produce great[ness] of all sorts
 Everything heard from our North
 In the world makes wide eyes...
 And just like the *Aloe* in every aspect
 In stature, growth and appearance,
 It surpasses smaller plants,
 And attracts the eyes of everyone,
 So surpasses the call of his virtues,
 That of all the other kings.

¹⁸⁶ Brenner highlights the agave’s resilience already in the title of her poem: *Souvenir of the Marvellous Large American Aloe... Began Blooming in September 1708, And Persevered the Entire Following Strong Winter Throughout, And Was the First in Sweden to Carry Flowers*. Brenner, “Minne öfwer Aloen.”

¹⁸⁷ Schubarth, *In aloen hybernam*, 1. Translation by Simon Beaulieu, Montreal.

It seems not without reason,
That the *Aloe* has prospered so well...¹⁸⁸

The excitement surrounding the agave at Noor illustrates not only the way botanical knowledge, indeed living plants, circulated within Europe during the early modern period. It also confirms how the collecting and cultivation of exotic specimens fostered patriotic sentiments in Sweden.¹⁸⁹ The domestication of these foreign botanical specimens, which thrived in Swedish soil, served as a means to affirm the kingdom's superiority over nature, geography, and, by extension, over foreign places.

Beside literary homages, the agave was depicted in art, in accordance with the tradition of creating visual documents of natural phenomena or spectacular specimens. The artist Elias Brenner (1647-1717) prepared two images (figures 25 and 26) to accompany his wife's poem when it was published in 1713.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ "Vår tid syns liksom där til giort / At afla allehanda stort / Alt hwad man från vårt Norden hör / I werlden stora ögon gör... / Och lik som *Aloen* i alt / I höghet, tilwäxt och gestalt / De mindre plantor öfwergrå / Och allas ögon på sig får / Så öfwergrå hans dygders rop / De andra Kungars all i hop. Det tycks ey wara utan skäl / At *Aloen* sig ståt så wäl..." Brenner, "Minne öfwer Aloen," 235.

¹⁸⁹ Apart from Rudbeck the Younger, the authors were not known to have adhered to Gothicism, but likely expressed a general sentiment of pride.

¹⁹⁰ A celebratory medal was also issued, featuring an image of the agave plant, based on Brenner's drawing. See Hildebrand, *Sveriges minnespenningar*, 561; Wideen, "Aloen och Hönstavlan," 175.



Figure 25. Johan Spiegelberg, *Vera & Accurata Delineatio Aloes Americanæ*, based on drawing by Elias Brenner. Engraving. Brenner, *Poetiske dikter* 1713, p. 222.¹⁹¹

Elias Brenner was a versatile artist and the second agave image (figure 26) reveals outstanding observational skills -- and once again confirms the fluid boundaries between high art and scientific illustration. Sophia Elisabet Brenner's poem discussed the

¹⁹¹ This very image is reproduced in almost all literature on the agave at Noor. See, for instance, Kjellberg and Svensson, *Slott och herresäten i Sverige*, 388; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 70; Roosval, *Svenska slott och herresäten*, 334; Wideen, "Aloen och Hönstavlän, 176. Noor Castle is today a conference hotel and the 1708 event -- and Brenner's illustration -- are presented on its website; see www.noorsslott.se/filer/Historia2011.pdf.

appearance of the agave and highlighted the practical uses of such a plant, and there was not really any reason why the accompanying illustration needed to provide such meticulously drawn details of the agave's components other than scientific curiosity -- on behalf of the artist or of the intended viewers.



Figure 26. Johan Spiegelberg, *Vera magnitudo Floris Aloes Americanæ*, based on drawing by Elias Brenner. Engraving, Brenner, *Poetiske dikter* 1713, p. 228.

Besides his two poems on the agave, Olof Rudbeck the Younger also made an illustration of the plant (figure 27). The Rudbecks' botanical encyclopedias – where this image is inserted - are discussed in chapter two. Both Elias Brenner and Rudbeck likely visited the Noor garden to prepare their sketches, and both include the vessel in their images, some type of wooden box, in which the agave was planted. Brenner chose to set the agave against a backdrop of Noor Castle and other plants, a technique similar to what von Cöln would do later in his series of flower still lifes. Rudbeck's depiction is a type of botanical

illustration; there is no background, the focus is entirely on the specimen and the aim seems to have been to create a faithful rendering of the plant's features.¹⁹² Compared to Brenner's drawing, the stalks are here of uneven height, which is probably a more accurate depiction of the plant's actual appearance.



Figure 27. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, *Aloë*, 1709. Watercolour/paper, slightly smaller than 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers*, 7.430a. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department. Photo by author.

¹⁹² However, botanical illustrations rarely include flowerpots.

An engraving of Noor Castle in the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* from 1698 shows two orangeries on either side of the main building (figure 28).¹⁹³ The very tall greenhouses had likely been created with large trees and flowers in mind. This is where Gyldenstolpe kept his gift during the cold season, but in summer the plant undoubtedly took pride of place in the outdoor environment.

The agave at Noor – and the images it inspired – provide an example of the importance flowers took on not only for their botanical properties or even their rarity, but also as promotional tools to support a nation’s political aspirations. Brenner’s and Rudbeck’s images further illustrate how artists, botanists, gardeners and estate owners collaborated in shared interests for plants and their depictions.



Figure 28. Johannes van den Aeveelen, *Noor versus occidentem*, 1698. Engraving, 23 x 33 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:116).

¹⁹³ The illustrated album, *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, is discussed in chapter three.

Through various examples of still life paintings, we have seen that cultural exchanges in early modern Sweden extended to regions far beyond the Baltic Sea. Information about artistic developments travelled via various channels, such as immigration, diplomatic missions, military campaigns, and travels by merchants and industrialists. Besides the increasing interest in artworks and a desire to invest in culture in the post-war period, curiosity and a search for knowledge in scientific matters grew in importance. Early modern science relied on visual documentation to facilitate understanding and to communicate new results. The affinity between flower still lifes and botanical illustrations is very much in evidence in most of these case studies. In their aim for a perfect rendition and understanding of botanical specimens, art and science became complementary activities. In addition, images of flowers became objects to be displayed in *Kunstammern* as tangible and permanent records of memorable events. Exotic plants, especially those that arrived from colonies or trade posts in other continents, became metaphors for political success.

Since it was not possible to transport mature fruits over long distances, they would be shipped as seeds or small seedlings.¹⁹⁴ Exotic plants therefore belonged more to the world of botanical research than on lists of imported consumer products. Species originally from South America, such as pineapple and agave, became appreciated items to be exchanged between botanists, gardeners and horticulturally interested estate owners, and were appreciated for their rarity and novelty value. In addition, plants were given as

¹⁹⁴ In Hochstrasser's examination of products imported by the Dutch East or West India companies, no perishable foodstuffs are included. Lemons and oranges came from areas around the Mediterranean. Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade*, 70. On the "high mortality rate of exotic plants and animals shipped to Europe", see also Brienens, *Savage Paradise*, 48.

gifts between political rulers, becoming visual signifiers of their power and social networks. A painting from c. 1677, *Charles II Presented with a Pineapple*, shows a fruit being handed over to the king by his gardener John Rose.¹⁹⁵ Although this work of art is likely more symbolic than a depiction of an actual event, it nevertheless is an indication of the high prestige such a gift would have. Still life paintings of exotic fruits, especially if made *ad vivum*, were also given as gifts, often becoming as esteemed as the reception of an actual plant. The Dutch painter Albert Eckhout (c. 1610-1665) accompanied Johan Maurits van Nassau (1604-1679) when he travelled to Brazil in 1637.¹⁹⁶ As court artist, one of Eckhout's tasks was to depict the local flora in still lifes. A few years after his return to Europe, Johan Maurits gave a large number of Eckhout's Brazilian paintings to his cousin, Frederick III of Denmark (1609-1670).¹⁹⁷ To the Danish king, the artworks were a tangible manifestation of his status as ruler and of his valuable contacts within, and even (indirectly) beyond Europe.

In this chapter we have seen that flowers and other plants played an important role in a variety of social encounters, and that specimens appreciated for their rarity or other qualities were depicted in works of art, which, in turn, were exhibited in *Wunderkammers*, offered as gifts, or circulated in prints. Flowers and plants were very much part of the network of exchanges and interaction discussed throughout this text.

¹⁹⁵ The painting, previously attributed to Hendrick Danckerts (c. 1625-1680), is in the British Royal Collection (RCIN 406896). As royal gardener John Rose was the successor to André Mollet (on Mollet, see chapter 4). Remington, *Painting Paradise*, 109, 111; Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 414.

¹⁹⁶ Johan Maurits, cousin to stadtholder Frederick Henry (1584-1647), was governor of Dutch Brazil between 1636 and 1644.

¹⁹⁷ Today kept at the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen. Pineapples are seen in *Still Life with Tropical Fruit* (N. 92) and in *Still Life with Tropical Fruit, Nuts, and a Pineapple* (N. 100). On Eckhout's work in Brazil, see Brienens, *Savage Paradise*.

2 SAME FLOWERS, DIFFERENT APPROACH: RUDBECK'S *BOOK OF FLOWERS* AND THE *CAMPI ELYSII*

The artistic and horticultural exchanges discussed in the previous chapter can be described as having constituted an informal and flexible network of information and inspiration criss-crossing Europe and beyond. At the same time, communication between botanists constituted another web, equally intense. Scientists shared their knowledge through a number of channels, such as travels and personal visits, letters (in which plant seeds could easily fit), articles in journals, and through the publication of literature. Throughout this thesis, I argue that the networks centred around the depictions of plants and search for knowledge about specimens often overlapped, with many participants being active in various capacities. A conceptual, even artistic, affinity between still lifes and scientific imagery was indicated on the previous pages. In this chapter depictions of flowers and plants will be discussed from the viewpoint of scientific visual records, and I argue that botanical illustrations have their place among other works of art, whether painted or drawn.

During approximately the same years that Johnsen painted selected flowers in Forsmark, Olof Rudbeck the Elder, a professor of medicine at the University of Uppsala and amateur botanist, grew, collected, and drew plants with the passion and fervour that were to characterize all his endeavours.¹⁹⁸ While Johnsen's aim was ultimately to produce works of art, Rudbeck's driving force was scientific exploration, but the results often look surprisingly similar. Rudbeck the Elder was one of the most prolific researchers and

¹⁹⁸ Uppsala is situated approximately seventy-five kilometers south-west of Forsmark, and approximately forty kilometers north of Stockholm.

authors in Sweden and his legacy continues to be examined, discussed, and evaluated.¹⁹⁹ However, relatively little attention has been given to his accomplishments in botany.²⁰⁰ This chapter will explore botanical investigations in Sweden and/or by Swedish scientists, in order to further investigate how the worlds of art and of science overlapped and interacted. Firstly, Rudbeck's botanical encyclopedias will be discussed with a particular emphasis on the visual qualities of scientific illustrations. Secondly, Rudbeck enlisted the help of non-professional draughtsmen and -women, prompting my review of the status of painters and other artists in the early modern period. Finally, I argue that the work carried out by the Rudbecks, father and son, prepared the ground for botanists in the eighteenth century, such as Carl Linnaeus.

2.1 Olof Rudbeck the Elder – Physician with a Passion for Botany

Rudbeck the Elder's lifelong love for botany is illustrated by a letter he wrote later in life, to his son in 1687, when Olof the Younger had travelled to Leiden to pursue his education. The letter is full of both fatherly love and professional advice: "Since your

¹⁹⁹ The discussion of Rudbeck the Elder's *botanical* work is based on Anfält and Hagelin, *Rudbeckarnas bildvärld*; Nordisk familjebok, 1889 and 1916; Eriksson; *Botanikens historia*; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*; Th. M. Fries, "Naturalhistorien;" Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*; Lindroth, "Epoken Rudbeck;" Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*; Martinsson and Ryman, *Hortus Rudbeckianus*; Sernander, "Linnæus och Rudbeckarnes;" Sernander, "Olof Rudbeck;" Swederus, *Botaniska trädgården*; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," as well as literature by Rudbeck himself: *Book of Flowers*; *Bref*; *Campi Elysii*; *Deliciae Vallis Jacobaeae*. In spite of his academic titles, Rudbeck liked calling himself a gardener. Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 29, 200.

²⁰⁰ For instance, the Botanical Garden in Uppsala, which was founded, built, and financed by Rudbeck in the mid-seventeenth century, is today known as Linnaeus' garden (*Linnéträdgården*), after the younger botanist's work there in the 1740s. Dixon Hunt claims that the Uppsala Botanical Garden was founded by Linnaeus. Nordin suggests that from about 1670 until his death, Rudbeck's "life project" was to write the *Atlantica*. Hunt, *World of Gardens*, 131; Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 121.

primary studies will be *Botanica*, which is the most delightful, the most innocent and what was first created for humans, [so] be diligent and pay attention to this.”²⁰¹

Rudbeck the Elder began his studies at Uppsala University in 1648 at the age of eighteen, concentrating on medicine and anatomy. His research caught the attention of Queen Kristina and Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654), who paid a visit to Uppsala in April 1652. After a successful dissection of a dog performed for the benefit of the dignitaries, Rudbeck was promised financial support to allow further studies in Leiden.²⁰² Before travelling abroad, the young scholar defended his thesis, *De circulatione sanguinis*, in May 1652, which describes a mechanical function of the heart.²⁰³ In addition, Rudbeck had been exploring the lymphatic system since 1650 and his *Nova excercitatio anatomica*, an account of the medical discovery for which he is best known, was published in June or July 1653.²⁰⁴ Rudbeck then left for the Dutch Republic in September the same year. He registered with Leiden University, where he continued to study medicine. In a letter, fellow student Willum Worm (1633-1704), the son of Danish collector Ole Worm (1588-1654), describes how Rudbeck actively participated in a lecture by Professor Johannes van Horne. It appears that Rudbeck all but took over the

²⁰¹Rudbeck, *Bref*, 4:113, dated 15 Nov 1687. “Eftersom dina förnämsta studier blifva *Botanica*, som är det aldra ljufligaste, innocentaste och det menniskjan först blef skapat, så gör och din största flit och observera detta.” See also Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 29, 200, 241.

²⁰² Although Rudbeck’s demonstration in 1652 was performed on a dead dog, he is also known to have done vivisections later in the 1650s. The Queen donated 800 and the Chancellor 200 silver thalers. These amounts can be compared to Rudbeck’s annual salary in 1658 as professor at Uppsala University of 500 silver thalers. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 10-11; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 50-51, 60-61, 66, 92; Swederus, “Olof Rudbeck,” 450.

²⁰³ Notably, Rudbeck’s thesis dismisses the Galenic notion of the body’s spirits, suggesting instead that the heart and the entire human body function as a mechanical instrument, confirming, and adding to, William Harvey’s (1578-1657) theory from 1628. Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 52; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 417.

²⁰⁴ The Danish physician Thomas Bartholin (1616-1680) also claimed to have discovered the lymphatic system, leading to a dispute between the two scholars. The issue was eventually resolved establishing that the discovery was first made by Rudbeck, but Bartholin was the first to publish the results. Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 48, 61; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 419.

anatomy demonstration, a good indication of both the character and competence of the visiting student.²⁰⁵ Gunnar Eriksson points out that a tactile approach to science was promoted at Leiden University, a concept that reinforced Rudbeck's belief in education centred on practical experience, and the useful applications that he felt should be the end result of all research.²⁰⁶ Swan observes that already by the mid-sixteenth century empirical study was *de rigueur* in educational institutions across Europe, including at Leiden University.²⁰⁷

2.1.1 The Uppsala Botanical Garden

In addition to his academic work in medicine, Rudbeck had been interested in botany all his life, a passion transmitted by his father, the bishop Johannes Rudbeckius (1581-1646). The older Rudbeck had participated in field excursions in Wittenberg at the turn of the seventeenth century, and later incited his students -- and undoubtedly his own children -- to go *herbatim*.²⁰⁸ However, after only eight months abroad, Rudbeck was obliged to return to Sweden when his benefactor, Queen Kristina, abdicated in June 1654. Because the young scholar was called to leave Leiden just before the summer, he missed the opportunity to see the Dutch university's famous botanical garden in its prime. The university *hortus* in Leiden, one of the first such institutions in the world, had been founded by Pieter Pauw (1564-1617) and Carolus Clusius (1526-1609) in the 1590s.²⁰⁹ In addition to the living specimens, it also housed a vast collection of *naturalia* in a building

²⁰⁵ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 75.

²⁰⁶ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 78.

²⁰⁷ Swan, "Of Gardens," 176.

²⁰⁸ Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 17.

²⁰⁹ The Botanical Garden in Pisa had been founded in 1544, and the one in Bologna in 1568. Swan, "Collecting *Naturalia*," 228; Swan, "Of Gardens," 177.

called the ‘ambulacrum’ situated along the west wall of the garden. Such a diversified display of objects invited the type of hands-on examination that was encouraged at the university.²¹⁰ Learning from observation -- rather than learning by reading ancient authors -- could be practiced easily and directly in a botanical garden. Later, as professor of medicine at Uppsala University, Rudbeck put the same emphasis on a tactile examination of plants. Rudbeck’s goal for the botanical garden he built upon his return to Sweden was that it should become a locus of knowledge for the university’s students and also for botanists, herbalists, physicians, as well as the town’s pharmacist.

Before his departure from Leiden, Rudbeck did have time to place an order for more than 800 seeds, roots, rhizomes, and bulbs with the local gardener Stoffil Stoffilson.²¹¹ Rudbeck’s travel companion Johan Palm stayed on, and he is the one who brought the items to Uppsala the following spring, for which Rudbeck had left a sum of money.²¹²

It is not entirely clear whether Rudbeck went to the Dutch Republic to study medicine, to improve his knowledge in botany, or both. Historian Magnus Bernhard Swederus suggests that it was during Rudbeck’s time in the Dutch Republic, “excellent in terms of gardening and flowers,” that the idea of a botanical *hortus* for Uppsala took root

²¹⁰ The public autopsies at Leiden University are another well-known example of the tactile approach to learning. Swan, “Of Gardens,” 173, 176; Swan, “Uses of Botanical,” 65.

²¹¹ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 78; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 11. On nurseries in the Dutch Republic and in Germany, “providing generations of patrons in Schleswig-Holstein, Sweden, and Denmark with plants and vegetables” see Jong, “Plants and Gardeners,” 75–76.

²¹² During the seventeenth century, several currencies were in use in Sweden. In a letter, Rudbeck claimed to have left 200 *riksdaler* with his friend, an amount that corresponded to, for instance, the cost of 123 barrels of barley or of 30 oxen. Eriksson suggests that the amount was 200 *ducats*, which would have been twice as much. Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 78, 92; Sernander, “Olof Rudbeck,” 13; Edvinsson, Jacobson and Waldenström, *Financial Statistics*, chapter 8, “Data” (online version only); Rudbeck, *Bref*, 3:83, dated 9 Feb 1685; <http://historicalstatistics.org/Jamforelsepris.htm>.

in Rudbeck's mind.²¹³ Later, Rudbeck himself claimed that the trip to Leiden was undertaken especially in order for him to learn how to design and care for an educational garden, a project that had been on the table at Uppsala University for fifteen years before it was realized.²¹⁴ As indicated, Rudbeck had been awarded his academic scholarship by the Queen and Chancellor after an anatomical demonstration. However, botany belonged to the faculty of medicine at the time, and the young student took this opportunity to also show the Queen images of plants by his own hand, in life-size and in colour.²¹⁵ It is thus probable that Rudbeck went to Leiden with multiple study objectives in mind. In any case, the fact that he brought *botanical* illustrations to a royal anatomy session -- the dissection had been requested by the queen -- is an indication of how highly Rudbeck valued this field of study. It is also evidence that he made drawings of plants already at a young age.

The illustrations Rudbeck showed to the Queen in 1652 are lost, but a few other images by his hand still exist. During his stay in the Dutch Republic, Rudbeck purchased an album by Jahan Volcmar, an otherwise unknown artist, with over two hundred flower depictions.²¹⁶ On the inside of the volume's back cover, Rudbeck added images of his own: seven tulips (figures 29-31), one iris (figure 32), one morning glory (figure 33), two

²¹³ "Kort före sin utresa fick Rudbeck, såsom nämndt är, tillfälle att för den mångsidige Axel Oxenstierna framlägga sina förslag om en dylik anläggning i Upsala, och under vistelsen i det för trädgårdsskötsel och blomsterodling utmärkta Holland mognade denna tanke alltmera hos honom." Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 452.

²¹⁴ Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 72; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 11; Rudbeck, *Bref*, 3:83, dated 9 February 1685; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 451.

²¹⁵ The fact that the depictions were life-size is indicated by Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 10; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 51. See also Th. M. Fries, "Naturalhistorien," 448; Sernander, "Olof Rudbeck," 12. For an account of Rudbeck's academic activities in Leiden, see Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 71-79.

²¹⁶ Volcmar's illustrations are in colour, but there is no accompanying text, which would later limit their usefulness to Rudbeck. Volcmar, *Flower Illustrations*.

crocuses (figure 34), and three carnations (figure 35).²¹⁷ These are the only illustrations that can be attributed to Rudbeck with certainty.²¹⁸



Figure 29. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Tulips*, c. 1660. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.



Figure 30. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Tulips*, c. 1660. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.

²¹⁷ There is also an outline of a daffodil. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 38-40, 86; Volcmar, *Flower Illustrations*.

²¹⁸ See also Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 39, 86.



Figure 31. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Tulips*, c. 1660. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.

There is no doubt that Rudbeck was a keen observer and highly interested in the composition, appearance, and growth of flowers. The young scholar's tulips depict variegated varieties, with petals ranging in colour from white and yellow to pale and dark red. Rudbeck would have become familiar with the Dutch fascination for tulips during his studies in Leiden.²¹⁹ His interest in this particular species endured, and toward the end of his life, in 1701, he reflected: "... the flowers' size or the variations in colour... are limitless in the '*Tulipan*' species, where many times [flowers] from the same root obtain another year a mottled and different colour than what it had formerly; as has happened to me, that from a monochrome six-petaled tulip flower another year came twenty-four-petaled and from a wholly dark red [came] a completely beautiful bright green."²²⁰

²¹⁹ The Tulipmania had culminated in 1637, but that did not mean the end of the Dutch love for tulips. Goldgar, *Tulipmania*.

²²⁰ "... blommornas storlek eller färgens ombrytning, som är oändelig uti Tulipans arten, then ther många gånger af samma root ett annat år en brokug och annor färg bekommer än hon förr haft; såsom mig är händt, att af en enfaldig sexbladig Tulipansblomma är annat år blifwen tiugufyrbladig och af en hel mörckröd en fullkomlig skön höggrön." Rudbeck, *Campi Elysii Liber secundus*, Preface.

Rudbeck's drawing of the iris (figure 32) confirms his scientific approach and his desire to record the flower's minutest details. In this instance, and in an image that is reminiscent of Johnsen's watercolours, he has not bothered with the leaves or roots of the plant -- only the petals' colours and structure are shown. This small group of botanical drawings confirms Rudbeck's life-long interest in this science, and also his conviction of the advantages of visual documentation quite early on in life.



Figure 32. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Iris* (*Iris germanica*). Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author. Image cropped.



Figure 33. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Morning glory (Convolvulus tricolor)*, dated 10 August 1659. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author. Image cropped.



Figure 34. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Two Crocuses*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author. Image cropped.



Figure 35. Olof Rudbeck the Elder, *Carnations*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 78). Photo by author.

It might be argued that, after his return to Sweden in 1654, Rudbeck agreed to create the Uppsala Botanical Garden simply in order to enhance his goodwill with the university, and thereby ensure a coveted teaching position at his *alma mater*. Two years earlier, a future professorship had been promised in addition to the funds for his study trip, but after the Queen's abdication such an engagement was no longer valid. His other valuable contact, Chancellor Oxenstierna, died later the same year, in August 1654, and Rudbeck suddenly found himself without a spokesperson. Good social networks were vital in early modern society and often necessary for an appointment or advancement in any field of activity or profession. Eventually, Rudbeck got a professorship in 1658.²²¹ However, the energy and the efforts this scholar spent on the Uppsala garden – even his

²²¹ Rudbeck worked for Uppsala University from 1658 until his retirement in January 1691, at the age of 61 (but continued receiving his salary throughout 1692). He was succeeded by his son, Olof the Younger. Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 92, 246, 601; Lindroth, "Epoken Rudbeck," 11; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 56; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 556.

own money -- leave no doubt as to his pleasure at undertaking a large-scale botanical project.

Work on the Uppsala garden possibly started as early as 1654, shortly after Rudbeck's return from Leiden. Initially, it would have been planted with local horticultural or wild species, until the Dutch material arrived the following spring. It is possible that the flower illustrations discussed above – the morning glory is signed 1659 (figure 33) – depict some of the Dutch specimens. Botanist Rutger Sernander finds that the choice of species and the distribution of plants in the *hortus* reveal influences from practices in the Dutch Republic. According to Sernander, the three catalogues Rudbeck later wrote enumerating the contents of the Uppsala garden are based on his professor Adolphus Vorstius' (1597-1663) *Catalogus plantarum horti Academici Lugdono-Bataui*, from 1642, with which Rudbeck had become familiar during his studies at Leiden University.²²²

Rudbeck's aim for his botanical garden was to cultivate species from all corners of the earth, including plants from varied altitudes, and from different soil and climate conditions.²²³ Greenhouses – some of them heated – were built to ensure that all types of plants could thrive. A lack of financial means might have been a constant source of

²²² Sernander laments one main difference between Rudbeck's and Vorstius' botanical catalogues: "Vorstius had the printer Elzevir, Rudbeck the miserable Curio," "Vorstius hade till tryckare Elzevir, Rudbeck hade den erbarmlige Curio." Sernander, "Olof Rudbeck," 15.

²²³ Of the three catalogues on the Uppsala Botanical Garden the first edition was produced already four years after his return from the Dutch Republic and three years after the arrival of Stoffilsson's order. According to the *Catalogus plantarum* (1658), there were 1,052 plants or trees growing in the garden. Considering that the Dutch shipment had amounted to 800 species, approximately 250 additional plants had therefore been collected or donated. According to the second *Catalogus plantarum* (1666), the number of species had increased to 1,701. The third and last catalogue (1685), the *Hortus botanicus*, enumerates 1,873 items. Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 95; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 17; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 453.

concern, but the Nordic climate -- Uppsala is situated on the fifty-ninth parallel -- could not dampen this botanist's enthusiasm.

In order to be up to date on the latest discoveries and to expand his plant collection, Rudbeck communicated with scientists in Scandinavia and elsewhere, received foreign visitors, and purchased large amounts of scientific literature from the continent.²²⁴ Rudbeck became a member of the Royal Society in London in 1682 and exchanged plants with one of its fellows, the London pharmacist James Petiver (c. 1665-1718). Swederus claims that samples of blue mountainheath (*Phyllodoce coerulea*) and sea pea (*Lathyrus maritimus*) were sent to Petiver from Uppsala, and that these plants later appeared in volume three of the naturalist John Ray's (1628-1705) document *Historia plantarum* in 1704.²²⁵ In addition to his contacts with scientists, Rudbeck also purchased seeds and plants from commercial gardeners and exchanged gifts with private garden owners. In fact, he used all possible channels, including making requests to travelling students, friends, family members and more distant relatives, to procure as many species for the botanical garden as possible.²²⁶ These gifts, orders, shipments from the continent, and subsequent swaps with his Swedish contacts, provide a sense of the complex web of collaborations and exchanges that fostered new knowledge about botany. Swedish

²²⁴ The Danish physician Gerhard Stalhoff (1622-1683) visited Rudbeck in 1660. The following year, Johannes Below (1601-1668), former physician to the Russian czar, inquired about a visit to the Botanical Garden. Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 182, 341; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 19; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 552; Stiernhielm, *Samlade skrifter* 3:2, 414.

²²⁵ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 252; Holmström, "Utkast svenska florans," 161; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 552n. On the importance of John Ray's *Historia Plantarum*, see Margócsy, *Commercial Visions*, 50.

²²⁶ Rudbeck's brother-in-law Gustaf Lohrman (1640-1694) sent seeds and bulbs during trips to Leiden (1663) and from Leiden-Paris-Rome (1665-70). When he returned to Uppsala from Leiden in 1690, Olof the Younger brought South-African and Indian seeds on behalf of his professor Paul Hermann (1646-1695). Other suppliers were the growers Henrich Bohleman in Amsterdam, the already mentioned Stoffil Stoffilsson in Leiden, and Marcus Dostman in The Hague. Rudbeck's contacts also included Professor Elias Tillandz (1640-1693), mathematician and astronomer Anders Spole (1630-1699), and military engineer Erik Dahlbergh. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 18; Noldus, "Dealing in Politics," 222.

customers frequently ordered seeds and plants from Europe and a network of cultural agents established in different cities organized the purchases and shipments. Olof Rudbeck the Elder and his friend Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie bought plants together, the former for botanical research and the latter for his garden.²²⁷ In March and May 1663, two shipments with “thousands” of fruit and decorative trees and bushes were sent from Amsterdam to De la Gardie. Most of the trees had been ordered in twos, to be divided between the professor and the chancellor. The collaboration between Rudbeck and De la Gardie illustrates the benefits of shared resources and how easily and informally knowledge, and actual plants, were exchanged. By this time, Rudbeck had acquired extensive hands-on experience from working in the Botanical Garden in Uppsala and undoubtedly advised De la Gardie on the best species to order from the Dutch Republic. The two friends continued communicating regarding flowers and related matters. In 1670, Rudbeck recommended a gardener to De la Gardie, informing him that the unnamed person had experience from both Berlin and Nuremberg, was knowledgeable about exotic plants and, in addition, owned several books on both botany and gardening.²²⁸

In addition to purchases from abroad, Rudbeck the Elder, as well as his son Olof the Younger, gave and received seeds and plants and participated in exchanges with botanists, gardeners, and estate owners across the country. Notes in the three inventories Rudbeck published on the Botanical Garden provide clues to items obtained from

²²⁷ In addition to his positions as ambassador, Lord High Treasurer (1652-60), Lord High Chancellor (1660-80) and Lord High Steward (1680-84), Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie was the Chancellor for Uppsala University from 1654 until his death. De la Gardie was one of the country's major patrons of art and architecture. He is the one who employed Johan Aureller, father and son, to decorate Läckö Castle (chapter one). De la Gardie's garden at Venngarn Palace is discussed in chapter five. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 18; Swederus, *Botaniska trädgården*, 30; Swederus, “Olof Rudbeck,” 457; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

²²⁸ The letter is dated 26 January 1670. Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 597.

colleagues at the university. For instance, mathematics professor Magnus Celsius (1621-1679), who originally came from the northern parts of the country, gave him an Arctic raspberry (*Rubus arcticus*). From the professor of medicine Petrus Hoffwenius (1630-1682), Rudbeck received water soldiers (*Stratiotes aloides*) and butterwort (*Pinguicula vulgaris*).²²⁹

Annotations made by Olof the Younger describe four occasions, between 1699 and 1707, when he received plants from various gardens in the country. Notable is a shipment received from Forsmark Manor in mid-July 1700, corresponding to the period when Johnsen painted the bird's-eye-view of the village and likely also some of the flower still lifes.²³⁰ Thanks to Rudbeck's information, the accessibility to locally grown sources of inspiration available to Johnsen become a little clearer. According to Rudbeck, the following specimens were sent from Forsmark to Uppsala: bible hyssop (*Origanum syriacum*), two varieties of thyme (*Thymus mastichina* and *Thymbra capitata*), two types of sunflower (*Helianthus annuus* and *Helianthus x multiflorus*), white and red daisies (*Bellis perennis*), liverleaf (*Hepatica nobilis*), Michaelmas-daisy (*Aster amellus*), two varieties of lavender (*Lavandula* cf. *latifolia* and *L. angustifolia*), and hollyhock (*Alcea rosea*). Sunflowers can be seen on the Chinese cabinet decorated by Johnsen in 1702 (figure 18). Daisies are included in two of the bouquets in the pedestal series (figures 2-

²²⁹ Gertz, "Hortus Celsiusianus," 65 n; Martinsson and Ryman, *Hortus Rudbeckianus*, 59, 134, 146, 167, 177, 190, 195; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 17.

²³⁰ In addition to the shipment from Forsmark, Rudbeck recorded three other deliveries: "Ao 1699 in July, I introduced the following herbs into the Hort. Bot. Ups. from Stockholm: French honeysuckle (*Hedysarum coronarium*), silver ragwort (*Senecio cineraria*), red currant (*Ribes rubrum*), Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis*)." In "1701, 16 Aug from Noor" Rudbeck received twenty-one plants, and "Ao 1707 the 15 Aug" three specimens. Olof the Younger wrote these notes in a copy of his father's inventory of the Uppsala Botanical Garden from 1685, the *Hortus Rudbeckianus*. It is not known from which garden in Stockholm the 1699 plants were sent, nor from where he received the shipment in 1707. Martinsson and Ryman, *Hortus Rudbeckianus*, 22-23. See also Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 300; Swederus, "Svensk hortikultur," 12.

3).²³¹ However, the fifteen species sent to Rudbeck are not necessarily representative of the Forsmark garden as they could have been requested in order to fill specific needs at the Uppsala *hortus*. Rudbeck's annotation nevertheless is a confirmation that at Forsmark Johnsen had access to a variety of flowers large enough to have garnered the attention of the foremost centre of botanical research in the country. Rudbeck the Younger's notes do not reveal if he visited Forsmark personally or received the plants through an intermediary. There is, however, a tantalizing possibility that Johnsen and Rudbeck met, perhaps even discussed how best to depict flowers.

The above examples show that it was possible to participate in the exchanges of botanical information even for scientists living in distant and isolated regions. The practice of botany depended on the movement of people and plants, on the collaboration of wide social networks, and on the scholarly and material exchanges that occurred to bring new ideas and new specimens to Sweden. Rudbeck's attempts to grow the plants and seeds he received in the Botanical Garden in Uppsala contributed to the level of knowledge in botany, for instance by learning which species thrived in a northerly climate, and which did not.

2.1.2 *Campi Elysii* and the *Book of Flowers*

After having collected, cultivated, and studied plants in the Uppsala garden for more than twenty years, professor Rudbeck decided to launch a new botanical project, this time with the aim of spreading scientific knowledge to even wider circles. The initiative

²³¹ Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 157.

would grow to gigantic proportions and, naturally, the scholar's network of colleagues, friends, family members, and students would be asked to contribute.

In 1679, at about the same time that he published the first tome of his Gothicist project *Atlantica*, which I discussed in the Introduction, Rudbeck launched the creation of a twelve-part botanical encyclopedia, the *Campi Elysii*.²³² As with the Botanical Garden, his aim was to include all the plants in the world, which would have made his series the first *world-wide* botanical publication. He also intended for the encyclopedia to be a truly didactic tool with woodcut images of each species, information in several languages, and cross-references between sources. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, no such exhaustive publication existed, and Rudbeck's project is notable for its global awareness, the trust in visual proof, and the belief in the possibility of obtaining complete knowledge on a given topic.

Work on the *Campi Elysii* started in September 1679. Ten years later, and while work on the encyclopaedia was well under way, Rudbeck decided to create yet another florilegia – for the sake of clarity here referred to as the *Book of Flowers* -- this time in a single edition with illustrations in water-colour.²³³ The two projects are so similar in scope, size, appearance, choice of artists and sources that Rudbeck himself referred to

²³² The encyclopedia's name is another reflection of the author's fascination with Gothicism. In Greek mythology, *Elysium*, or the *Elysian fields*, correspond to paradise and the place where immortal souls come to rest. In Rudbeck's interpretation, *Elysium* also referred to the Nordic countryside in the summer. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 250, 466; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 22.

²³³ Regarding the *Campi Elysii*, a note (written in the *Burser herbarium*) states that "Johan. Christina began 25 Sept. 1679 by fol. 49; Wendela began 25 Sept 1679 at the end and went backwards." ("Johan. Christina begynte 25 Sept. 1679 af fol. 49, Wendela begynte 25 Sept. 1679 ytterst ok gik tillbaka.") Regarding the *Book of Flowers*, another note (in Rudbeck's copy of Caspar Bauhin's *Pinax*) states that "14 Nov 1689 drawing began," ("14 nov 1689 begyntes ritas.") Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 31; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 558.

both as the *Campi Elysii*.²³⁴ The reason for the parallel creation of a coloured edition was to provide a template for eventual commissions of coloured copies of the published *Campi Elysii*.²³⁵

Rudbeck decided to organize the information and the images in his encyclopaedias following the model of botanist Caspar Bauhin's (1560-1624) *Pinax Theatri Botanici* of 1623, which contained descriptions of 6,000 plants. The Swiss botanist's work was still considered the most exhaustive and reliable document, but difficult to use since it lacked illustrations.²³⁶ However, Rudbeck had the added benefit of having access to a well-stocked herbarium—an album of pressed and dried flowers—the *Hortus siccus*. This valuable catalogue had been compiled by the German physician Joachim Burser, who over the years had collected plants in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, southern France, and the Pyrenees. In 1625, Burser took up a position as professor at the Sorø Academy, eighty kilometers southwest of Copenhagen, and thereby added samples from the Danish flora to his herbarium, which eventually consisted of 3,500 specimens in 25 volumes. Bauhin and Burser knew each other, and the former had, in fact, used the *Hortus siccus* for the elaboration of his *Pinax*. Burser's dried plants therefore complemented Bauhin's descriptions, together forming a solid base on which to build a new encyclopedic series.

Burser's herbarium had been a Swedish war trophy and was handed over to the Uppsala

²³⁴ Eleven volumes of the *Book of Flowers* are extant, compared to only two of the *Campi Elysii*. The former contains information such as artists' signatures, source references, colours, and flowering periods. For these reasons, the discussion in this chapter is mainly based on the *Book of Flowers*. Unless indicated otherwise, conclusions can be extrapolated to the *Campi Elysii*.

²³⁵ In 1701, Rudbeck recommended having the woodcuts in the *Campi Elysii* coloured "according to the twelve large books in regal folio, containing all the plants in the world drawn with lively colours." ("effter the tolf stora böcker i regal folio, som innehålla alla örter i hela werlden med lefwande färgor afritade.") Rudbeck, *Campi Elysii Liber secundus*, Preface.

²³⁶ Before passing away, Bauhin had started to prepare an illustrated edition, but of the planned twelve parts only three were completed, and only one was published, posthumously, in 1658. On efforts to replace Bauhin's *Pinax*, see also Margócsy, *Commercial Visions*, 41.

University already in 1666. The many volumes had been rather quickly appropriated by Rudbeck, who had vigorously lobbied for a donation to “his” university.²³⁷

Since Rudbeck’s goal was to create an encyclopaedia covering all the known plants in the world, information on more plants – and visual records of their appearances - - besides Bauhin and Burser became necessary. Later on, Rudbeck would assemble a list of 154 publications he had used for the botanical project.²³⁸ This overview confirms the professor’s access to scientific literature, and also his conscious efforts to include species from both north and south of the Alps as well as plants from the Americas, Africa, and Asia.²³⁹

The most obvious and convenient sources of inspiration for the encyclopedias were the plants growing in the Uppsala Botanical Garden, as well as wild species from the immediate surroundings. If they could not sketch *ad vivum*, from live specimens, Rudbeck’s group of artists would have to make their illustrations based on one of the publications in Rudbeck’s bibliographic list. Re-using images from existing documents was an accepted practice, and several of Rudbeck’s sources had, in fact, been copied from

²³⁷ Most sources claim that Burser’s *Hortus siccus* was looted by the Swedish army during the Swedish-Danish war in 1658, and through unknown exchanges ended up in diplomat Peter Julius Coyet’s (1618-1667) possession. However, author Theodor Magnus Fries suggests that after Burser’s death the herbarium was *purchased* by Danish minister Jørgen Seefeldt (1594-1662), whose entire library was later confiscated and brought to Stockholm, where Coyet acquired the volumes in 1663 or 1664. In either case, Coyet is the one who donated the herbarium to Uppsala University. Anfält and Hagelin, *Rudbeckarnas bildvärld*, 10, 47; Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 74; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 249; E. Fries, *Botaniska utflygter* 3, 40; Th. M. Fries, “Naturalhistorien,” 579; Krok, *Bibliotheca botanica*, 110; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 20; Stafleu and Cowan, *Taxonomic Literature*, 419; Swederus, “Olof Rudbeck,” 551.

²³⁸ “Explicatio nominum authorum citatirum,” (un-numbered page inserted between Preface and Page 1 in) *Campi Elysii Liber secundus*. See also Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 40ff (with information on the number of illustrations copied from each publication); Swederus, “Olof Rudbeck,” 552.

²³⁹ Because of his success in locating botanical information, Rudbeck had to revise the estimated total number of plants to be included in the encyclopedias on several occasions. In 1679, at the start of the project, he calculated the total number of species to 3,400, in 1685 to 3,600, in 1697 his estimate had increased to 7,000, and in 1701 to between 10,000 and 11,000. Björk, *Florans konstnärer*, 31; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 252; Th. M. Fries, “Naturalhistorien,” 581; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 24; Rudbeck, *Campi Elysii Liber secundus*, Preface; Swederus, “Olof Rudbeck,” 554, 561.

earlier books.²⁴⁰ The draughtsmen and -women who contributed to the *Campi Elysii* and the *Book of Flowers* therefore added one more layer to an already existing and extensive web of botanical exchanges and well-travelled imagery. As expected, the flowers based on living specimens led to particularly naturalistic images with an immediacy not found in the copied material.

Among the oldest sources used by Rudbeck and his collaborators is Leonhart Fuchs' (1501-1586) *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes* (*Notable Commentaries on the History of Plants*) from 1542. In the introduction, Fuchs exclaims that "a picture expresses things more surely and fixes them more deeply in the mind than the bare words of the text."²⁴¹ Indeed, in Fuchs' document close to five hundred plants are depicted in exceptionally well-made woodcuts. Generally, woodcuts were considered a fickle and less precise form of reproduction than (copper) engraving. Images of the illustrators are included in the document, revealing the artists' high status.²⁴²

Other sixteenth-century books -- more than a hundred years old by the time Rudbeck consulted them -- were Pietro Andrea Matthioli's (1501-1577) *Commentarii secundo aucti, in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de medica materia* (1554), Mathias Lobelius' (1538-1616) *Stirpium adversaria nova* (1570), and the *Kruidtboeck* (1581) by the same author. Several publications by Carolus Clusius were also used, such

²⁴⁰ For instance, Caspar Bauhin's brother Johannes (1541-1613), also an author on botany, took most of his illustrations from Leonhart Fuchs. Jacob Breyne (1637-1697) *bought* the images (from an un-named artist) for his floral inventory of the Cape Province. Emanuel Sweerts' *Florilegium* used illustrations from Johann Theodor de Bry's (1562-1620) *Florilegium* -- which in turn was based on a work by Pierre Vallet (1575-1650/57). Sweerts also re-used images from publications by Carolus Clusius and Mathias Lobelius. Clusius and Lobelius occasionally used each other's plates at Christophe Plantin's (c. 1520-1589) print shop. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 41, 44; Linder, "Flora Wiksbergensis," 18.

²⁴¹ <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/oct2002.html>, accessed 22 May 2019.

²⁴² They are also named: Albrecht Meyer drew the plants, Heinrich Füllmaurer (c. 1497-1547/8) transferred the images to woodblocks, and Veit Rudolf Speckle then carved the woodblocks.

as the *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Hispanias observatum Historia* (1576), the *Rariorum stirpium per Pannoniam, Austriam et Vicinas Historiae* (1583), the *Rariorum plantarum historia* (1601), and the *Exoticorum libri decem* (1605).

Sources from the early seventeenth century, but still quite dated, include Emanuel Sweerts' (1552-1612) *Florilegium Amplissimum et Selectissimum* (from 1612), and Basilius Besler's (1561-1629) *Hortus Eystettensis* (1613). The latter, a description of the garden of the prince-bishop of Eichstätt, Johann Konrad von Gemmingen (1561-1612), is one of the few sources that depicted plants in colour, as was the case with Rudbeck's copy. Non-European plants were found in Jacques Philippe Cornut's (1606-1651) *Canadensium Plantarum Historia* (1635). This document depicted plants from present-day eastern Canada and the north-eastern United States.²⁴³ Further information on plants outside of Europe was found in court physician Francisco Hernández de Toledo's (1515-1587) *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus*, on the Mexican flora (1628); Charles Plumier's (1646-1704) *Description des Plantes d'Amérique* (1693), which discusses the flora of the French West Indies; and the ambitious natural history of Georg Marcgraf (1610-1644) and Willem Piso (1611-1678), the *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* (1648), which depicted plants from the Dutch trading post in Brazil. The documents on the flora of the Americas transmitted knowledge gained from the on-going European colonization of that part of the world. These rare documents were particularly valuable to Rudbeck as he aimed for a global perspective.

²⁴³ *Canadensium Plantarum Historia* was the first botanical work on North American flora north of Mexico. Cornut never visited Canada but obtained information for his document mainly from early settlers, explorers, and missionaries, but also from botanists in England. Pringle, "Cornut's *Canadensium*," 197.

Other seventeenth-century sources included *Florilegium Renovatum* (1641), published by the engravers Johann Theodor de Bry (1562-1620) and Matthäus Merian the Elder (1593-1650); Johannes Bauhin's *Historia Plantarum Universalis* in three volumes (1650); and Jacob Breyne's *Exoticarum aliarumque minus cognitarum Plantarum Centuria prima* (1678), with plants from the southern tip of Africa. Volcmar's portfolio, discussed above, was also consulted but only when a plant could be identified with certainty since its images had no accompanying text. An impressive series of publications was Hendrik van Rhee de tot Drakenstein's (1636-1691) *Hortus Malabaricus*, an illustrated flora from Malabar, a Dutch settlement on the south-western coast of India. Van Rhee de's twelve books, published between 1678 and 1703, show plants in full size and in high detail. According to Martinsson and Ryman, the *Hortus Malabaricus* was Rudbeck's only source on Asian flora.²⁴⁴

Finally, there was a group of publications that Rudbeck must have acquired while work on the encyclopedias was already under way, such as Robert Morison's (1620-1683) volumes two and three (the first volume was never published) on the Botanical Garden in Oxford, the *Plantarum Historiae Universalis Oxoniensis*, from 1680 and 1699 respectively. An inventory of the Botanical Garden in Leiden was created by Olof Rudbeck the Younger's professor Paul Hermann, the *Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi Catalogus* and published in 1687, but there are only three references to this document. On the other hand, Leonard Plukenet's (1641-1706) *Phytographia*, based on his voluminous private herbarium, four volumes published between 1691 and 1696, were consulted approximately 370 times.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 44.

²⁴⁵ Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 48.

By 1702, the first two volumes of the *Campi Elysii* had been printed and work on both encyclopedias progressed well. And then, in May of that year, a virulent city fire destroyed as much as three quarters of the town of Uppsala, including the cathedral, the castle, and many private residences.²⁴⁶ Beside the loss of buildings and possessions, irreplaceable artefacts were annihilated. More than twenty years of work on the botanical encyclopedias went up in flames. Of the already printed editions of the *Campi Elysii*, two copies plus some loose sheets remain of *Liber 1*, and 19 copies of *Liber 2*.²⁴⁷ Of the seven thousand wood blocks already prepared for subsequent volumes, only 130 could be saved. Eleven of the twelve volumes of the *Book of Flowers* were spared. Some 6,000-7,000 plants in the Botanical Garden were ruined, as well as its orangery and greenhouses. Rudbeck the Younger's private residence, situated in the corner of the garden, was severely damaged. Four months later, Olof Rudbeck the Elder died. Eriksson calls the fire "one of the largest catastrophes to strike Swedish science."²⁴⁸ Biologist and author Hans Krook suggests it was "perhaps one of the hardest blows to have hit Swedish science and culture through the ages."²⁴⁹ As can be expected, work on the botanical encyclopaedias came to a halt and Rudbeck the Younger, who had been highly involved in the projects, oriented his energy toward other pursuits. He would add only a handful of botanical illustrations to the *Book of Flowers* in the following years, one of which was the sensational agave at Noor Castle (discussed in chapter one).

²⁴⁶ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 617–620; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 8–9.

²⁴⁷ Johannes Rudbeck suggests that 22 copies remain. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 28; Rudbeck, J, "Campus Elysii," 53–59.

²⁴⁸ "... en av de största katastrofer som drabbat vår vetenskap." Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 138.

²⁴⁹ "... kanske ett av de hårdaste slag som har drabbat svensk vetenskap och kultur genom tiderna." Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*, x.

2.1.3 Botanical Illustrations as a Source of Knowledge

In comparison to Rudbeck's ambitious and visually didactic encyclopedias, contemporary botanical literature published in Sweden was mostly small-scale, directed at a limited audience, and sparingly illustrated, if at all. Academic dissertations on botanical themes were written, but these were generally dedicated to a single species, such as Jacobus Hernodius' analysis of tobacco (1633), Nicolaus Clewberg's (1654-1726) treatise on manna (1681), Jacob Ludenius' discussion of ivy (1707), and Daniel Kellander's (1690-1724) thesis on the Arctic raspberry (1716). Only the latter two were illustrated, with a modest two woodcuts each.²⁵⁰ Anders Holtzbom (c. 1673-1711), one of the students who had collaborated on the *Campi Elysii*, presented a dissertation on the mandrake, *Mandragora officinarum*, in 1702. Martinsson and Ryman suggest that Holtzbom re-used an old woodcut to illustrate his thesis.²⁵¹ The fact that he chose not to draw illustrations for his own dissertation is surprising, considering that he was one of the most accomplished student artists contributing to Rudbeck's botanical encyclopedias. In addition, Rudbeck the Younger was Holtzbom's supervisor, and the professor should have been aware of the current trust in the advantages of visual information. It appears that in Swedish academic circles the notion of images as carriers of information was not consistently emphasized.

In addition to academic treatises, a few *regional* floras were published during this period, but also these were rarely illustrated, and of limited applicability to an audience

²⁵⁰ Lindroth suggests that Kellander's and Ludenius' theses were "pre-Linnaean" works, in reference to their preoccupation with how to classify the respective species. Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 434. Regarding Kellander and Ludenius, see also Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 98, 158, 162, 169; Th. M. Fries, "Naturalhistorien, 1700-talet," 422; Holmström, "Utkast svenska florans," 159, 160; Rudbeck, *Iter Lapponicum* 1987, 9.

²⁵¹ Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 70. See also Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 158.

outside of the immediate geographic area. Elias Tillandz (1640-1693), professor at the Academy in Åbo (Turku in Finnish) in south-western Finland (Finland was part of Sweden until 1809) published an inventory of the local vegetation, *Catalogus Plantarum Aboam*, in 1673. Ten years later, he reedited his document in an enlarged version enhanced with woodcuts, but Eriksson suggests that -- apart from three images -- Tillandz' illustrations had been borrowed from earlier books, and can be traced all the way back to sixteenth-century authors such as Jacob Tabernæmontanus (1522-1590), Pietro Andrea Matthioli, and Adam Lonicerus (1528-1586).²⁵² The physician Olof Bromelius (1639-1707) published *Chloris gothica* in 1694, an overview of plants growing on the west coast of Sweden. In 1687, Bromelius had also written a manual on hop cultivation. Neither publication is accompanied by images. In 1716, Johan Linder (Lindestolpe) (1678-1724) wrote *Flora Wiksbergensis*, an un-illustrated enumeration of plants growing in and around the mineral bath at Viksberg, west of Stockholm, where Linder was the resident physician.²⁵³ Olof Celsius the Elder (1670-1756), theologian and professor at Uppsala University, grew a private botanical garden and collected plants from the entire province of Uppland. Celsius was a member of the Uppsala learned society Bokwettsgillet, and the minutes of 1 October 1729 reveal that the professor had brought a copy of his treatise *Flora Uplandica* to show at the meeting, and "the Society wished that it would, by the Doctor, shortly be published." However, he only issued brief excerpts of his document, and no illustrations were included.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 139.

²⁵³ Linder, "Flora Wiksbergensis."

²⁵⁴ "Societeten önskade at thet måtte af Hr Doctoren med thet första publiceras." Incidentally, Celsius's nephew Anders Celsius (1701-1744) was also a man of science and created the eponymous temperature scale. Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 140; Gertz, "Hortus Celsiusianus," 65; Schück, "Bokwettsgillet," 169.

Contrary to the Rudbecks, therefore, it consequently appears that contemporary authors did not value or did not want to rely on images to validate their research. There is a discrepancy between the *Campi Elysii* project and contemporary botanical literature in Sweden, not only in terms of appearance but also in terms of the approach to scientific research.

2.1.4 Professional Artists or Talented Students

Of the many contributors to the botanical projects, Rudbeck the Elder's children were his most diligent and faithful collaborators. Rudbeck and his wife Vendela Lohrman had eight children, four of which survived to adulthood: Olof the Younger, Johanna Christina (1661-c. 1715), Gustaf (1667-1738), and Wendela (c. 1668-1710).²⁵⁵ Olof the Younger followed in his father's footsteps and studied medicine while cultivating an interest in natural history. Over the years, Olof the Younger contributed as many as 865 water-colours to the *Book of Flowers*.²⁵⁶ In March 1686 he defended a first thesis, *Propagatio plantarum*, which discussed different techniques to propagate plants. In the seventeenth century, botany still belonged to the faculty of medicine. The younger Rudbeck pursued his education in Leiden and Utrecht. The charming letter in which his father expressed his love for plants dates from this period.²⁵⁷ In 1690 in Utrecht, Olof defended a doctoral dissertation, *Fundamentali plantarum notitia*, in which he discussed a

²⁵⁵ Little is known about Gustaf and he did not contribute to the encyclopedias. The information on the Rudbeck children is based on Anfält and Hagelin, *Rudbeckarnas bildvärld*; Björk, *Florans konstnärer*; Cavalli-Björkman, Norrman, and Ernstell, *Blomsterspråk*, 27; Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*; Th. M. Fries, "Naturalhistorien;" Gezelius, *Försök 1779*; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 432; Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*, 32; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 56, 61; Swederus, "Svensk hortikultur;" *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*.

²⁵⁶ Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 57.

²⁵⁷ Rudbeck, *Bref*, 4:113, dated 15 Nov 1687.

method to categorize plants and thereby to bring order to the many systems of classification simultaneously in existence. Rudbeck subscribed to a technique advocated by Professor Paul Hermann, who focused on the appearance of the plants' fruits as basis for the establishment of relationships.²⁵⁸ The need to create a commonly accepted structure for the naming and classification of plants was becoming increasingly urgent as contacts between scientists were more frequent and as new species were discovered. Olof the Younger's preoccupation with the natural sciences – rather than medicine -- continued and the speech he delivered in 1691, *De studio botanico rite excolendo*, during his inauguration as professor at Uppsala University, is a reflection on the future of botany.²⁵⁹ Biographies on Rudbeck the Younger emphasize his solid education in medicine, but the fact is that these academic publications were all devoted to botany.

The two Rudbeck daughters were also involved in both the *Campi Elysii* and the *Book of Flowers* from the very beginning. As mentioned, Johanna Christina and Wendela drew their first illustrations in 1679, when the latter would have been no more than eleven years old. The artistically talented daughters made hundreds of drawings and water-colours; Johanna Christina's signature is found on 120 illustrations in the *Book of Flowers*, Wendela's on 397. Swederus suggests that the two "were likely the first Swedish women who drew botanical illustrations of true artistic value."²⁶⁰ Johanna Christina married at the age of eighteen and Wendela when she was thirty years old, which could

²⁵⁸ Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 434; Rudbeck, *Fundamentali plantarum*.

²⁵⁹ Rudbeck, *Studio botanico*.

²⁶⁰ "... omkring år 1679 togo äfven Ol. Rudbeck den äldres döttrar Wendela och Johanna Kristina en hedrande del i detta arbete – troligen de första svenska fruntimmer som tecknat växtplanscher af verkligt konstvärde." Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 553.

explain their differences in output.²⁶¹ Unfortunately, no other artistic works by the sisters are known, and it appears that their contributions ceased over time. In addition to members of the family, Rudbeck employed a large number of assistants, especially students, to draw the illustrations for the two botanical series. More than thirty draughtsmen, who worked for shorter or longer periods on the projects, have been identified.²⁶² Using the general term atlas for illustrated treatises, science historians Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison propose that “making and using an atlas is one of the least individual activities in science.”²⁶³ Daston and Galison continue by highlighting significant features of atlas production in the seventeenth century, such as the necessity for a close working relationship between scientist and artist(s) and the fact that illustrated publications contributed to improving scientific collaboration and communication by allowing observers to exchange results using a specific publication as common denominator.²⁶⁴ Illustrated treatises were often written in Latin, or when vernacular languages were preferred, in bi- or trilingual editions. However, different botanists used different names for plants and referring to the same document ensured that they had the same species in mind.

Swan describes the period from the last decades of the fifteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century in the Netherlands as “an era of illustrated natural history.”²⁶⁵ Swan also emphasizes the collaborative aspect of these publications, affirming that they

²⁶¹ Wendela Rudbeck married the Uppsala student Peter Nobelius (c. 1655-1707). The couple’s great-grandson Immanuel shortened the family name to Nobel. One of Immanuel’s sons, Alfred (1833-1896), a chemist and inventor, created the Nobel Prizes. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 60–61; Sernander, “Olof Rudbeck,” 19; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

²⁶² Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 54-75.

²⁶³ Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 26.

²⁶⁴ Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 26. On the need for common botanical taxonomy, see also Margócsy, *Commercial Visions*.

²⁶⁵ Swan, “Uses of Botanical,” 63.

were “repositories of information gathered by reading and observing, and through correspondence and discussion with fellow scholars of the natural world,” a statement that certainly applies to Rudbeck’s work in Uppsala in the late seventeenth century.²⁶⁶

The illustrations were the Rudbeck encyclopaedias’ main attraction, their *raison d’être*, and the fact that apprentices and students were deemed qualified enough to take responsibility for such a task has been attributed to limited financial means. Using professional artists would obviously have increased the overhead costs considerably and it is likely that having recourse to un-trained staff was a compromise Rudbeck was prepared to take in order to bring his project to fruition.²⁶⁷ An equally surprising decision was to use woodcuts instead of (copper) engravings for the *Campi Elysii*. Again, this was likely caused by financial constraints.²⁶⁸ Woodcuts were less expensive but also less precise, and even if Rudbeck could not foresee the numerous revisions of the total number of illustrations needed, he was perhaps apprehensive about the many costs in connection with such a large-scale project. The arduous efforts that had been needed over the years to obtain funding for the Botanical Garden likely played a role in his decision. Having customers absorb the cost of higher-quality prints was likely feared to become prohibitive.²⁶⁹ Finally, it is possible that Rudbeck felt that the quality of woodcuts was

²⁶⁶ Swan, “Uses of Botanical,” 63.

²⁶⁷ Regarding the draughtspeople’s and wood cutters’ remuneration, see Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 22. The opinion that financial considerations were the reason for the recourse to non-professionals was confirmed verbally by Karin Martinsson, April 2015.

²⁶⁸ Martinsson and Ryman suggest that the higher cost for the production of prints plus a lack of skilled engravers in Uppsala contributed to Rudbeck’s decision to use woodcuts. Author Monika Björk suggests that Rudbeck not only found woodcuts less costly, but also quicker to make than copper engravings. Björk, *Florans konstnärer*, 32; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 22.

²⁶⁹ Author Kim Todd suggests that one way to avoid investing large personal funds, authors could collect down payments ahead of publication. However, this required access to a large, and wealthy, network of potential customers, which was possibly beyond the reach of Rudbeck. Todd, *Chrysalis*, 212.

sufficient -- those in Fuchs' *De historia stirpium* are excellent -- and that enough details would be discernible when using this technique.

Daston and Galison suggest that different epistemic virtues were at play in the seventeenth century, such as truth-to-nature, and that scientific objectivity was not a concern until the mid-nineteenth century.²⁷⁰ Creating illustrations that were considered true-to-nature necessitated close collaboration between scientist and artist in order to choose, for instance, a specific flower for its capacity to represent what was seen as the most typical characteristics of its species.²⁷¹ Rudbeck and his contemporaries would have wanted images of botanical specimens to depict an idealized, perfected, and characteristic plant, even if this meant making a slightly stylized illustration. "To this end, they carefully selected their models, watched their artists like hawks and smoothed out anomalies and variations in order to produce what we shall call 'reasoned images'."²⁷² In other words, employing students, who were neither artists nor scientists, to create the illustrations for the *Campi Elysii* and the *Book of Flowers* was likely not as much of a compromise for Rudbeck as initially appeared to be the case. By working in close collaboration, the professor and the apprentices arrived at images that well represented each species according to the scientific criteria of the time. In addition, illustrations that had to be sourced in existing publications could be assumed to have undergone the adjustment process already and were therefore copied faithfully and directly.

Besides the two Rudbeck daughters, most people contributing illustrations to the botanical projects were men. Only one other female artist, Anna Maria Thelott (1683-

²⁷⁰ Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 18.

²⁷¹ By the mid-nineteenth century, this working method would be considered subjective and inappropriate for scientific illustrations. Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 35.

²⁷² Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 42.

1710), has been identified.²⁷³ Anna Maria's brothers Olof (1670s-1728) and Philip Jacob the Younger (1682-1750) also drew and cut wood plates for Rudbeck. Contrary to the majority of the students Rudbeck employed, the Thelott children became professional artists. The Thelott family lost their home and possessions in the 1702 fire and shortly thereafter moved to Stockholm where another son, the engraver Hans Philip (c. 1670-1716), was already established. In the capital, Anna Maria continued working as draughtswoman and engraver. According to author Folke Åstrand, by then she was the one who supported the family financially.²⁷⁴ In Stockholm, Anna Maria Thelott received several professional commissions. In 1705 a royal decree announced that artillery pieces captured as war trophies should be recorded in a series of drawings before being melted down or otherwise transformed. This extensive assignment was awarded to Anna Maria and her brother Philip Jacob the Younger, and over the next few years they made approximately 1,300 illustrations.²⁷⁵ In 1706 she also received a request to create eleven views of German towns for the newspaper *Ordinari Post-Tijnder*, and the following year she made an illustration for historian and national antiquarian Johan Peringskiöld's (1654-1720) exposé of biblical genealogy, *En book af menniskiones slächt*. Peringskiöld's

²⁷³ The discussion of the Thelott family is based on Eichhorn, "Konstnärsläkten Thelott;" Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 76; Hultmark, Hultmark and Moselius, *Svenska kopparstickare*, 334-337; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*; Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*; Malmberg, *Svensk porträttkonst*, 124-125, 130; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 71; *Nordisk familjebok*; *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*; Rudbeck, *Bref*, 4:135 dated c 16 Dec 1698; Sahlén, *Om träsnitt*; Schück, "Bokwettsgillet," 21; Swederus, "Olof Rudbeck," 444, 553, 574-575; *Svenska konstnärer 1980*; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*; Österberg, Lewenhaupt and Wahlberg, *Svenska kvinnor*, 367.

²⁷⁴ Anna Maria died during the bubonic plague epidemic in 1710, at the age of 27. She was buried on Oct 17 and her father on Nov 6. In February the following year Hans Philip submitted a request for reimbursement of expenses incurred while caring for his mother and father, which indicates that both parents died at approximately the same time. Hultmark, Hultmark and Moselius, *Svenska kopparstickare*, 335; *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*, V:419.

²⁷⁵ Three volumes kept at Armémuseum in Stockholm. Magnusson suggests the siblings made approximately a thousand drawings. Hultmark, Hultmark and Moselius, *Svenska kopparstickare*, 337, Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*, 38.

document was eventually published after her death, in 1713.²⁷⁶ In 1710, shortly before Easter, theology student Johann Burchward (1694-1715) delivered a reflection on Christ's sufferings, *Oratio passionalis*, a speech that was put into print, and for which Thelott made the frontispiece. Interestingly, her illustration features a – female – artist depicted in front of an easel, on which a crucifix has already been painted and above which the words *Nur hier allein, soll Jesus sein* are written. The image is signed *Anna Marija Thelotten delini et sculp. Stokolm 1710*. The viewer is thereby informed that she both drew and engraved the image.

Very few women artists active in Sweden during the seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries are known today.²⁷⁷ Because of Thelott's unique situation in this context, it is worth taking a closer look at her production. A sketch book from her time in Stockholm is a rare extant oeuvre.²⁷⁸ Any works of art from her early years in Uppsala were undoubtedly destroyed in the city fire. Her album seems to have been used mainly for sketching, but possibly also as a promotional catalogue; some compositions are highly finished while others are simply outlined. The motifs range from still lifes to genre scenes, as well as religious and mythological motifs and allegories; the images are executed in ink, water-colour, pen, and pencil, indicating a desire to master a wide

²⁷⁶ Peringskiöld, *Book af menniskiones slächt*, 206. In spite of announcing that the document traces Christ's ancestry, "from Adam to the Virgin and her fiancé", it appears that the author extended his survey to include contemporary people of interest. Anna Maria Thelott's engraving is a depiction of Emperor Augustus's mausoleum. The *Book af menniskiones slächt* is profusely illustrated. Unfortunately, most images are not signed, but Olof Thelott's name can be seen on one engraving on page 147.

²⁷⁷ The catalogue from an exhibition held at Nationalmuseum in Stockholm in 1975, *Women who Painted*, discusses only two Swedish female artists from the seventeenth century, Anna Maria Ehrenstrahl (1666-1729) and Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Elder (1656-1693). Cavalli-Björkman, *Kvinnor som Målat*, 2-4.

²⁷⁸ *Anna Maria Thelotts Skissbok*, kept at Uppsala University, manuscript department, UU 791.

repertoire. She was often her own model; among the sketchbook's eighty-nine pages, there are at least three, maybe as many as nine self-portraits.²⁷⁹

In the early modern period, women painters often came from families already active in artistic production.²⁸⁰ For instance, the portraitist Anna Maria Ehrenstrahl was the daughter of David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl. Anna Maria Thelott's father, Philip Jacob the Elder (c. 1635-1710) had been employed by Rudbeck the Elder to make mathematical and mechanical instruments – another immigrated artist, he relocated to Uppsala from Augsburg -- but he also worked as engraver, cutting in copper, brass and wood.²⁸¹ As mentioned, Anna Maria's brothers were also painters and graphic artists, and she was undoubtedly trained by her father alongside her siblings. While the rarity of female painters during this period could indicate resistance to women choosing this profession, artistic practices were not as gendered as they would become in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which saw the creation of art academies and the relegation of 'simpler' genres to women.²⁸² Anna Maria certainly was able to explore and experiment with a wide range of motifs, genres, and media.

While the first half of Thelott's album is dedicated to mythological and religious motifs – Magnusson suggests they are copied from engravings – there are also several compositions in which people are seen fishing, herding goats, taking a walk, dancing, or looking at the stars.²⁸³ A watercolour labelled *Flowers and Berries* (figure 36) could be a

²⁷⁹ Folios 1b, 14, 26, 52, 54, 74, 75, 78, and 81.

²⁸⁰ Cavalli-Björkman, *Kvinnor som Målat*, 1; Honig, "Art of Being Artistic," 31; Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 20.

²⁸¹ Hultmark, Hultmark and Moselius, *Svenska kopparstickare*, 336.

²⁸² In many cases, women were barred from participating in the academies' educational activities, such as nude studies. Cavalli-Björkman, *Kvinnor som Målat*, 1; Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 27, 35, 51.

²⁸³ Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*, 38.

preparatory study for a more complex work.²⁸⁴ It could also be a still life or a botanical illustration in its own right (see below). Parker and Pollock suggest that by the late eighteenth century, the depiction of flowers had become a domain considered suitable for women artists. For instance, flower still life was then regarded as a decorative but repetitive genre requiring high levels of patience in execution, characteristics that were felt to correspond to the female nature.²⁸⁵ By the nineteenth century, women were not only good at depicting flowers, it was suggested that they were not able to paint much else, and that when focusing on plants they were, in fact, fulfilling the destiny of their gender. Because of this association with female activity, the still life genre gradually became more closely linked to repetitive activities and to crafts.²⁸⁶ However, in the seventeenth century, women artists were operating within a workshop tradition, where both men and women, sons and daughters, contributed to the family business, whether it be tapestry weaving, engraving, or painting. Likewise, plants were grown, studied and depicted by both men and women. The still life genre might have been little-known in Sweden in the seventeenth century: as noted, Johan Johnsen was one its few practitioners. However, still lifes – with or without flowers – were highly appreciated in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere in Europe and both male and female artists excelled in the depiction of plants and other types of vegetation. Seen from this perspective, it is likely that Thelott painted *Flowers and Berries*, not because she was a woman artist and had to do so, but because she was interested in exploring the depiction of natural objects.

²⁸⁴ "Blommor och bär," the sketchbook's page 79. The images' titles have been constructed by the Uppsala University, where the album is kept.

²⁸⁵ Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, 54.

²⁸⁶ Parker, *Subversive Stitch*, 5.

The discourse of the nineteenth century created a set of values that were perpetuated through a large part of the following century. For instance, the emphasis on a perceived female propensity for small-scale and intricate work meant that large commissions were often regarded as a masculine domain. As late as 1967, Åstrand wrote that Anna Maria Thelott *helped* her brother Philip Jacob the Younger in documenting the country's stock of captured artillery pieces. Most of the drawings kept at the Army Museum are unsigned and it cannot be established who drew each image, but the fact that Philip Jacob became an ammunitions assistant at the Stockholm Artillery regiment in 1706 could lead to questions regarding his availability for a documentation project spanning these very years. A thorough study of Anna Maria Thelott's entire production would shed new light on her oeuvre and help to further understand the conditions of women artists in Sweden in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.



Figure 36. Anna Maria Thelott, *Flowers and berries (Blommor och bär)*, 1704-09. Watercolour/paper, 13.5 x 22 cm. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (ID 13909).

Anna Maria Thelott's watercolour *Flowers and Berries* (figure 36) is of interest not only as a preparatory study but also since it can be characterized both as a still life and as a botanical illustration. This image was not a commissioned work; neither by a publisher of botanical florilegia, nor by an art patron. However, Thelott's grouping of elements is reminiscent of some of Johnsen's works, such as his series of free-floating bouquets (figures 10-17). Both artists have depicted garden flowers, such as tulips, roses, and lilies, and the sense of immediacy indicate that they likely had access to live plants when creating the paintings. While Johnsen and Thelott have recorded each plant with a level of scrutiny worthy of scientific examination, the two artists' images contain a multitude of species, which was unusual for botanical imagery.²⁸⁷ Therefore, *Flowers and Berries* should be classified as a still life. On the other hand, while the title of the image refers to berries, I suggest that the artist has, in fact, painted small tomatoes, a species normally not seen in still lifes. The tomato had been introduced to Europe in the mid-sixteenth century and Rudbeck the Elder listed several "love-apples" in his catalogues on the Uppsala Botanical Garden.²⁸⁸ Indeed, tomatoes were included in the *Book of Flowers*, for instance in an illustration signed by Rudbeck the Younger (figure 37). Both Thelott and Rudbeck have chosen to show red and yellow varieties and both have arranged their compositions so as to reveal how the tomato is attached to its stem. With these features in mind, Thelott's image now becomes a botanical illustration. Finally, some characteristics in Thelott's watercolour apply to both genres, such as the neutral background, the lack of shadows and, consequently, the absence of spatial awareness. In the end, *Flowers and*

²⁸⁷ There existed a few botanical encyclopedias that depicted more than one plant on each page, for instance two of Rudbeck's sources: Robert Morison's *Plantarum Oxoniensis* (1699) and Leonard Plukenet's *Phytographia* (1691).

²⁸⁸ Martinsson and Ryman, *Hortus Rudbeckianus*, 198.

Berries is yet another example of the degree of overlap that could occur between these different genres. In the first two chapters thus far, we have seen that flower paintings could serve as visual records and that botanical illustrations could include flowerpots. The above discussion demonstrates that the boundaries between high art and craft in the seventeenth century were quite fluid, with a greater amount of overlap than has previously been acknowledged.



Figure 37. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, *Tomato (Solanum lycopersicum)*, 1689-1702. Watercolour/paper, 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers, Liber 5, folio 25*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 79-89). Photo by author. Image cropped.

In a discussion of the creative activities of Dutch female artists in the seventeenth century, Honig suggests that women did not hesitate to explore different themes and techniques. She even goes as far as to express the opinion that “amateur women tended to be more dedicated to visual art than their male counterparts, more inventive and more successful at it, having perhaps more time on their hands and fewer other potential outlets for their energies.”²⁸⁹ Also Judith Leyster (1609-1669), who was not an amateur with time on her hands but a professional painter, worked in different genres and styles. In her article, Honig brings attention to a large number of previously little-known artistic women and their work in areas as different as wax-sculpting, wax-engraving, scissor-cutting, watercolours, pastels and chalks, painting with fabric, calligraphy, etching on glass, and embroidery.²⁹⁰ In addition to observing, elevating, and depicting insects and plants, Maria Sibylla Merian also embroidered and painted on satin, linen, and silk.²⁹¹ With this experimental approach in mind, it is significant that Anna Maria Thelott created a self-portrait in which she is not seen painting but instead embroidering (figure 38). The image depicts a room simply furnished with a table and a chair. The walls are dark, and a window allows a glimpse of silhouetted trees outside. The artist, finely dressed, with lace, or pleats, around the wrists and neckline, is sewing a flowery needlepoint design with little balls of yarn on the table in front of her. The picture is signed “Anna Maria, born Thelott” (*Anna Marija ein geborene Thelotten*), revealing pride in family and heritage. Clearly, she is proud to depict herself as an embroiderer, perhaps as a way of emphasizing her multi-faceted artistic talent. Furthermore, the inclusion of a drapery and a bird is

²⁸⁹ Honig, “Art of Being Artistic,” 32.

²⁹⁰ Honig, “Art of Being Artistic,” 33.

²⁹¹ Neri, *Insect and Image*, 139.

possibly a clever reference to an art historical topos, the story of the competition between two ancient artists. In *Natural History* (*Historia Naturalis*), Pliny the Elder (23-79 AD) recounts how the Greek painter Zeuxis's depiction of grapes was so successful that birds tried to eat the fruits. To prove that he was even better at illusionism, fellow artist Parrhasius painted a curtain so well that Zeuxis wanted to pull it aside.²⁹² The story of the two rivalling artists was well-known in the seventeenth century and by referring to this classical narrative, Thelott would have emphasized a message of artistic lineage while simultaneously announcing that she was familiar with ancient literature.



Figure 38. Anna Maria Thelott. *Self-portrait*, 1704-09. Watercolour/paper, 13.5 x 22 cm. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (ID 3537).

²⁹² Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, book 35, chapter 36. Also repeated in Angel, "Praise of Painting," 235; Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 284; Ho, "Gerrit Dou's Enchanting," Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 124; Merriam, *Garland Paintings*, 5, 91; Niekrasz and Swan, "Art," 775; Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels*, 64; Woodall, "Laying the Table," 981.

According to Brusati, self-referential still lifes -- in which the artist is glimpsed in reflective surfaces or through the inclusion of his or her personal objects -- were aimed at enhancing the painter's artistic reputation.²⁹³ While traditional self-portraits emphasized the artists' status by depicting themselves in elaborate clothing or elegant gestures, ideally in the company of historic figures, the still-life counterparts tended to show the artist in, or through, complex and highly detailed depictions of objects. Often, this type of self-referential still life was very witty. An image of a letter rack by Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) includes a poem on a piece of paper, perfectly legible, all painted in *trompe l'oeil*. The poem claims that Zeuxis had been surpassed by Hoogstraten since he had deceived the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III (1608-1657) with one of his works.²⁹⁴ After all, Zeuxis had only fooled a couple of birds. While showing (off) his ability to create exquisite *trompe l'oeil* images, Hoogstraten did not hesitate to refer to Zeuxis, thereby giving a nod to his historic and literary knowledge. Anna Maria Thelott similarly emphasizes her own artistic reputation through reference to this historical figure. It is possible that Thelott also subscribed to the tradition of enhancing her status and especially her artistic versatility, by showing her skill as an embroiderer accompanied by the tools of *that* profession. She is, consequently, present in the picture twice, both as its creator and as an embroiderer. Embroidery has not always carried the connotation of a "mindless, decorative and delicate" pastime as has been the case in the last century or two.²⁹⁵ During the Middle Ages, embroidery was considered an independent art form,

²⁹³ Brusati, "Stilled Lives".

²⁹⁴ Brusati, "Stilled Lives," 182.

²⁹⁵ Parker, *Subversive Stitch*, 6.

equal to painting or sculpture.²⁹⁶ Many artists were skilled in this art. For instance, the renaissance sculptor and painter Antonio Pollaiuolo (1429/33-1489) also designed embroidered church vestments.²⁹⁷ In the sixteenth century the French king Henri IV (1553-1610) named Pierre Vallet (1575-1650) his court embroiderer. In addition to working in needlepoint, Vallet also made botanical illustrations and published an illustrated book on the Louvre garden in 1608. The document's title page does not simply provide the name of its author but proudly announces that it has been created by '*Pierre Vallet, brodeur ordinaire du Roy*'. Art historian Sten Karling suggests that Vallet contributed to the creation of arabesque motifs in formal gardens.²⁹⁸ The use of the term 'embroidery' or 'broderie' in garden design is also evidence of the positive associations derived from textile art. For Vallet, expertise in embroidery design was an asset, leading to developments in another art form.²⁹⁹ Clearly, in the seventeenth century needlecraft had no negative connotations and was not considered a predominantly feminine occupation. In 1629, the inventory of a jeweller's home in Amsterdam enumerates the contents of the front room as "an abundance of display cushions, some of which are described as embroidered, and other as made from leather"³⁰⁰ The front room was where visitors were entertained and where the owner's prime paintings were displayed. The embroidered cushions were obviously part of the household's prized possessions. Another inventory,

²⁹⁶ Parker, *Subversive Stitch*, 17.

²⁹⁷ Parker, *Subversive Stitch*, 80.

²⁹⁸ Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 111.

²⁹⁹ It was during the nineteenth century that embroidery became considered an inherently feminine activity, an attitude that continued into the twentieth century, similarly to the attitude vis-à-vis women painters. Parker points out that while pictures created in paint and pictures created with thread are categorized as "intrinsically unequal", what distinguishes the two is rather *where* and by *whom* they are made. Again, art created by women, in the home, became regarded as of lesser value. Parker, *Subversive Stitch*, 5, 17.

³⁰⁰ Inventory of Sijmen Sijmenss and his wife Claerken (or Clartjen) Arents. Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 74.

written in 1692, of a wine merchant home in Dordrecht lists two embroidered *pictures*, once again displayed in the prestigious front room.³⁰¹ Textile historian Inger Estham suggests that embroidered textiles were an expression of the seventeenth-century desire to “bring the garden’s splendor and greenery into the room, a notion that could contribute to an understanding of how people related to indoor vs. outdoor spaces.”³⁰²

An indication of the proximity between embroidery and painting in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was the fact that renowned artist Maria Sibylla Merian published books with botanical motifs, some to serve as inspiration for embroidery, such as *Neues Blumenbuch*, and others as works of art in their own right. Merian also taught embroidery while living in Nuremberg.³⁰³ According to Neri, Merian benefited from her background in needlework when composing her plant and insect illustrations.³⁰⁴ Renewed analyses of historic needlework will undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of artistic creativity in the early modern period

In addition to messages embedded in the self-portrait, Anna Maria Thelott is also representative of *Swedish* artists of the seventeenth century; as an engraver and draughtsperson in a small market, she was aware of the necessity to be proficient in several genres. In addition, she is representative of *young* artists in the way she was building up a portfolio and exploring different techniques and media. Finally, she is representative of *women* artists of the period, educated within the family, and then

³⁰¹ Inventory of Abraham Sam (1648?-1692). Loughman and Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*, 104.

³⁰² “Den s.k. Pergolasviten på Skoklosters slott... illustrerar 1600-talets tanke at genom textilier föra in trädgårdens prakt och grönska i rummet.” Estham, “Textilkonsten,” 256.

³⁰³ The *Blumenbuch* was published in three volumes, 1675, 1677, and 1680. In 1680, Merian also re-edited all three volumes as *Neues Blumenbuch*. Neri, *Insect and Image*, 139.

³⁰⁴ Neri, *Insect and Image*, xvii.

successfully taking on commissions as an independent professional draughtswoman and engraver.

As a contributor to Rudbeck's publications, Thelott had been part of a large group of illustrators, woodcutters, papermakers, and printers. Important assistance was also given by the people who collected fresh or dried plants, domestic and foreign, of their own initiative or at the request of the energetic professor. Financial benefactors were solicited. An ambitious project such as the *Campi Elysii* could only be carried out with the input from many sources and contributors. In addition, it is unlikely that these projects had come about had Rudbeck not been aware of similar publications and activities abroad. His botanical library was extensive already at the outset and new purchases were added continuously. Rudbeck the Elder had travelled to the Dutch Republic to pursue his studies in anatomy and to learn how to construct a botanical garden, but I suggest that, in addition, the Dutch *séjour* had had a vital influence on him in terms of his exposure to botanical literature, possibly germinating the idea to create the encyclopaedias. Furthermore, during his time abroad, Rudbeck had come into contact with a number of important scholars, especially at the university in Leiden. When his son studied at the same institution approximately three decades later, Rudbeck asked him to send his greetings to "all the professors and learned men with my services."³⁰⁵ Throughout his career, Rudbeck was part of informal networks of scientists, who communicated via letters, personal visits, and articles in various journals. These exchanges were essential in terms of keeping up to date on recent explorations, discoveries, and, of course, for the communication of results. Botanical research in the early modern period was a

³⁰⁵ "Hälsa alla Professorerna och lärda män med min tjänst..." Rudbeck, *Bref 4:113*, dated 15 November 1687.

collaborative activity, with contributions by people from all professions and levels of society.

By the early 1700s, scientists were, and had been for some time, preoccupied with devising a system to classify plants, in order to facilitate both communication and comprehension of the world of botany. As mentioned above, Rudbeck the Younger was one of the scholars who reflected on this topic. It might seem that when the *Campi Elysii* went up in flames in 1702, leading to the abandonment of the entire project, the Uppsala Botanical Garden and encyclopaedic publications had been futile – and premature -- sparkles of no consequence. However, the two Rudbecks' work did feed back into the far-flung network of knowledge about botany, and their research prepared the ground for future scholars, and for important new developments in the botanical sciences.

2.1.5 Rudbeck Father and Son, Precursors to Linnaeus

In the early modern period, detailed botanical images were seen as powerful sources of knowledge, being able to provide information not accessible by other means, and the *Campi Elysii* had been an undertaking very much in that vein. Rudbeck believed that his visual inventory of plants would reveal how different species functioned, propagated themselves, and ultimately how they were related. A clear and widely applicable structure for the categorization of the world's flora would then facilitate not only botanical research but also improve exchanges of information and discoveries. Eventually, Rudbeck was not the one to develop the sought-after classification system,

but I suggest that Carl Linnaeus' accomplishments in the eighteenth century would not have been possible without the Rudbecks' research half a century earlier.³⁰⁶

After having observed the young Carl Linnaeus' (1707-1778) passion for plants, one of his local teachers encouraged him to pursue his studies at Uppsala University, which was reputed for its botanical program and would provide the best research environment in this field. Once there – Linnaeus arrived in Uppsala in 1728 – Rudbeck the Younger took notice of the knowledgeable student and hired him as instructor for the Botanical Garden as well as tutor for his own children. By then Rudbeck the Younger was sixty-eight years old but still teaching at Uppsala University, enjoying his reputation as explorer, professor and a founding member of the country's first scientific society, the Bokwettsgillet or Societas literaria Sueciæ.³⁰⁷ The position as private teacher meant that Linnaeus had open access to his employer's library.³⁰⁸ Undoubtedly Rudbeck and the young scholar discussed many topics, including the objectives behind the *Campi Elysii* project and the desire to comprehend how different species were related. Linnaeus later

³⁰⁶ Literature on Linnaeus is voluminous. His oeuvre is analyzed here mainly in terms of the heritage from the Rudbecks. My discussion is based on Bäck, *Åminnelse-tal*; Cavalli-Björkman, Norrman, and Ernstell, *Blomsterspråk*; Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*; Gullander, *Olof Rudbecks Fågelbok*; Juel, "Några drag ur Uppsala;" Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*; Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*; Martinsson, *Linnés blomsterur*; Martinsson and Backman, "Hammarby;" Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*; Müller-Wille, "Walnuts at Hudson Bay;" Sernander, "Linnæus och Rudbeckarnes;" Sörlin and Fagerstedt, *Linné och hans apostlar*; Swederus, *Botaniska trädgården*, as well as information online at Svenska Linnésällskapet (www.linnaeus.se), and Uppsala University project *Linné on line* (www2.linnaeus.uu.se). Linnaeus was ennobled in 1757, whereby he changed his name to von Linné, which is the form used in the Scandinavian countries and in Germany.

³⁰⁷ An organization named Collegium Curiosorum had been founded in 1710 in Uppsala. It was reorganized and renamed Bokwettsgillet, or Societas literaria Sueciæ, in 1719. The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (*Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien*), in Stockholm, would be created in 1739, with Linnaeus as one of its founding members.

³⁰⁸ Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 180; Gullander, *Olof Rudbecks Fågelbok*, 7, 13; Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*, xiii. See also www.linnaeus.se.

revealed that it was while working for Rudbeck the Younger that he wrote the botanical treatises that he subsequently brought to and published in the Dutch Republic.³⁰⁹

In 1735, Linnaeus published the *Systema naturae*, a suggested classification system, taxonomy, for the natural world, based on the reproductive practices of each species, which has since become the norm for the categorization of both flora and fauna.³¹⁰ The empirical approach to science, already practiced by Rudbeck, became imperative since, for instance, the number of stamens on each flower needed to be counted in order to attribute each plant to the appropriate category.³¹¹ Eriksson suggests that Rudbeck's goal for the *Campi Elysii* had been to "solve the same problem that Linnaeus [later] dealt with and became famous for having solved: how to create a working structure for the enormous material of plant descriptions..."³¹²

Linnaeus also promoted the use of a two-part Latin name for both plants and animals, of which the first half designates the specimen's genus and the second its species within that group. Binary names had been proposed earlier, but never implemented.

Krook suggests that Olof Rudbeck the Younger's dissertation *Fundamentali plantarum notitia* (see 2.1.4), presented thoughts approaching the concept of binary nomenclature.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*, xiii.

³¹⁰ Linnaeus had travelled to the Dutch Republic in 1735, and presented his doctoral thesis, on malaria, at Harderwijk University that year. He would stay in the country until 1738, and during that time published several of his major treatises, such as the *Systema Naturae* (Leiden, 1735), *Fundamenta botanica* and *Bibliotheca botanica* (both in Amsterdam, 1736), and *Flora Lapponica* and *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Amsterdam, 1737).

³¹¹ Another example of Linnaeus' tactile approach is his elaboration of a *Horologium Florae*, a way to establish the time of day by observing the behaviour of specific flowers. A table in *Philosophia botanica* (1751) enumerates forty-three plants with notations of when each flower opens up and closes during the day. The idea for such a "clock" is an indication of Linnaeus' observational skills and the level of attention he awarded each plant. Martinsson, *Linnés blomsterur*.

³¹² "Egentligen försökte han lösa samma problem som Linné senare tog itu med och blev berömd för att ha löst: hur skall man skapa reda och ordning i det väldiga materialet av beskrivna växter..." Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 249.

³¹³ Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*, xiii.

The continuity between the work carried out by the Rudbecks and by Linnaeus is seen here, as well.³¹⁴ Linnaeus used binomial names in a consistent manner for the first time in his document *Species Plantarum*, published in 1753. Thanks to the use of Latin, this naming system was easily applicable in different parts of the world and is the method applied by scholars and amateurs still today.

Rudbeck the Younger most likely also told Linnaeus about the exploration of the Lapland flora and fauna he had undertaken in 1695 (discussed below) and showed him drawings from that summer, which inspired the young scholar to expand his research geographically.³¹⁵ Krook suggests a clear link between Rudbeck's journey in the late seventeenth century and Linnaeus' decision to travel to the same region approximately four decades later: "... there is no doubt that Linnaeus' trip to Lapland in 1732 was directly inspired by Rudbeck, both in terms of goals and means; when Linnaeus applied for financial support for his trip, he referred expressly to Rudbeck's contributions and to the importance of continuing and completing this work. Rudbeck had conducted the first natural-historic research expedition in our country, and Linnaeus literally followed in his footsteps."³¹⁶ Historian of science Tomas Anfält adds that Linnaeus' *Flora Lapponica*,

³¹⁴ Neville suggests that Rudbeck the Younger's ornithological illustrations "formed the basis" for Linnaeus' research in this field. Neville, "Land of Goths and Vandals," 452.

³¹⁵ Ellenius, "Exploring the Country," 22; Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 181; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 211; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 80. See also Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 437. On Linnaeus' view of Lapland, see Bravo, "Mission Gardens," 54.

³¹⁶ "... det är alldeles klart att Linnés Lapplandsresa 1732 i högsta grad inspirerades av Rudbeck, såväl i fråga om mål som medel; när Linné ansökte om ekonomiskt bidrag till sin resa hänvisade han uttryckligen till Rudbecks insatser och till vikten av att fortsätta och fullborda detta arbete. Rudbeck hade genomfört den första forskningsexpeditionen med naturalhistoriskt syfte i vårt land, och Linné följde honom bokstavligen i spåren." Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*, xvi.

one of the documents he published in Amsterdam in 1737, is based “completely or partially on Rudbeck’s works.”³¹⁷

After the death of Rudbeck the Younger in 1740, a number of candidates were proposed to replace him as professor at Uppsala University. A retired colleague, Lars Roberg (1664-1742), recommended Linnaeus, arguing that he was the only one who could finish the *Campi Elysii*.³¹⁸ Roberg’s endorsement reveals not only that Linnaeus was considered a promising scientist but also that he was the intellectual heir to the work initiated by the Rudbecks more than a half-century earlier. Linnaeus was appointed professor at Uppsala University in 1741. While a continuation of the *Campi Elysii* book project was never seriously considered – especially after the publication of the *Systema naturae* -- Linnaeus was asked to renovate the Botanical Garden.³¹⁹ Being director of the garden meant that Linnaeus moved to the residence situated within its perimeter, and which had been built by Rudbeck the Elder in 1693.³²⁰ Sernander traces a direct line from Rudbeck the Elder’s layout of the *hortus* in the second half of the seventeenth century, through Rudbeck the Younger’s up-keep in the years following the fire, and on to the garden’s appearance after Linnaeus’ renovation in the early 1740s.³²¹ Indeed, Linnaeus

³¹⁷ “Att Linné verkligen drog fördel av de uppgifter om den norrländska floran som Rudbeck i ord och bild kunde förmedla, framgår av den i Holland år 1737 utgivna *Flora Lapponica*. Åtskilliga uppgifter i denna bygger helt eller delvis på de rudbeckska verken.” Anfält, “O. Rudbeck d.y:s”.

³¹⁸ Linnaeus later came into possession of one of the few copies of the *Campi Elysii Liber secundus* that had survived the fire in 1702. Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*, xxvii.

³¹⁹ Linnaeus had, we recall, offered teaching tours of the Botanical Garden around 1730. Presumably the flower beds had continued to deteriorate during the 1730s. Carl Gyllenborg, who had accompanied Rudbeck the Younger to Lapland in 1695, became Uppsala University chancellor in 1739, and was the one who initiated the restoration of the Botanical Garden. Bäck, *Åminnelse-tal*, 36; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 202, 205; Martinsson, *Linnés blomsterur*, 11; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 67.

³²⁰ Sernander deplores the fact that the memory of the garden, which was “the locus of Upsalian botany during half a century... is focused on only one of its prefects, Linnaeus.” Sernander, “Linnæus och Rudbeckarnes,” 126. As mentioned, (see [note #200](#)), the site is today known as the Linnaean Garden (*Linnéträdgården*) and the Linnaeus Museum (*Linnémuseet*).

³²¹ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 211; Sernander, “Linnæus och Rudbeckarnes,” 131.

followed in the Rudbecks' footsteps, both in terms of his botanical publications and even by tending the very same garden in Uppsala.

Besides revealing a life-long personal interest in flowers and plants, Rudbeck the Elder's decision to create the *Campi Elysii* and the *Book of Flowers* had been an attempt to raise the level of knowledge and understanding of botany not only in his own country, but also among scholars elsewhere in Europe and further away. The project was interrupted in 1702, but Rudbecks' mantle was picked up by Linnaeus, who became a reputable botanist in his own right. I emphasize that there was no significant interruption between the research carried out by the Rudbecks and that of Linnaeus in the following century.

While scientific discoveries were shared eagerly and frequently in many parts of the world, the absence of a learned society and journal in Sweden before the third decade of the eighteenth century impeded the exchange of ideas and information.³²² Rudbeck the Elder's initiatives are, in this context, all the more surprising. His botanical projects were motivated by a life-long interest in plants dating back to his childhood, a passion that was further fuelled during his time in Leiden. In addition, Rudbeck was driven by a desire to become an international authority in this field and he did not settle for an inventory of Swedish, not even Nordic, plants but wanted to create the most comprehensive floral encyclopedia ever seen. Rudbeck's other passion, Gothicism, gave additional incentive to an already ambitious agenda. The Gothicismist *Atlantica* and the *Campi Elysii* were, after all, produced alongside each other. A sense of predestined success was likely a driving force

³²² The first issue of the *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*, the scientific journal published by the Uppsala Bokwettsgillet came in 1720. The *Kungliga Vetenskapsakademiens handlingar*, the equivalent Stockholm publication was initiated in 1739, both well after Rudbeck the Elder's time.

behind all of Rudbeck's undertakings. His efforts to document and describe all the plants in the world were indicative of his conviction that it was possible to achieve complete knowledge of a field of study, in his case of botany.

3 BOTANY AND POLITICS

In the following chapter we shall meet another Swedish-born physician, Herman Grim, who, like Rudbeck, cultivated an interest in botany, and also in zoology and minerology. Although Grim ended his life working as a plague doctor in Stockholm, his life and career exemplify the high level of physical mobility in the early modern period, as well as the collaborative aspects of scientific research, leading to an understanding of how “easily” information could circulate in the seventeenth century.³²³ The last section of this chapter will expand the discussion of how botanical specimens and plants ultimately became tools in the political arena.

Herman Grim published books and a large number of articles on his scientific discoveries, but in the shadow of his countryman Olof Rudbeck the Elder, his contributions have received limited attention. However, Lindroth suggests that Grim contributed to an improvement in botanical knowledge, calling him “a pre-Linnaean pioneer.”³²⁴ Rudbeck undertook massive projects, built a botanical garden and initiated the elaborations of encyclopedias covering thousands of plants, but he stayed in Sweden, obtaining information through publications and correspondence. Grim, on the other hand,

³²³ On terminology, see Kaufmann, “Netherlandish Model,” especially p. 277-285.

³²⁴ “In the autumn of 1674, he [Grim] wrote to Borch [Danish physician Ole Borch (1626-1690)] that he was working on a *Pharmacopoea Colombiana*, a medical treatise. By this he refers to his *Laboratorium Ceylonicum...*, which discusses Indian materia medica and contains what can be described as an early flora of Ceylon [Sri Lanka]. Thus, Grim appears as a pre-Linnaean pioneer of exotic botany in our country; Linnaeus’ Dutch friend, the botanist Johannes Burman [1707-1780] would later praise the small text as a ‘golden book’,” “Hösten 1674 skrev han till Borch, att han arbetade på en *Pharmacopoea Colombiana*, en ceylonisk läkemedelslära. Därmed syftar han på sitt *Laboratorium Ceylonicum...*, vilket behandlar indisk materia medica och innehåller vad som kan betecknas som ett utkast till en flora över Ceylon. Därmed framstår G[rim] som en förlinneansk pionjär för den exotiska botaniken i vårt land; Linnés holländske vän, botanisten Johannes Burman skulle senare prisa det lilla verket som en ‘gyllene bok’.” *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

exemplifies another kind of scientist; he collected first-hand observations by travelling during most of his life.

3.1 Herman Grim in the Service of the Dutch East India Company

Grim's taste for adventure was almost limitless, leading to a multi-national career and many opportunities for natural exploration.³²⁵ Grim was born on Gotland, an island in the Baltic Sea.³²⁶ He obtained his medical diploma in the Dutch Republic, likely at Leiden University, at the age of twenty-one, and in the 1660s worked as ship's surgeon on Dutch vessels during the Second Anglo-Dutch War and twice on expeditions to Greenland and to Novaya Zemlya, a whaling station in the Arctic. After a few years studying and working in Denmark, Grim was again employed by the Dutch in 1671, as physician for the employees of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, or VOC). He was stationed in Colombo on Ceylon (Sri Lanka) but is known to have spent time on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts in southern India as well. Before leaving southeast Asia ten years later, Grim had also been employed on Sumatra and in Batavia (Jakarta) in Indonesia. In Europe, his peripatetic lifestyle continued, and he worked as physician in the Dutch Republic, in Germany and in different towns in Sweden. After unsuccessful attempts to become city physician of Stockholm, he was eventually hired as a plague doctor – thanks to his experience of the disease in Asia -- when it struck the

³²⁵ The discussion of Herman Grim is based on Arne, *Svenska läkare*, 139; *Biographiskt lexikon*; Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, 315; Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 94; E. Fries, *Botaniska utflygter* 3, 41; Hofberg, *Handlexikon*; Hult, "Pesten i Sverige"; Sahlin, "Guld- och silvermalm", 79–84; Sjöberg, *Porträtt*; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, as well as Grim's published articles.

³²⁶ The island of Gotland belonged to Denmark at the time of Grim's birth but was ceded to Sweden through the Treaty of Brömsebro four years later, in 1645. It has remained a part of Sweden since then.

Swedish capital in 1710.³²⁷ Grim died in April 1711. All sources suggest that he succumbed to the epidemic he had combated for the better part of a year.

Throughout his career, Grim wrote down botanical and scientific observations made in different geographic locations. We have seen that Rudbeck's access to information regarding the Asian flora was restricted and that he had to rely on van Rhee de tot Drakenstein's *Hortus Malabaricus*, which focused on the plants growing in that part of India. However, Grim had compiled and published an inventory of the flora of Ceylon before work on the *Campi Elysii* had even started. The *Laboratorium Ceylonicum* was published in Jakarta in 1677 and would undoubtedly have provided valuable information to Rudbeck had he been able to consult it.³²⁸ In addition, Grim submitted a series of articles to scientific journals, such as physician Thomas Bartholin's publication *Acta Hafniensia* in 1677 and 1680 (three entries). While most of Grim's contributions were written in Latin, his texts for the *Collectanea medico-physica* (thirteen entries in 1680), a series edited by the Amsterdam physician Steven Blankaart (1650-1704), were prepared in Dutch. In addition, as many as thirty-one 'observations' by Grim were published by the German scientific society Academie Naturæ Curiosorum's journal *Miscellanea curiosa sive Ephemeridum medico-physicarum Germanicarum*, (between 1683 and 1689).³²⁹ Finally, his articles were also published in the Geneva physician Théophile Bonet's

³²⁷ The pharmacist Johan Berendz, the friend of artist Johan Johnsen (chapter one), was one of the first to alert the authorities to a possible first case of the plague in Stockholm. The artist Elias Brenner (chapter one) has provided an eyewitness account of how the plague affected the capital. Broberg, *Om Pesten*, 18, 42-46.

³²⁸ Two years later, Grim's document was pirated by Bartholomeo A. Pielat (c. 1640–1681) and published in Amsterdam under the title *Insulæ Ceyloniæ Thesaurus medicus, vel Laboratorium Ceylonicum*.

³²⁹ This German scientific society was founded in 1652. Its journal has been published since 1670, today under the name *Proceedings of the German Academy of Sciences Leopoldina*.

(1620-1689) document *Medicina Septentrionalis* (twenty-eight articles in 1687).³³⁰

Grim's contributions cover a range of topics, such as botany, medicine, chemistry, and mining, and vary in length from short notices to several pages with or without accompanying illustrations.

Some of Grim's scientific articles were published while he was still in South-East Asia, but he also continued submitting material after his return to Europe. A description of an 'African goat' indicates that the return voyage passed by the Dutch Cape Colony, a trading station at the southernmost tip of that continent.³³¹ Of particular interest are the illustrations that accompanied the articles Grim submitted to the *Miscellanea curiosa*, such as his images of the four-o'clock (*mirabilis*), the birthwort (*aristolochia*), and exotic species such as storax (*styrax*) and the camphor tree (*cinnamomum camphora*). He even drew a plant that presumably produced manna.³³² Grim is likely to have recorded his observations and sketched his images in the field. Eriksson suggests that such immediacy augments the value of the articles. "One is particularly captivated by the reproductions that often accompany his observations. To a high degree these figures replace a more detailed description in words, and to the extent that we consider ourselves authorized to count Grim's contributions among *Swedish* botanical literature, his illustrations rank as the first ones printed in this context."³³³ In this short comment, Eriksson brings attention

³³⁰ The majority of the entries in *Medicina Septentrionalis* appear to be repetitions of already published material. Thanks to Simon Beaulieu, for pointing out this source.

³³¹ In honour of Grim's article, Linnaeus named the common duiker, in fact a small antelope, *Sylvicapra grimmia*. Grim, *Observatio* 57, *Miscellanea curiosa* 1686, 131. On the Dutch station at the Cape of Good Hope, where ships stocked up on water and provisions, see Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, 308.

³³² Grim, "Observatio 146, 151, 152, 153," *Miscellanea curiosa* 1683, 362-364, 369-373; "Observatio 207, 211," *Miscellanea curiosa* 1685, 408, 411.

³³³ "Men särskilt fångslas man av de avbildningar som ofta medföljer hans notiser. I hög grad får dessa figurer ersätta en mer ingående beskrivning i ord och i den mån vi kan anse oss berättigade att räkna Grims bidrag som tillhöriga den svenska botaniska litteraturen, intar hans illustrationer en rangplats som de första tryckta i detta sammanhang." Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 96. My italics.

to the value given to visual documentation in the seventeenth century. We have seen that Bauhin's encyclopedia became obsolete rather quickly because of the fact that it was unillustrated. Margócsy discusses the efforts by botanists who felt they needed to improve on, or replace, the *Pinax*, such as William Sherard (1659-1728), former British consul, and German-born Oxford professor Johann Jakob Dillenius (1684-1747). Both died before being able to finish their work.³³⁴ Margócsy does not mention Rudbeck.

In addition to hands-on observations, Grim was also able to refer to pertinent literature in his articles. His reflections on a flowering vine provide an example of how information from south-east Asia, the Americas, and Europe circulated within scientific networks in the late seventeenth century. In his observation 'De Convolvulo sylvatico flore albo', exceptionally accompanied by two illustrations (figures 39 and 40), Grim suggests that the roots of the white morning glory were used in *India orientali* as replacement for sarsaparilla (*Smilax aspera*), taken against venereal diseases.³³⁵ He does, however, express some concern over the efficiency of the morning glory compared to the traditional treatment. The importance of the roots explains why he has chosen to feature this part of the plant clearly in both illustrations. Grim continues by informing the readers that true sarsaparilla was imported from the Americas, supporting his claim by a reference to Hernández de Toledo's *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus*, an account of the flora in Mexico, which he obviously had read. As indicated above, Hernández' document was also one of Rudbeck's sources.

³³⁴ Margócsy, *Commercial Visions*, 41.

³³⁵ Grim, "Observatio 206," *Miscellanea curiosa* 1685, 407-408. Translation by Simon Beaulieu, Montreal.



Figure 39. Herman Grim, Morning glory, (*Convolvulus sylvatico fl. albo*), 1684. *Miscellanea curiosa* 1685.



Figure 40. Herman Grim, Morning glory (*Convolvulus sylvatico, fl. albo*), 1684. *Miscellanea curiosa* 1685.

Grim's illustrations are somewhat cramped, yet surprisingly detailed. In figure 40 two flowers are included at the top right-hand corner; one still growing on the winding stem, and one which has been detached in order to show it from above and, hence, to reveal its interior, a technique commonly employed in scientific imagery. A morning glory (*Convolvulus maritimus*), is included in Rudbeck's *Book of Flowers* (figure 41).³³⁶ Again, one flower is open, and one is seen from the side. The one to the right has been given particular attention in order to render the various nuances of an open bloom. The drawing is not finished, and a closer look reveals that the artist intended to draw a third flower, showing it in the process of dropping its petals.



Figure 41. Beach morning glory (*Convolvulus maritimus*), 1689-1702. Watercolour/paper, c. 25x15 cm. *Book of Flowers*, Liber 8, folio 26. Uppsala University Library, (Leufsta MS 79-89). Photo by author.

³³⁶ More than two dozen *Convolvulaceæ* are, in fact, included in the *Book of Flowers*, of which nine illustrations are recorded as being based on live plants in the Uppsala Botanical Garden, and the rest copied from various publications.

According to annotations next to the illustration in the *Book of Flowers*, information on the *Convolvulus maritimus* had been sought in three publications: Plukenet's *Phytographia*, Paul Hermann's inventory of the Botanical Garden in Leiden, the *Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi Catalogus*, and the *Pinax* by Caspar Bauhin. While Plukenet's image looks flattened and lifeless, Hermann's morning glory (figure 42) is intricate, almost overwhelming. The drawing's decorative effect is offset by the presence of the plant's roots. While it would seem obvious that botanical illustrations should not restrict themselves to what is seen above ground, root systems were commonly excluded.³³⁷ Before becoming director of the Botanical Garden in Leiden, Hermann had been a physician with the Dutch East-India Company in Ceylon between 1672 and 1677.³³⁸ Grim worked on the same island and for the same company from 1671 until his move to Batavia (Jakarta) in 1678. I therefore suggest that it is possible, even likely, that the two men, both physicians, not only knew each other but that they explored the countryside together. With reservations for varying levels of artistic talent, the two images are reminiscent of one another, especially in the way the plants completely fill all available space.

³³⁷ However, during the research trip to Lapland, Anders Holtzbohm included the bunchberry's roots in his drawing, and Rudbeck the Younger those of the Arctic raspberry. In fact, many of the plants in the *Iter Lapponicum* are depicted with roots, indicating that the artists pulled the specimens from the ground in order to represent them properly, something that was not possible to do in a botanical garden.

³³⁸ *Dutch Ceylon* existed between 1640 and 1796. Regarding Hermann's herbarium collected in Sri Lanka, see the *Natural History Museum*, London: www.nhm.ac.uk/research-curation/scientific-resources/collections/botanical-collections/hermann-herbarium/.



Figure 42. Paul Hermann, *Beach morning glory* (*Convolvulus maritimus*), 1687. *Horti Lugduno-Batavi*, page 175.

A search for knowledge and comprehension runs through Grim's illustrations, as does the efficiency by which information was communicated. Not only were scholars and explorers happy to share their findings, they kept searching for additional data in order to tie all the information together. In his *Observatio* on the morning glory, Grim encourages the readers "in our circle" to contribute with further information on the origins of the sarsaparilla, that is, beyond his Mexican literary source. Grim's text and the proliferation of plant names, for instance seen in the *Book of Flowers* where names of this species alone range from *Convolvulus syriacus* to *Convolvulus brasilia*, also give a sense of how necessary it had become to establish a common botanical nomenclature across Europe and the globe.

Herman Grim's explorations demonstrate how information was gathered in different places across the globe with the expansion of long-distance travel. Grim's work for several Dutch employers is not only an indication of one person's international career but also of a strong Dutch presence in Europe and southern Asia. While the impetus was trade and profit, Dutch voyages also stimulated the study of botany.

3.2 Art and Botany in the Service of Political Ambition

The efforts by Grim and others to gain knowledge about a flower or plant by making detailed visual records can also be observed in sciences as varied as astronomy, meteorology, physics, and medicine. In botany, the search for information was ultimately symptomatic of a desire to be in control. Nature could be both a blessing (a resource of food and beauty) and a threat (floods and storms). Swan suggests that Aldrovandi's enormous collection – according to his own account 18,000 items -- was an expression of a desire to “contain the infinite manifestations of nature in a single space.”³³⁹ In other words, Aldrovandi's aim was to know all aspects of nature, and thereby exercise control over it. The ability to master nature would not only guarantee physical security but also confirm mankind's mastery of God's creation. Some horticulturists felt that it was possible not only to know nature but also to *improve on* nature, for instance through gardening and domestication of plants. A perfectly trimmed parterre or a marble statue were better than bushes growing uncontrollably or an unpolished slab of stone. When Agneta Block was depicted on a commemorative medallion in 1700, its inscription “Art and Labour accomplish what Nature fails to do” expresses not only the sentiment that it

³³⁹ Swan, “Of Gardens,” 184.

was, indeed, possible and acceptable to intervene in God's creation, but also that it was the combination of artistic innovation and physical work that produced the desired results.³⁴⁰ God's gift had become something to be probed, explored, analyzed and utilized. To Block, the idea was that human skill and technological know-how could improve upon products found in nature. Block's inscription also emphasizes that beside man-made tools, hard work would allow the gardener to acquire knowledge about each plant, to learn how to care for and grow flowers and vegetables in the best way, and ultimately enhance God's creation.

The allure and value of controlling nature is also seen in the creation of maps, which were produced in large quantities across Europe, with Dutch cartographers being especially prolific in this field. Art historian Mårten Snickare argues that while colonization was an act of taking possession of geographic regions, the maps served to confirm that control and power had been obtained.³⁴¹ In addition, knowledge about the topography of a region would constitute an advantage over a competitor or an enemy. In 1673, Swedish captain and draughtsman Erich Palmquist (1650s-1676) joined the embassy voyage to Russia. Palmquist's official position was that of attaché, but his officious contribution would be to record the Russian topography and travel routes in case of future military conflicts between the two nations.³⁴² The value of his observations is confirmed by the fact that immediately upon his return to Stockholm, Palmquist was summoned by King Karl XI to present his drawings.

³⁴⁰ Jong, *Nature and Art*, 110.

³⁴¹ Snickare, "Goavddis," 73.

³⁴² Some bribery of the local population was apparently involved in order for the artist-spy to fulfill his mission. Hofberg, *Handlexikon*, 264; Palmquist, *Ambassaden till tzaren*.

Knowledge of nature was not only useful for military purposes but was also important in the political sphere, for instance when establishing colonies or trading posts in unfamiliar territories overseas. Swedish authorities made a few, short-lived, attempts to found overseas colonies. Between 1638 and 1655, New Sweden was established in an area bordering the Delaware River in the United States, a territory today corresponding to parts of the states of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.³⁴³ A few notes on the Swedish settlement serve to illustrate the use of maps to claim ownership of a region, and to, once again, exemplify exchanges of botanical knowledge. The Swedish government sent land surveyor Per Lindeström (1632-1692) to North America in 1653 to inspect its colonial territory and to draw maps of the land, undoubtedly with the intent of formalizing the borders with surrounding settlements and asserting ownership of New Sweden. There had been conflicts with the Dutch, who occupied land to the north, including New Amsterdam (today New York), and the Swedish government likely felt a need to obtain visual confirmation of their overseas possession. Later in life, Lindeström wrote an account of the entire trip, providing many details on the settlement and the way power was ceded to Dutch authorities. Lindeström describes how, after a few skirmishes, Swedish officials were forced to hand over ownership to the Dutch director Peter Stuyvesant (1592-1672).³⁴⁴ The maps Lindeström had had time to make became of no value. Close to a century later, botanist Per Kalm (1716-1779) arrived in the area that had once been New Sweden. A large number of Swedish descendants had remained after the

³⁴³ In addition, Cabo Corso (in present-day Ghana) was a Swedish territory in 1650-58 and again in 1660-63. The discussion of New Sweden is based on Behre, Larsson and Österberg, *Sveriges historia*; Franzén, "Thomas C Holm;" Hadenius, Nilsson and Åselius, *Sveriges historia*; Holm, *Kort beskrifning*; Jacobsson, "Johannes Campanius;" Lindeström, *Resa till Nya Sverige*; *Nordisk familjebok*; Norman, "Sveriges första kolonialäventyr;" Revera, "Civilized Nation."

³⁴⁴ Lindeström, *Resa till Nya Sverige*, 185.

Dutch take-over, and Kalm met Peter Rambo, who informed him that his grandfather, who had arrived in North America in 1640, had brought apple kernels and seeds for flowers and herbs in little boxes.³⁴⁵ Consequently, botanical knowledge was not only gathered overseas by European authors such as Cornut, who had published *Canadensium Plantarum Historia* in 1635, but was also transmitted in the other direction, contributing to a circulation of botanical experience and plants across the globe.

Another area where the Swedish government saw territorial opportunities was Lapland, the northernmost part of Sweden. The vast region was an integral part of the country but -- for the authorities -- largely unexplored. The advantages of gaining topographical and geographical knowledge of Lapland were many. For instance, discoveries of natural resources could contribute to the development of industries and thereby enhance the kingdom's trade with foreign nations. Gothicism (see Introduction) suggested that unique qualities, including natural phenomena, set Sweden apart from other European states and were proof of the nation's 'greatness'. It became imperative to find, chart, and visually record everything from iron and silver deposits to flowers and birds within the country's borders, also in this very sparsely populated region. Consequently, botanical research could become a politico-ideological tool. While many countries undertook exploratory voyages to different parts of the globe, the Swedish authorities knew that there were still discoveries to be made at home, particularly in its northernmost regions. In a discussion of Sweden in the early modern period, historian Michael Roberts distinguishes between "empires of enterprise, of exploitation, of

³⁴⁵ The grandfather was Peter Gunnarsson (1611/12-1698), who adopted the name Rambo after his childhood home situated on the hill Ramberget in Göteborg (Gothenburg) in western Sweden. Rambo left Gothenburg on the ship Kalmar Nyckel in September 1639 and arrived in North America in April 1640. Åberg, *Kvinnorna i Nya Sverige*, 21, 67.

opportunity”, such as Portugal, Spain, the Dutch Republic, England, and France who established colonies or trading posts on different continents, and the Swedish empire which could rather be described as having been created as a response to challenges from the outside.³⁴⁶ In other words, territorial expansion and settlements were deemed necessary as a buffer against war and invasions. Historian Staffan Müller-Wille suggests that this Swedish belief in self-sufficiency and its “colonialism turned inward” continued well into the eighteenth century.³⁴⁷ The northernmost parts of Sweden were explored in the same way as other states “discovered” colonies, while already being a part of the country.

Before the seventeenth century, only a small number of non-Sami people had visited Lapland.³⁴⁸ Later during the century, these expeditions became more frequent, and the region received visitors such as tax collectors, missionaries, industrial developers, as well as scientists, who came to study the fauna and flora or to observe the midnight sun and the aurora borealis.³⁴⁹ All these journeys generated mapping, a concept referring to

³⁴⁶ Roberts, *Swedish Imperial Experience*, 2.

³⁴⁷ Müller-Wille. “Walnuts at Hudson Bay,” 35.

³⁴⁸ Lapland, in its widest definition, corresponds to the northernmost parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and the Kola peninsula in Russia. My discussion mainly addresses the Swedish part of this vast territory. Examples of early trips to Lapland: Olaus Magnus sold indulgence letters in Lapland in 1518-19. Olof Burman and Olof Anundsson studied travel routes between Kemi (in Finland) and Varanger (in Norway) in 1598. Johannes Bureus, who would later become both royal tutor and national antiquarian, explored the north in 1600-01. Hieronymus Birckholtz (†1618), Sigfridus Forsius (1560s-1624), and Daniel Hjort (†1615) set out to draw a map of the northern border areas between Sweden and Norway in 1601-02. Bring, *Itineraria Svecana*; Burman, “Itinerarium;” Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 34; Fellman, *Handlingar* 1; Möllman-Palmgren, “Turistresor.”

³⁴⁹ Examples of trips to Lapland during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Reinhold Steiger, a tax collector, visited Lapland in 1615. His companions wrote an account of the “abominations” he encountered during the trip. Johan Ferdinand Körningh (1626-1687), a Swedish-born catholic priest, went (in secret) to Lapland as a missionary in 1659-60. Johan Peringskiöld travelled north in 1687 to study rune stones while researching place names on behalf of Rudbeck the Elder. King Karl XI went to Tornio (Torneå) to see the midnight sun in the summer of 1694. Also, foreigners – in 1663 Francesco Negri (1623-1698), in 1670 Pierre Martin de La Martinière (1634-c. 1676), in 1681 Jean-Francois Regnard, in 1705 Johann Gerhard Schellern (1675-1740), and in 1718 Aubry de La Motraye (1674-1747) -- visited Lapland, mostly looking for adventure and exotic stories. Bring, *Itineraria Svecana*; Karl XI, “Dagboksanteckningar;”

the creation of actual maps, but also of asserting authority over geographic regions. In order to reinforce ownership of the Swedish periphery King Karl XI announced fifteen years of tax exemption for anyone moving to “Lappmarckerna.”³⁵⁰

The interest in Lapland by the Swedish ministry of finance or by the church is self-explanatory, but extensive knowledge of the region’s topography could also lead to discovery of natural resources and trade opportunities. Several attempts were made to recreate the success of the mining and refinery industries in central Sweden. Silver was extracted at Nasafjäll between 1635 and 1659 (and again in the late eighteenth century), and near Jokkmokk between 1661 and 1702. Starting in the 1640s, copper was mined at Svappavaara, and iron at Masugnsbyn. The copper and iron ore were refined at the Kengis mill, which was in operation intermittently until the late nineteenth century.³⁵¹ All these mines as well as the Kengis mill are situated 1,000 kilometers or more north of Stockholm. Not only the climate but also excessive transportation costs and persistent staffing problems meant that these endeavours barely broke even.³⁵² During his trip to

Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 165; Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 369, 462; Th. M. Fries, “Första naturvetenskapliga,” 481; Julius, *Sverige med främlingsögon*; Karelius and Jakobsson, “Lappfogden Reinhold Stegers”; Kjellman, “Regnards resa;” Krook and Svensson, *Svenska fåglar*, xvi; Körningh, *Relatio tentate missionis Lappicae*; La Martinière, *Voyage*; La Motraye, *Resor*; Möllman-Palmgren, “Turistresor;” Negri, *Viaggio*; Schellern, *Reise-Beschreibung*; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

³⁵⁰ Karl XI, *Placat 1673*; Karl XI, *Placat 1695*.

³⁵¹ Awebro, “Bergshantering i norr;” Eklund, “Nasafjäll-Silbojokk;” Samzelius, “Studier.”

³⁵² The brothers Abraham (1623-1690) and Jakob (c. 1625-1678) Momma, born in Germany or Brabant, arrived in Sweden via the Dutch Republic and, among other financial projects, invested in the Kengis mill. They were among few non-Sami people to travel north of the polar circle in the seventeenth century. Jakob went to Lapland in 1659-60 and again in 1668. Abraham visited Lapland in 1654-55, when he is said to also have crossed the mountains and reached the Atlantic, and again in 1660-61. Both brothers were ennobled in 1669 whereby they took the family name Reenstierna, a reference to reindeer and stars. Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor*, 3:318; Ellenius, “Exploring the Country,” 23; Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 96; Sondén, “Bröderna Momma Reenstierna;” *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

Lapland in 1695, Rudbeck the Younger passed by Kengis and deplored the disrepair of the installations.³⁵³

3.2.1 Lapland - Mapping to the End

Not only mining experts and entrepreneurs were interested in Lapland. The vast region also garnered attention from botanists and ornithologists. The “discovery” of an arctic plant -- albeit well-known by locals – would heighten a scientist’s reputation; it could even confirm and enhance the entire nation’s status within Europe. In May 1695, an expedition set out from Uppsala to study and document the flora and fauna of Lapland. Olof Rudbeck the Younger and his companions Anders Holtzbom and Olof Thelott and the local governor’s teenage sons Jacob (1677-1708) and Carl Gyllenborg (1679-1746) would be away the whole summer and return only in September. While Holtzbom and Thelott were artistically experienced and already contributing to the *Campi Elysii* and the *Book of Flowers*, the Gyllenborg brothers’ participation was undoubtedly motivated by a gesture of good-will and constitutes yet another example of the importance of social networking in the seventeenth century.³⁵⁴ The voyage to Lapland had, in fact, been initiated by King Karl XI who had seen the midnight sun the previous year. The king now looked for a scientific analysis of the phenomenon and had requested that the astronomers Johannes Bilberg (1646-1717) and Anders Spole visit the polar circle during the summer months. Rudbeck the Elder heard about the plans and enlisted the help of Uppsala University chancellor Bengt Oxenstierna (1623-1702) to convince the authorities of

³⁵³ Rudbeck, *Iter Lapponicum* 1987, 39.

³⁵⁴ Rudbeck nevertheless praises the brothers’ endurance and positive attitude. Rudbeck, *Nora Samolad*, 18.

endorsing the inclusion of his son and a few artists on the planned expedition. In a letter, dated 27 April 1695, Rudbeck the Elder emphasizes the benefits of such a trip for both the chancellor “who always cares so much about the country’s honour,” and for the king, who is “incomparable when it comes to promoting all things that glorify the kingdom.”³⁵⁵ The monarch gave his blessing and encouraged the travellers to make observations and drawings that would “add to the fatherland’s lustre and honor.”³⁵⁶ The king’s exhortation confirms that he saw the trip as a means to glorify the country. The two groups travelled together for part of the journey, but then split up to pursue their respective missions.

For Rudbeck the Younger the Lapland voyage was intended to result not only in new botanical illustrations for the *Campi Elysii* and the *Book of Flowers* but also in a series of independent publications, for instance in ornithology, which was becoming a field of specialization for him. However, his travel journal *Nora Samolad sive Lapponia illustrata* (1701) describes only the first one hundred kilometers of the trip, and it became the only published tome in a planned twelve-part series of first-hand accounts.³⁵⁷ In this volume, Rudbeck makes a few botanical observations – there are no illustrations -- but spends more ink on philological speculations regarding village names and their possible links to Hebrew, Greek, or Arab. He was his father’s heir not only with regards to academic accomplishments but was equally determined to prove the veracity of

³⁵⁵ “Hwar om iagh wäntar E. G. Excellens goda behagh som altid så curieus är om Sveriges Rikes heder, att den hooss H. K. Majestet fördraga, som oförlikeligh är til alt sådant förfodra, som länder til rikets prydna.” Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 35; Rudbeck, *Bref*, 4:124 dated 27 April 1695; Swederus, “Olof Rudbeck,” 556. See also Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 462; Swederus, “Olof Rudbeck,” 449.

³⁵⁶ “Konungen anslog 300 silvermynt att användas på en resa till ‘Wästernorlanden, där sammastädes att observera och afrijta ett och annat, som kan lända till fäderneslandets lustre och heder’.” Rudbeck, *Iter Lapponicum* 1987, 22.

³⁵⁷ The diary describes the group’s departure from Uppsala on May 21, 1695, and arrival at Älvkarleö, one hundred kilometers north of Uppsala the following day. The manuscript for subsequent volumes is believed to have been lost in the Uppsala fire in 1702. Gullander, *Olof Rudbecks Fågelbok*, 13; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 36; Rudbeck, *Iter Lapponicum* 1987, 7, 22; Rudbeck, *Nora Samolad*.

Gothicism, even while travelling. There seems to be no explanation for why Rudbeck the Younger waited six years before publishing the first tome of the *Nora Samolad*. On the other hand, there is not much to indicate that this text was actually written during the trip, except for a comment regarding the cloudy weather, and it seems likely that Rudbeck composed these recollections after the return to Uppsala. Another partial diary, covering the period late May to late July, is kept at the Linnean Institute in London. A few references to “here in Uppsala” or “down here” reveal that also this text was written after the end of the trip.³⁵⁸ It is possible that the latter manuscript was to constitute the basis for the remainder of the *Nora Samolad* series. Although a complete account of the Lapland exploration does not exist, the extant material confirms that the professor’s goal for the trip was to record previously unknown indigenous species. In the diary Rudbeck discusses a number of plants “of which none exist here [in Uppsala]” and several that were “never before described or painted.”³⁵⁹ Rudbeck claims that during his relatively short journey through Lapland, he discovered more than 300 different specimens. He then expresses regret at not having had warmer weather and more time, which would have allowed him to find twice as many. “And it is a shame that so many beautiful herbs shall there remain unknown.”³⁶⁰

In spite of the small volume of published material, Lindroth suggests that Rudbeck’s exploration of Lapland was successful.³⁶¹ A box of sketches, the *Plantae*

³⁵⁸ The diary was published in 1987. *Iter Lapponicum* 1987, 28–57.

³⁵⁹ “Der wäxte och twenne slag utaf Pinguicula, blå och hwit, bägge rätt stora, af hwilka ingendera här finnes... Äfwen fan jag och på holmen emillan Thara koski och sielfwa trasket ett slags blåbär aldrig för beskrifne eller af någon avtagne.” *Iter Lapponicum* 1987, 40.

³⁶⁰ “... der jag likwistsst den korta tiden jag der war och ändå som hastigast den genom reste fan öfwer 300, dem jag och alla upteknat. Och twiflar jag intet, der wäderleken mera mig gynnat och en warmare sommar warit och tiden tillåtit, att jag dubbelt så många funnit. Och är det skada att så många wackra örter skola der så obekante ligga.” Rudbeck, *Iter Lapponicum* 1987, 40.

³⁶¹ “Rudbecks lapska skörd blev rik.” Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 435.

Lapponicae, often referred to as the *Iter Lapponicum*, contains 168 sheets of water-colours depicting plants, mosses and mushrooms, birds, fish, insects, as well as an ermine and a reindeer. Somewhat surprisingly, few of these images were transferred to the floral encyclopaedias or published elsewhere.³⁶²



Figure 43. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, *Arctic butterbur* (*Petasites frigidus*), (loose leaf on left), c. 1695, signed ORfil. Watercolour/paper, slightly smaller than 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers, Liber 5, folio 316a*. Uppsala University Library (Leufsta MS 79-89). Photo by author.

Martinsson and Ryman have found that only eight images of plants from the *Iter Lapponicum* were copied to the *Book of Flowers*.³⁶³ One of the transferred illustrations is

³⁶² The complete set of sketches was published for the first time in 1987. Rudbeck, *Iter Lapponicum* 1987.

³⁶³ Calypso orchid (*Calypso bulbosa*), alpine catchfly (*Lychnis alpina*), arctic butterbur (*Petasites frigidus*), pedicularis (*Pedicularis sceptrum-carolinum*), Scottish asphodel (*Tofieldia pusilla*), sticky catchfly (*Viscaria vulgaris*), velvet bells (*Bartsia alpina*), and stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*.) Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 36.

the Arctic butterbur (figure 43). Another plant already existed on page 316 in volume 5 of the encyclopedia, and the new illustration was added on a separate sheet, indicating that no space had been reserved for this species, and that it was indeed a discovery at the time.³⁶⁴ The image in the *Book of Flowers* is an exact replica of the original sketch in the *Iter Lapponicum* (figure 44).



Figure 44. Arctic butterbur (*Petasites frigidus*), 1695. Watercolour/paper, 34x22 cm, *Iter Lapponicum*, folio 6. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 92). Photo by author.

In addition to the *Nora Samolad* and the small number of illustrations used to enhance the botanical encyclopaedias, a short article, “Index plantarum præcipuarum, quas in Itinere Laponico anno 1695,” was published in 1720, twenty-five years after the

³⁶⁴ The fact that Rudbeck structured his encyclopaedias according to Bauhin’s *Pinax* naturally led to issues regarding the disposition of the volumes. A quick verification confirms that while Bauhin does list butterburs, a Nordic variety is not mentioned. Bauhin, *Pinax*, 197.

trip, in the scientific journal *Acta Litteraria Sueciæ*. The article contains an enumeration of ninety-four plants that had been observed in the north.³⁶⁵ Lindroth suggests that Rudbeck had brought back as many as 500 dried specimens, which were likely used for the elaboration of the article in 1720.³⁶⁶

Incidentally, the minutes from the Bokwettsgillet meetings provide ample information on botanical and scientific topics deemed worthy of examination at the time. The Uppsala group was in contact with different learned societies in Europe, and a note was made each time a member brought a copy of the *Journal des Sçavans*, *Nova Literaria Lipsiensia*, or *Neue Zeitungen von Gelehrten Sachen*. The close relationship between politics and scientific discoveries is exemplified by annotations in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Thousands of Swedish soldiers had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Poltava in 1709, and the survivors were not allowed to return to Sweden until after the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. For the scientific community, the arrival of officers and soldiers who had spent more than a decade in Russia, and especially in Siberia, meant unanticipated access to previously unknown natural-historic observations, sometimes even opportunities to examine objects or artefacts. A drawing of a mammoth by Leonard Kagg (1682-1760), who had spent ten years in Tobolsk, was debated for months by the members of the Bokwettsgillet.³⁶⁷ Another ex-prisoner, Philip Johan von Strahlenberg (1677-1747) paid a visit to the society in June 1724, and according to the minutes

³⁶⁵ The article's author was Rudbeck the Younger's son-in-law, the physician Petter Martin (1686/7-1727). The preparation of the text was discussed during the learned society's, the Bokwettsgillet, meetings. According to the minutes, Martin began the manuscript on 16 September and presented the finished product on 30 September 1720. Schück, "Bokwettsgillet," 31, 32.

³⁶⁶ Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II*, 436. Repeated in Anfält and Hagelin, *Rudbeckarnas bildvärld*, 13.

³⁶⁷ Kagg had sent the drawing to Society founding member Erik Benzeliuss the Younger (1675-1743) in December 1722. Schück, "Bokwettsgillet," 79.

described stalactites, enumerated eight kinds of Siberian deer, and showed “some kind of fruits from Tartary.”³⁶⁸

In 1722 another of Rudbeck’s Lapland artefacts was discussed at a Bokwettsgillet meeting as the professor “promised [to bring] his drawing of the bunchberry” (*Cornus suecica*).³⁶⁹ Two images of the same species can be seen in the *Iter Lapponicum* collection of illustrations; folio 5 (figure 45) and folio 26 (figure 46). Differences in plants’ colours or sizes occasionally led to difficulties in identification and Rudbeck possibly assumed that the two plants were distinct species. In figure 46, the flower and its fruits are depicted next to each other. The composition was possibly executed in two steps, a temporal conflation not uncommon among still life artists, as well. Johan Johnsen included spring and summer blooms side-by-side in his flower pieces. While Johnsen wanted to show flowers at their prime, this botanical illustration is more an effort to provide complete information on the plant’s development and its lifecycle through a repeated recording of its appearance.

³⁶⁸ “Hr öfwerst lieutenanten Tabert de Stralenberg, som kom tillstädes berättade sig hafwa uti ett hol på ett högt berg wid Genesay-strömen funnit takis, eller ispiggar under taket, wid ingången utaf en cristall-form, eller till anseende just som små berg-crystaller. Han upwiste ock några slags fruckter ifrån Tartariet... Noch at i Sibirien finnas 8 slags hiortar eller rådjur, dock at älgar, renar och stenbockar med inräknas.” Schück, “Bokwettsgillet,” 107.

³⁶⁹ “Hr Prof.: Rudbeck låfwade sin rijtning på Hönsebär.” Schück, “Bokwettsgillet,” 70.

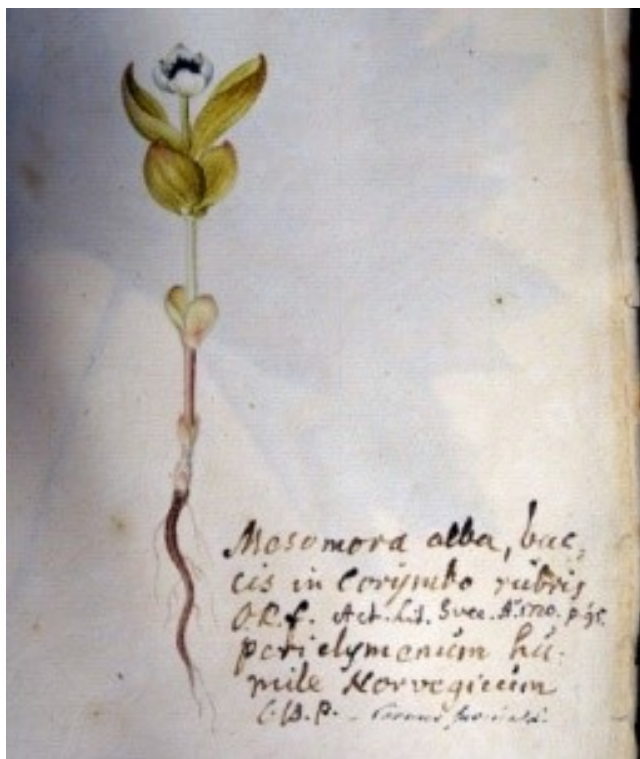


Figure 45. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, *Bunchberry (Cornus suecica)*, 1695. Watercolour/paper, 34x22 cm. *Iter Lapponicum, folio 5*. Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 92). Photo by author.



Figure 46. Olof Rudbeck the Younger, *Bunchberry (Cornus suecica)*, 1695. Watercolour/paper. *Iter Lapponicum, folio 26*, Uppsala University Library, Manuscript department (Leufsta MS 92). Image cropped.

The bunchberry is also depicted in the *Book of Flowers*, twice on the same page, of which the left part is dated 1 July 1695 (figure 47). It is likely that this small illustration was added after the return from Lapland and the date would be an indication of when the original sketch was made. I therefore suggest that the bunchberry would constitute a ninth illustration from the Lapland trip copied to the *Book of Flowers*.³⁷⁰



Figure 47. Anders Holtzbohm, *Bunchberry (Cornus suecica)*, left image dated 1 July 1695. Watercolour/paper, 50x33 cm. *Book of Flowers*, Liber 8, folio 149. Uppsala University Library (Leufsta MS 79-89). Image cropped.

The 1695 voyage to Lapland constitutes yet another example of the Rudbecks' hands-on approach when conducting botanical research. While several authors who wrote

³⁷⁰ In addition to the eight species indicated above. Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 36.

on Lapland during the seventeenth century copied earlier material and thereby risked perpetuating incorrect information, Rudbeck chose to visit in person and collect samples on his hands and knees. However, it seems that for an already fully occupied professor, the task of cataloguing the flora and fauna in such a vast area could not be carried out satisfactorily, especially not during one single summer visit. This is perhaps the one occasion when the networking Rudbecks could not find travellers or correspondents to contact regarding requests for botanical samples. Did Rudbeck not have enough time to publish the planned Lapland material during the years between the trip in 1695 and the fateful fire in 1702, when so much material was destroyed? Did he spread himself too thin trying to study both flora and fauna? Rudbeck's comment on having had to leave many species unexamined might be an indication that he had underestimated the amount of work required in order to catalogue the Lapland flora properly, and that he had realized that more research trips were necessary. In a discussion of natural-historic publications in the seventeenth century, Cook emphasizes that the creation of such documents was never a personal undertaking but a process that involved "enormous numbers" of collaborators, mentioning specifically "those who collected the specimens in the field or commented on the uses of natural things to friends and family, supporters and correspondents, paymasters and printers, engravers and colorists."³⁷¹ While Rudbeck had collected plant samples himself and likely drawn some illustrations already in the field, still more work was needed before being able to publish the results of his trip. Daston and Galison call the production of scientific atlases a form of "collective empiricism" and suggest that investigations had to be distributed over time and space, since such projects were "too

³⁷¹ Cook, *Matters of Exchange*, 336.

vast and various to be encompassed by a solitary thinker, no matter how brilliant, erudite, and diligent.”³⁷² Perhaps such a realization played a role when Rudbeck encouraged Linnaeus to undertake his botanical research trip to Lapland a couple of decades later. As Daston and Galison point out, collaborations could also extend over time. What Rudbeck had started in 1695 was carried through by Linnaeus in 1732, when he travelled to the country’s northernmost parts and collected material for his *Flora Lapponica*.

3.2.2 The *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* and its Gardens

Even before Rudbeck the Younger decided to record and depict the natural features of the country, Erik Dahlbergh undertook the creation of an album with illustrations of Sweden’s towns, buildings and gardens. Dahlbergh was also motivated by a desire to demonstrate the unique character of the country, but with a focus on contemporary achievements, especially newly constructed residences and their pleasure gardens.³⁷³

Characterized by a succession of wars and many deaths, the seventeenth century had become a period of high social mobility. The son of a civil servant and orphaned at an early age, Dahlbergh nevertheless had a successful career and rose in social status, among other things thanks to the country’s military activities; he became colonel, fortification architect, royal advisor, regional governor, governor-general, and field marshal. In the

³⁷² Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 26–27.

³⁷³ The discussion of Erik Dahlbergh and the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* is based on Alm et al, *Barockens konst*; Berfelt, *Svensk landskapskonst*; Dahlbergh, *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*; Englund, *Ofredsår*; Englund, *Oövertvinnerlige*; Ericsson and Vennberg, *Erik Dahlbergh*; Frick, “Erik Dahlbergh;” Jonsson, *Stormaktstid*; Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*; Magnusson, “Erik Dahlbergh och hans bilder;” Magnusson, “Sweden Illustrated;” Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*; Neville, “*Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*;” Nordin, “Spirit of the Age;” *Svenskt konstnärslexikon*; Wallin, *Kring Svecia Antiqua*. The *Suecia* sketches and all the engravings are, since 2016, available on the website of the Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm: <https://suecia.kb.se>.

midst of his military engagements, Dahlbergh applied for the royal privilege to publish the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (Sweden Past and Present), an album with images of the country's prominent residences, elaborate gardens, impressive townscapes and historic artefacts. The privilege was granted in March 1661 and Dahlbergh would work on this project for the rest of his life. In fact, the document was not complete when he passed away in 1703; the first compilation of engravings was not published until 1715.³⁷⁴

The politico-patriotic motivations for the creation of a promotional album such as the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* are discussed above (Introduction) and can be summed up as a desire to show that Sweden was a major player on the international stage and that its cities and monuments as well as the lifestyles of the elite demonstrated this.³⁷⁵

Dahlbergh's idea was that his book would be handed out to visiting statesmen or on embassy missions abroad as a way to enhance the country's reputation. To a certain extent, Dahlbergh's idea was successful. Prints from the *Suecia* were copied and within a few years appeared in topographic albums on the continent, such as Peter Schenk the Elder's (1660-1711/8) *Icones Prætoriorum Regis Sueciae* (Amsterdam, 1700) and Johann Georg Gölgel's (1669-1732) *Historisch-Politisch- und Geographische Beschreibung des Königreichs Schweden* (Regensburg, 1707).³⁷⁶ Schenk re-issued twenty images from the *Suecia*, and Gölgel eighteen, a select sample from the motifs in Dahlbergh's original

³⁷⁴ The *Suecia* was intended to also contain a written commentary to the images, a part that was never completed.

³⁷⁵ Dahlbergh also made drawings for a book on the military exploits of King Karl X Gustav (1622-1660) and started preparing similar material on the accomplishments of King Karl XI and even King Karl XII. The latter two documents were never finished. Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo*. See also Holmquist, "Till Sveriges ära," 125.

³⁷⁶ Johann Stridbeck's and Jacob Miller's (Müller) separate, but similarly named, documents *Ab-Risse unterschiedlicher schwedische vortrefflichen Schlösser, Lustgärten u. Residentzē* (Augsburg 1702-04) re-used Schenk's plates. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm, <https://libris.kb.se/bib/3032403?vw=full>. On the circulation of *Suecia* prints before the work was finished, see also Neville, "Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna."

album. The cited documents were all published in the first years of the eighteenth century, and therefore before completion of the *Suecia*. Certain libraries suggest that Schenk's *Ooge-lust, sive ejus Paradisi Oculorum*, of which the *Icones Prætoriorum* is volume six, was issued as early as 1695.³⁷⁷ 1695 is also the year that Willem Swidde (c. 1660-1697) engraved the original illustration of Venngarn Castle for the *Suecia*, and the plate – number two in Schenk's publication -- would therefore have had to reach Amsterdam and Schenk's workshop very rapidly. De Jong suggests that there was a connection between Dutch influences on Swedish garden design and Schenk the Elder's images of Swedish gardens, which he proposes were "partly" meant for the Swedish market.³⁷⁸ However, since Schenk's images are quite faithful to the Swedish originals, the reproductions could not have constituted a Dutch influence. Nor is the idea that Schenk's copies were intended for the Swedish market clarified. Rather, the *Suecia* was created in order to inform, and hopefully pleasantly impress, European viewers. Either way, awareness of Swedish sights in cities such as Amsterdam and Regensburg would likely have been viewed – at least by Dahlbergh -- as confirmation of the country's heightened status.

A patriotic undertone is apparent in both Dahlbergh's and Rudbeck the Elder's publications. Although not as openly Gothicism as the Uppsala professor, Dahlbergh was clearly influenced by the same tenets. Neville suggests that the planned accompanying

³⁷⁷ Columbia University: "AE670 Sch2 R66;" Trinity College, Dublin: "Fag.HH.4.17;" Victoria and Albert Museum, London: "80.C.35."

³⁷⁸ In a discussion of the Dutch presence in Sweden, exemplified by a Dutch gardener at Österbybruk Manor in 1790, a Dutch-inspired garden at Övedskloster Manor from the same period, and the Dutch engravers Swidde and van den Aveelen contributing to the *Suecia* in the seventeenth century, de Jong notes: "It also explains why Dutch printers like Petrus Schenk produced series of smaller garden engravings, depicting Swedish gardens, the *Icones Prætoriorum*... This edition seems to have some relationship with the *Suecia Antiqua*, but further research has to clarify the origin of the plates in this series, which undoubtedly was partly meant for the Swedish market." Jong, "Vackra igenom konst," 30, #12.

text would have enhanced the Gothicism theme to a greater extent.³⁷⁹ In addition to views of towns (many of which had been founded in the seventeenth century), castles and manors (many of which were under construction), several ancient monuments were showcased in the *Suecia*. The inclusion of historical artefacts was intended to provide illustrations to the claims of a rich legacy and ancient traditions. In addition, it is possible that Dahlbergh, like his friend Rudbeck, felt a need to establish a rich and commendable history on which to project the country's current and future accomplishments. For instance, one of the first engravings in the album is an overview of three ancient alphabets; runes, gothic scripture, and what is labelled monks letters' (*Suecia* volume I, plate 10).³⁸⁰ This table is yet another example of the Swedish Gothicists' appropriation of historic artefacts and their idea that all civilizations had originated in their country. Another instance of hints to a glorious past are the series of images dedicated to Bråvalla Heath in the southern parts of the country (volume III, plates 83-86), the site of the Battle of Brávellir in the eighth century where "Swedes and Goths fought against Huns, Cimbri, Danes, Jutes, Frisians and other powerful nations."³⁸¹ Other historic images feature ancient royal burial sites, medieval ruins or pre-Christian temples.

³⁷⁹ Neville, "Pursuit of Gothic Heritage," 632.

³⁸⁰ The print's gothic alphabet was based on the war trophy the *Codex Argenteus* (see Introduction). Dahlbergh, *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* 1910, 14; Kungliga biblioteket (KoB Dahlb 1:10); Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 123; Neville, "Land of Goths and Vandals," 453; Nordin, "Spirit of the Age," 118.

³⁸¹ "Topographica Delineatio Camporum Bravallensium in Smolandiae Præfectura Cronebergensi territorio Alboensi, quod partem, facit verendiæ, ubi toto Septentrione celebratissima habita Sueonum Gothorumque prælia advrsus Hunos-Cimbros, Danos, Jutos, Frisones aliosque validos populos, quorum illic cæsorum etiam nunc plurima visuntur et Sepulcralia et alia monumenta / Karta över Bråvalla hed i Småland, Kronobergs län, Allbo härad i Varend, där svear och götar utkämpade sina över hela Norden beprisade strider med hunner, cimbrer, danskar, jutar, frieser och andra mäktiga folkslag." Ellenius, "Exploring the Country;" Kungliga biblioteket (KoB Dahlb III:83); Magnusson, "Sweden Illustrated;" Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 132.

When work on the *Suecia* ceased, it numbered 469 images on 353 plates.³⁸² Surprisingly, there are few illustrations referring to the country's industrial development. Two illustrations of the copper mine at Falun, a cornerstone of the country's economic progress, approximately 250 km northwest of Stockholm, are included, but other mines or sites of industrial transformation such as Forsmark, are not shown. Art historian Badeloch Vera Noldus suggests that Leufsta, another mill village, was not depicted because it was under renovation at the time.³⁸³ However, Dahlbergh resorted to the use of plans and drawings in many cases when construction was not completed, or gardens not finished at the time of sketching. Nordin claims that utilitarian architecture, such as fortifications, was considered unaesthetic in the seventeenth century, another possible explanation to why industrial installations were not deemed appropriate for the *Suecia*, but not why the owners' residences within the mill villages were also excluded. Furthermore, Dahlbergh decided to include about a dozen fortresses in the album.³⁸⁴

The inspiration for creating a document such as the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* has been traced to topographic albums produced on the continent, especially those by the Merian family in Frankfurt, with whom Dahlbergh had come into contact during his travels.³⁸⁵ Not only was the *Suecia*'s concept German, but many of the artists contributing

³⁸² Nordin divides the contents into 230 secular buildings and gardens, 90 townscapes, 58 ancient monuments and ruins, 37 title pages and/or county coats of arms (*landskapsvapen*), 32 churches, 13 maps and 9 other images (portraits, the alphabets, illustrations of coins). Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 24; Nordin, "Spirit of the Age," 103.

³⁸³ Noldus also suggests that the selection of motifs was influenced by the "political support" Dahlbergh had received when he initiated the *Suecia* project in 1661, seen in the relatively large space allocated to the estates belonging to his ally Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. Nordin points out that Rosersberg, the residence of another supporter, chancellor Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna, is depicted in as many as thirteen prints. Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 175-176, incl note #813 p. 176; Nordin, "Spirit of the Age," 124.

³⁸⁴ Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 112.

³⁸⁵ Matthäus Merian the Elder and other members of the Merian family were engravers and operated a publishing house in Frankfurt. The Merians' *Theatrum Europæum*, 1633-1738, and *Topographia*

to the album also came from the continent.³⁸⁶ The “cosmopolitan character” of the *Suecia* is, according to Nordin, revealed by the inclusion of three images by Martin Mijtens (1672-1699), born in Stockholm but of Dutch descent, and who died in the service of the Dutch East India Company. Nordin adds that other artists contributing to the project came from France, Germany and the Dutch Republic. Finally, the paper on which the engravings were printed was imported from abroad.³⁸⁷

Having made most of the preparatory sketches himself, Dahlbergh brought a first set of drawings to Paris in 1667, where they were cut by some of the greatest print makers of their generation, such as Jean Marot (c. 1619-1679), Jean Le Pautre (1618-1682), and Adam Perelle (1640-1695) and his brother Nicolas Perelle (1631-1695). Toward the end of the century, two engravers from the Dutch Republic moved to Stockholm to prepare the prints for Dahlbergh’s projects; Willem Swidde, followed by Johannes van den Aveelen (1655-1727). The aim to target an international audience – the accompanying text was to be written in Latin -- and the reliance on contributors from different backgrounds are reminiscent of Rudbeck the Elder’s *Campi Elysii* encyclopedia project.³⁸⁸ However, while Rudbeck settled for woodcuts produced locally, the financial

Germaniæ, 1642-60s, were influential topographic albums. Magnusson, “Erik Dahlbergh och hans bilder,” 70; Magnusson, “*Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*,” 97.

³⁸⁶ Nordin suggests that the inclusion of ancient monuments and private estates did not belong to the German tradition. Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 107. See also Frick, “Erik Dahlbergh,” 205.

³⁸⁷ “Ett exempel på Suecians och den Svenska stormaktens kosmopolitiska karaktär är Martin Mijtens (1672–1699), som bidrog med tre motiv. Han var visserligen född i Stockholm, men stammade ur huvudstadens holländska koloni och avled i det nederländska ostindiska kompaniets tjänst. I övrigt kom konstnärerna från Frankrike, Tyskland och Nederländerna. Till och med papperet som gravyrerna trycktes på importerades från utlandet.” Several members of the family went by the same name; Martin Mijtens (1672-1699) was nephew to Martin Mijtens the Elder (1648-1736) and consequently cousin to Martin Mijtens the Younger (1695-1770). According to Magnusson, Mijtens left for the *West Indies* in the late 1690s. Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 27; Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*, 84.

³⁸⁸ According to author Johan Frick, a German translation of the *Suecia* was also discussed. Frick, “Erik Dahlbergh,” 206.

support Dahlbergh received allowed him to opt for copper prints and hire professional French and Dutch engravers. However, both Rudbeck and Dahlbergh had to rely on contributions from colleagues, friends, and family members. While the former received plants and dried herbs from travelling botanists – although not from Lapland, as suggested above -- Dahlbergh enlisted the help of antiquarians, priests, and military staff who submitted sketches of towns and buildings in geographically distant regions, including Nordic coastal towns. Both authors, to varying degrees, had to rely on collaborators without formal artistic background.³⁸⁹ Beside the similarities between the *Campi Elysii* and the *Suecia*, there were differences in scope. While Rudbeck aimed for his encyclopedias to cover botany on a global scale, Dahlbergh's goal was to depict sights only from the Swedish empire, but including Finland, the Baltic States, and its territories in northern Germany. In the end, the *Suecia*'s motifs came essentially from the Swedish mainland, especially the country's central and southern regions, with a handful of images from Finland.

Art produced in Sweden in the seventeenth century rarely included townscapes or bird's-eye-views (Johnsen's view of Forsmark was an exception) and the *Suecia*'s prints have been used to illustrate a wide range of publications.

Since Dahlbergh's group of draughtsmen needed to travel to see and record each motif, the production from sketch to finished print was a lengthy process. Original sketches were used for the elaboration of a comprehensive drawing in order to prepare a

³⁸⁹ Another similarity between Rudbeck's and Dahlbergh's projects was, according to Magnusson, that also topographical images are related to scientific illustrations. "Det rör sig om bildkategorier som dels gränsar till den vetenskapliga illustrationen, dels ofta utövats av personer som inte var konstnärer utan militärer, ingenjörer eller diletanter." Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 17.

final image that could be transferred to copper plates and eventually printed.³⁹⁰ These stages possibly implicated certain adjustments to the original work. For instance, a rapidly sketched perspective might need to be clarified, with details added or subtracted. In many instances only half of a building had been recorded on site, and the mirror opposite was completed back in the workshop. In one of the last steps staffage was added in order to clarify proportions, or simply to make the scenes more vivacious. Such details were often done directly by the engravers, which in some instances has led to the presence of people, horse carriages, and boats with peculiar un-Swedish appearances.³⁹¹ However, Swan suggests that when Jacques the Gheyn II depicted the Botanical Garden in Leiden, its director Pieter Pauw stipulated that it should not only provide an overview of the layout but also show the act of gardening itself.³⁹² Therefore, there is a possibility that people seen in the *Suecia* images, especially those on the original sketches, were added deliberately, and can, for instance, convey information about tools or activities in the late seventeenth century.

Scholars have argued that since Dahlbergh's goal was to show his country in the best possible light he took upon himself to improve on existing drawings, for instance by adding to a building's height or width or by introducing decorative elements to a plain façade. If an owner planned to expand or renovate his residence, Dahlbergh sometimes chose to base his *Suecia* print on the plans, not on existing structures. Such adjustments resulted in some of the prints not reflecting reality, especially if the building plans were later altered or if the construction was never realized, and the album earned a reputation of

³⁹⁰ Magnusson and Nordin, *Drömmen om stormakten*, 158.

³⁹¹ Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 131, 246.

³⁹² Swan, "Of Gardens," 181.

being unreliable. However, after initial arguments in favour of the illustrations being completely accurate, and then of them being completely inaccurate, scholars now recognize that each motif needs to be evaluated individually. I suggest that the same case-by-case analysis is advisable when studying the gardens in Dahlbergh's album.

The debates regarding the accuracy of the *Suecia* have mainly addressed the size and appearance of towns and residences. Gardens have been analyzed more sparingly. And yet, each palace, castle, or mansion is shown surrounded by trees, hedges, flowers, ponds, and statues, sometimes simply outlined but often drawn in extensive detail. Preparatory material for the album is, in many cases, extant and the original sketches, especially if made *ad vivum*, are likely reliable records.³⁹³ In some instances, the complete sequence of work from sketch to final engraving can be traced. I therefore suggest that the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* can reveal valuable information on the history of garden design in Sweden, a point that will be supported by a few examples. The images of Stavsund Manor, approximately thirty kilometers west of Stockholm, provide an insight into how Dahlbergh and his collaborators worked.³⁹⁴ Magnusson has established that Dahlbergh made a series of sketches for the *Suecia* in and around the capital, including a trip to Stavsund, in 1684 and 1685. Three sheets with drawings by his hand (figures 48-50) show the estate from various angles.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ Karling refers to Dahlbergh's album on a number of occasions in his thesis on Swedish garden history. He generally finds the *Suecia* prints reliable. Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*.

³⁹⁴ The Stavsund *residence* was built in the 1670s according to plans by architect Nicodemus Tessin the Elder (1615-1681). Art historian Nils G. Wollin suggests that the *garden* was designed by the architect's son and namesake Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728), likely after his return from a series of study trips abroad between 1673 and 1680. Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 84.

³⁹⁵ Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 134, 140.

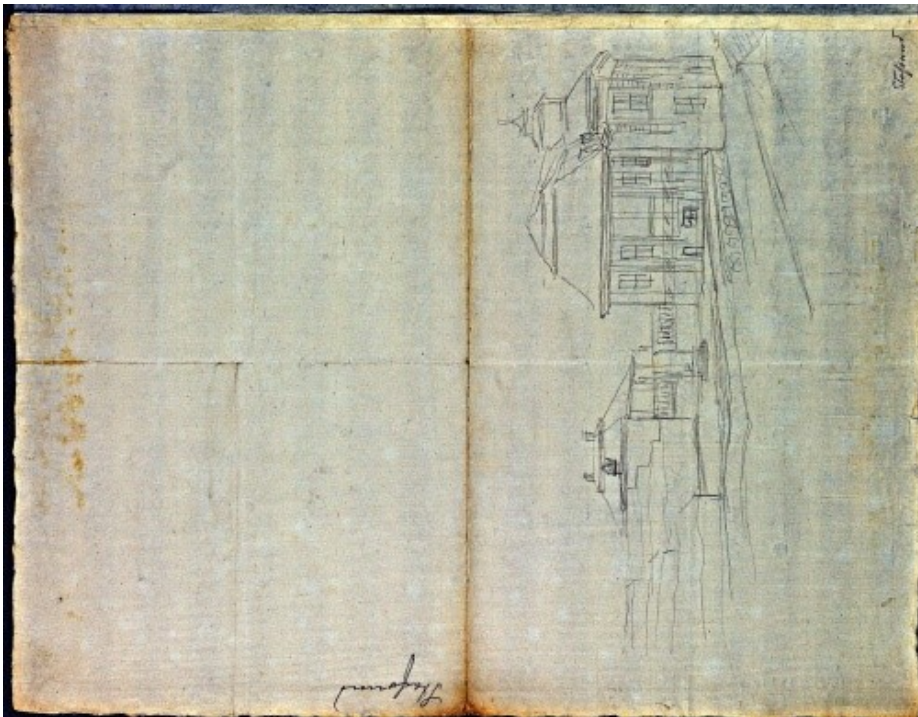


Figure 48. Erik Dahlbergh, *Stavsund Main Building and Wing*, 1684-85. Sketch/paper, 33x43 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:41 verso).

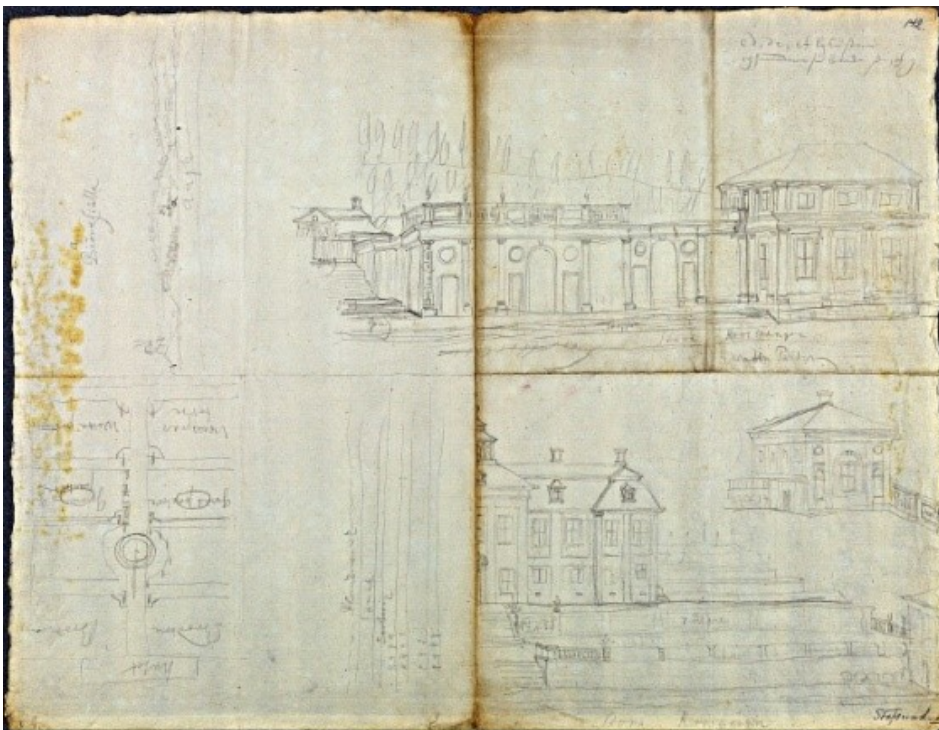


Figure 49. Erik Dahlbergh, *Stavsund*, 1684-84. Sketch/paper, 33x43 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb. Handt 5:41 recto.)

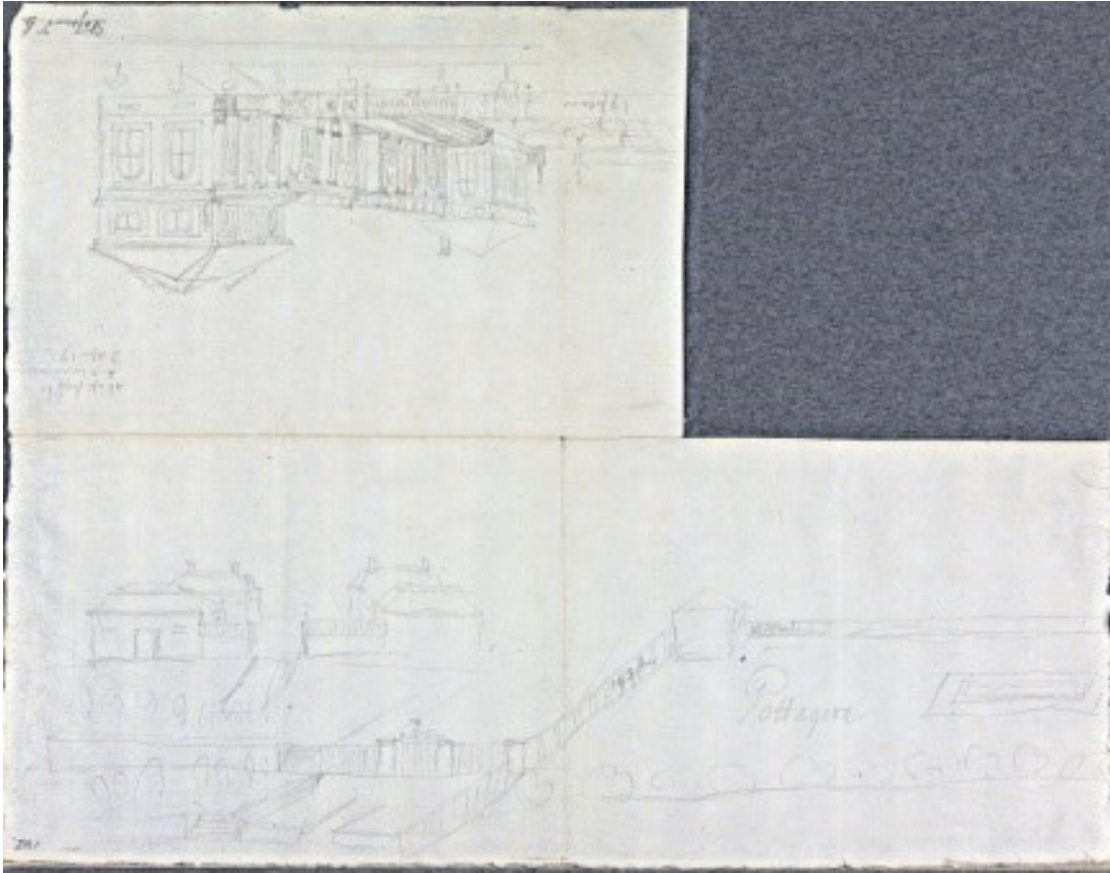


Figure 50. Erik Dahlbergh, *Stavsund, detail studies*, 1684-85. Sketch/paper, 33x42 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:42).

The spontaneous nature of Dahlbergh's sketches indicates that they were made *in situ*. Next to drawings of the main residence and the orangery, the estate's formal parterre has been quickly recorded (figure 49, left). Explanatory terms are jotted down directly across the small sketch: "House," "Embroidery," "Grass Parterre," and "Water parterre." The recorded information is confirmed by a formal plan of the Stavsund pleasure garden, likely obtained by Dahlbergh from Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728) or his staff (figure 51).

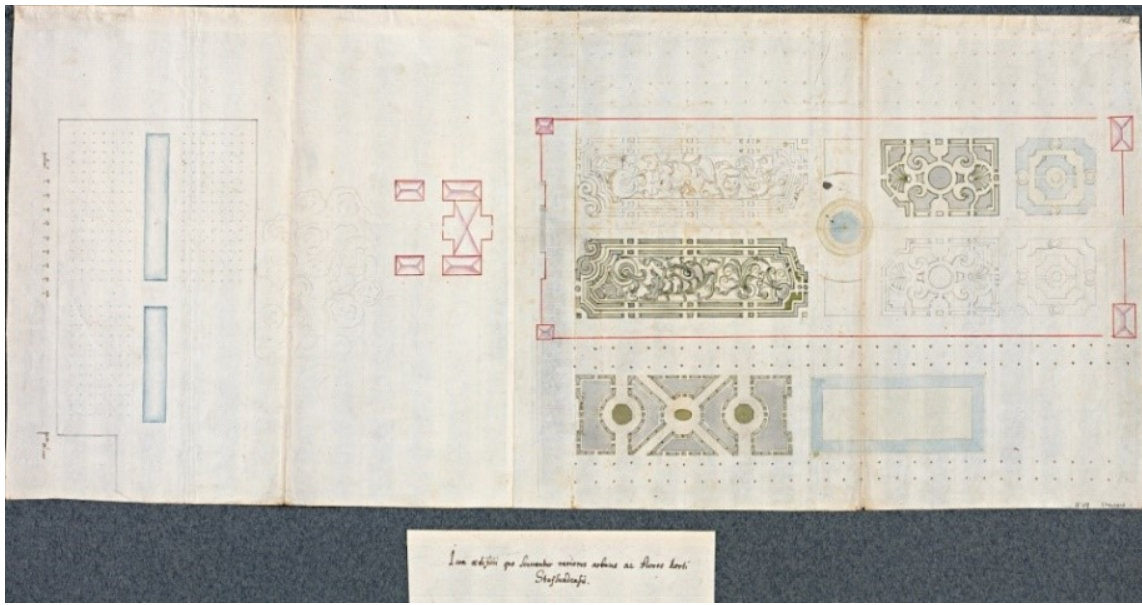


Figure 51. Atelier of Tessin the Younger, *Staaf-sundh*, 1685. Pencil, pen and watercolour/paper, 32x73 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 11:19).

Based on this material, Dahlbergh set out to create a comprehensive image of the entire Stavsund estate. Part of the process consisted of giving Tessin's garden design – presumably while also taking into account his own sketches -- an angle corresponding to that of the planned bird's-eye-view of the entire area. The various steps are seen in figures 52-54.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 194.

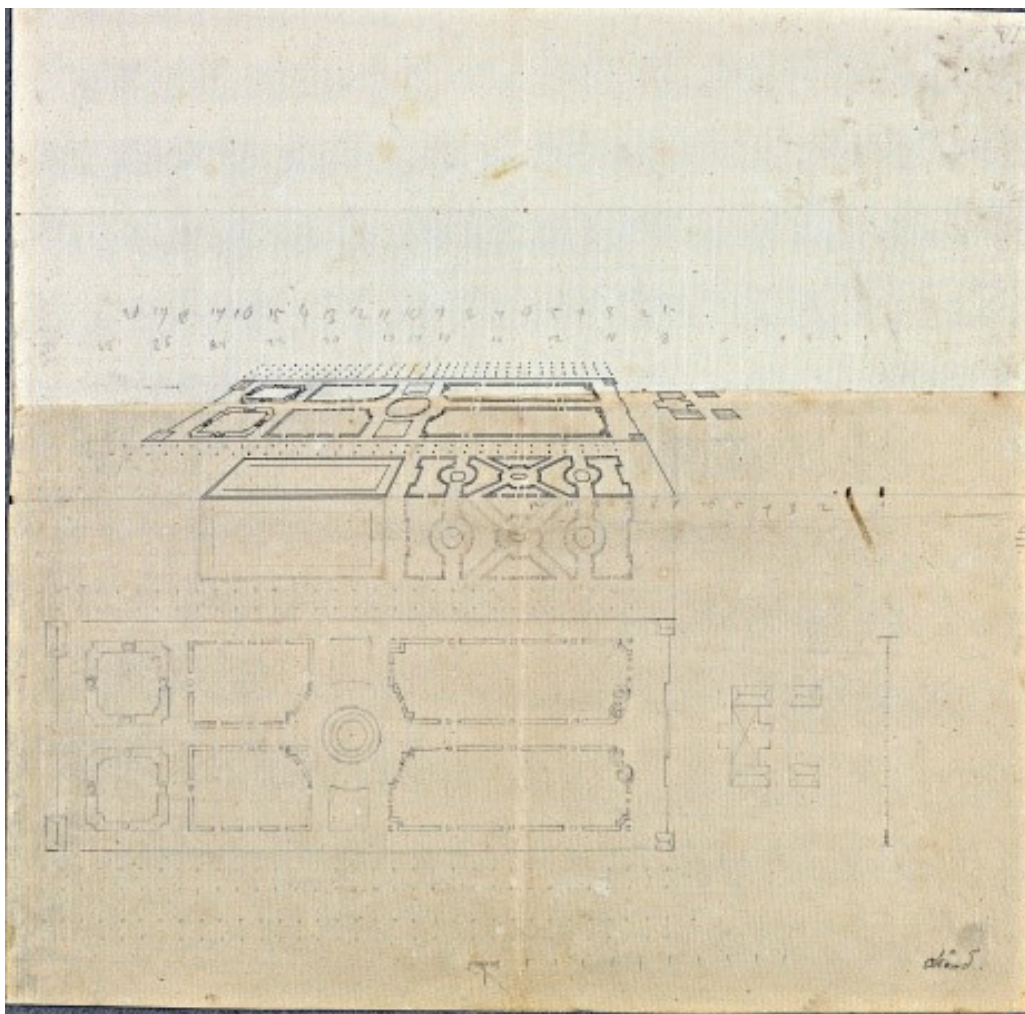


Figure 52. Erik Dahlbergh, *Plan of Parts of Stavsund Park*, after 1685. Pencil and pen/paper, 31x31 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:45).

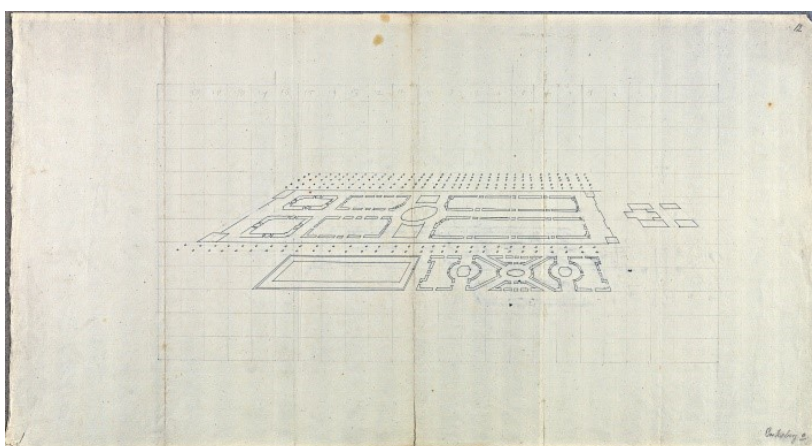


Figure 53. Erik Dahlbergh, *Plan of Parts of Stavsund Park*, after 1685. Pen/paper, 33x60 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:44 recto).

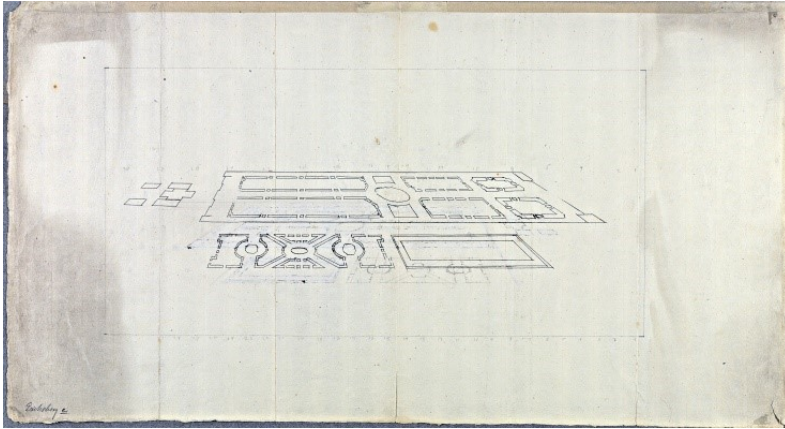


Figure 54. Erik Dahlbergh, *Plan of Parts of Stavsund Park*, after 1685, Pen/paper, 33x60 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 5:44 verso).

The final product, an engraving dated to approximately 1687 (figure 55), is an accurate condensation of all the preparatory material. It depicts an estate with an elaborate formal garden running parallel to Lake Mälaren. The central section extends directly from the residence with the first two parterres planted with flowers and boxwood, neatly trimmed. Further away from the main building is a round pond with a fountain marking the centre of the layout. It is followed by two smaller rectangular parterres with motifs cut out in grass, likely against a background of coloured sand or gravel, so-called *gazon coupé*. As Dahlbergh had indicated on his sketch, the last section consisted of water surfaces, such as narrow ponds or canals in a symmetrical design. The differently sized parterres give dynamism to the entire layout. As was common in formal gardens, the sections that are the furthest from the residence are less detailed, since intricate patterns could not be perceived from the building. An orangery marks the end of the garden, and it is followed by a small hill, all according to the desire for observers to be met by eye-catching vistas. The staffage in the image, people populating the scene, is remarkably diminutive in size, a technique used to enhance the impression of grandeur of buildings and gardens.

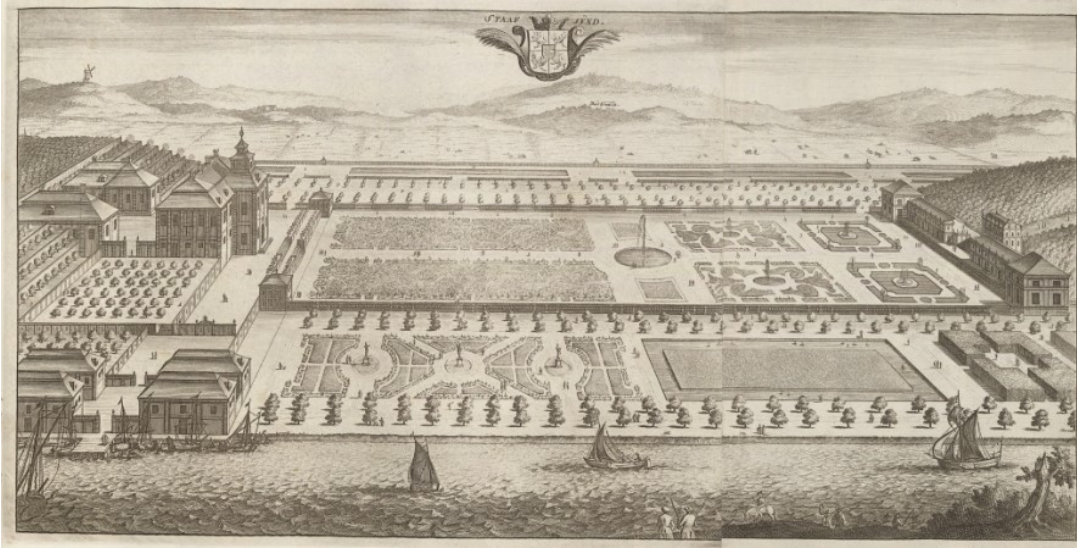


Figure 55. Willem Swidde, *Staafsund*, c. 1687. Engraving, 22x42 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:141).

A few years later, in 1694, Dahlbergh arranged for two more engravings to be made of Stavsund Manor.³⁹⁷ These prints can be traced directly back to Dahlbergh's original sketches; both a depicted orangery and the main residence correspond to his drawings in figure 49.

Östanå Castle, situated approximately sixty kilometers north-east of the capital, is another estate for which sketches of the original garden are still accessible.³⁹⁸ Of particular interest is a sheet of paper with drawings on both sides, including one of the residence and its pleasure garden (again with explanatory comments written directly across the image) plus a separate sketch of the flower parterre.³⁹⁹ The combined material resulted in three finished images, two of which were engraved and included in the

³⁹⁷ Kungliga biblioteket (KoB Dahlb I:142, top and bottom).

³⁹⁸ Östanå Castle was designed by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger and built in the 1680s but was later destroyed by the Russian navy, in 1719. A new residence was erected in the eighteenth century. Bedoire, *Guldålder*, 252; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 66; Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 140; Stavenow, "Johan Hårleman," 64, Sylvén, "Tvenne höstdagar," 103.

³⁹⁹ Kungliga biblioteket (KoB Dahlb Handt 4:64 recto.)

Suecia.⁴⁰⁰ The appearance of the parterre is confirmed by a plan by garden designer Johan Hårleman (1662-1707), signed “Parter that I made at Östanau Ao 1692.”⁴⁰¹

Dahlbergh used professional garden plans as basis for several other estates, using them to create an overview of the surroundings and then applying sketches of the residence and other buildings onto that drawing.⁴⁰² Some of the professional material was possibly returned after use, a fact that would explain their irregular presence in the archives today.⁴⁰³ An interesting case is the residence of dowager queen Hedvig Eleonora (1636-1715), Drottningholm Palace, for which as many as four engravings were made of its gardens. One of these is a plan by Tessin the Younger from 1681, reproduced in its entirety, either to add clarity to the three other garden images, or to emphasize their accuracy.⁴⁰⁴

The question has to be raised whether some of the gardens seen in the *Suecia* were simply created by Dahlbergh in order to be able to present all buildings with appropriate surroundings. However, the inclusion of a few not-so-formal gardens indicate that Dahlbergh did follow actual observations. For instance, Biskops-Arnö Manor appears to be bordered by a series of square undecorated plots, covering the entire space between the building and the Lake Mälaren, features that can be seen both on the original sketch and

⁴⁰⁰ Drawings: KoB Dahlb Handt 4:67 (bird’s-eye-view from the Baltic Sea), KoB Dahlb Handt 4:68 (bird’s-eye-view toward the Baltic Sea) and KoB N120b (view of the courtyard). Engravings: KoB Dahlb I:120 (view of the courtyard) and KoB Dahlb I:121 (bird’s-eye-view from the Baltic). Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm.

⁴⁰¹ “Parter que j’aÿ fait à Östanau Ao 1692.” Nationalmuseum (NMH THC 248A).

⁴⁰² Access to professional garden plans can be confirmed for estates such as Ericssberg, Karlberg, Sjöö, Skokloster, Ållonö, and Örbyhus. Bergsten, *Stormaktstid*, 82; Jonsson, *Stormaktstid*, 108; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 608 #19; Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 147; Magnusson, *Svenska teckningar*, 73, 76.

⁴⁰³ Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 147.

⁴⁰⁴ The Drottningholm pleasure garden is depicted from three angles, see KoB Dahlb 1:78, 1:79, and 1:80. The *Suecia* reproduction of Tessin’s plan, engraved by Martin Mijtens in 1695, is seen in KoB Dahlb 1:76. Tessin the Younger’s original drawing from 1681 is kept at the Nationalmuseum (NMH Cels 40/1875).

on the print.⁴⁰⁵ Årsta Castle, thirty kilometers south of the capital, is another example of how Dahlbergh handled non-existent or “informal” gardens. In this case, the plain surroundings of Årsta in the 1660s can possibly explain why a second engraving was made forty years later.⁴⁰⁶ In the first engraving (1670), the garden is a fenced-in rectangle divided into eight parterres with shallow swirling patterns. There are no statues, hedges or fountains and in spite of a geometric layout this is obviously not a formal design. A sketch by Henrik Haij (1631-1700), on which the print is based, reveals that the Årsta garden was, in fact, a work in progress. A note by Haij written directly on the drawing explains that the fenced-in area was a “meadow closed off for [to become a] garden.”⁴⁰⁷ In fact, the designated area resembles a pasture more than a garden. In a corrected subsequent drawing, Dahlbergh has not only adjusted Haij’s oddly shaped perspective but has also ‘improved’ on the garden by hinting at embroidery patterns. Dahlbergh’s image became the basis for the engraving, which was produced by Jean Le Pautre in 1670. While Dahlbergh altered the Årsta garden’s appearance, he did not create a complete and elaborate formal design, but rather settled for something more probable given the unfinished state of the property. By the time a second engraving was made in the early 1700s, the surroundings at Årsta Castle had been completely altered. Once again, it is possible to follow the sequence from sketch to clean drawing and engraving. In 1700 there was less need to improve on appearances, but some alterations were made here as well. Between the sketch and pre-print drawing, some trees growing among the individual

⁴⁰⁵ Biskops-Arnö Manor is situated approximately sixty kilometers north-west of Stockholm. See KoB N93n, and KoB Dahlb 1:93.

⁴⁰⁶ Original sketches *in situ* were made in 1667 and again in 1700, while the engravings are dated to 1670 and 1710. Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 527; Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 107, 114, 149.

⁴⁰⁷ “Eng afstängdh till trädgårdh,” (KoB N160).

parterres have been ‘moved’ to the far end of the garden, possibly to declutter the composition. By the same token, the trees form a bosquet, which is absent on the drawing made *ad vivum*, and, obviously, in the actual garden. The artist behind the first sketch is not known, but the finished drawing is attributed to Johan Lithén (1663-1725), who was Dahlbergh’s closest collaborator on the *Suecia* project.

The two engravings of Årsta Castle correspond roughly to the earliest and last years of the *Suecia* project, which spanned close to half a century. The collection of sketches and prints prepared for the *Suecia* is highly valuable material and I suggest that a thorough evaluation of the garden images in particular would be beneficial to the discourse on artistic exchanges in the seventeenth century. Even the adjustments carried out by Dahlbergh and Lithén are useful since they reveal their views of what ideal gardens should look like. The Årsta prints, along with other gardens depicted in the *Suecia*, can give an indication of the development of formal designs between the 1660s and the early 1700s, and can also contribute to an understanding of the artists’ awareness of developments elsewhere, such as gardens in the Dutch Republic, Germany, and France.

Both Rudbeck the Younger and Dahlbergh wanted to explore and highlight the unique qualities of Sweden, the former by mapping the flora and fauna of the northernmost parts of the empire, the latter by documenting every building, garden, town and relic in the country. While Rudbeck’s botanical trip did not yield the expected results and Dahlbergh’s *Suecia* was not completed according to plan, their endeavours are significant for the material they collected and the results they did generate. Both projects are characterized by a search for global recognition, an attempt to attain complete

knowledge of a particular topic, and a desire to communicate the results through visual records.

The analysis of a few samples from Dahlbergh's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* has shown that architecture, and also *garden* architecture, were employed to promote a nation's status and development. However, gardens not only served as political tools, but were created for many reasons. As the next chapter explores, formal gardens also had the potential of sending social messages in a novel way, ultimately to act as signifiers for the prestige and reputation of a politician, diplomat or military officer.

4 THE GEOGRAPHY OF GARDEN ART

We have seen that art patrons and botanists came together through shared curiosity about flowers and other plants, and that successful horticultural practices could serve to enhance a country's reputation on the international scene. Through analyses of garden literature and designs, this chapter will argue that plants were also used to enhance the status and personal reputation of estate owners. Another network of collaboration intersects with the already observed exchanges between artists and art patrons and among botanists. By viewing activities related to garden design and horticulture as a web consisting of multidirectional channels of communication, another layer of social interaction comes to the fore. This investigation will illustrate how knowledge and information about formal gardens circulated in the seventeenth century. In the first section, an overview of European and Swedish garden literature discusses whether authors or translators took differences in climate and topography into consideration when introducing plants and layouts from the continent to a Nordic country. The second and major part of the chapter is dedicated to André Mollet, a highly significant garden designer in the seventeenth century, whose oeuvre is still not fully examined.

Paintings and botanical illustrations are two-dimensional works of art, but gardens, obviously, are not. A depiction of a tulip and a gardener's bed of growing tulips can both be described as works of art, but gardens are different from images in many respects. Paintings and water-colours undergo minimal changes over the years, but a garden is an ever-changing organic environment. As my focus now turns to garden design, a few words on terminology are called for. Keeping the prevalence of cross-border

communication in mind, I suggest that it is preferable to discuss garden layouts according to stylistic features instead of using terms based on the architect's place of birth. The expression *formal garden* – instead of *French* or *Italian* -- refers to designs with a particular set of features, while indirectly implying that this type of layout was not limited to one country or region.⁴⁰⁸ During the early modern period pleasure gardens were created in many parts of Europe and certain styles cut across both geographic and political borders. The term *French garden* has often been used to describe designs that also existed in Italy, the Dutch Republic, England, and eventually Sweden. A terminology based on nationality could therefore wrongly lead to the impression that this type of garden architecture originated, or was developed, only in France. My goal is not to deny the contributions by French architects, but to suggest a more open-ended approach in which certain garden features were taken up in more than one region.

There is, in addition, a timely aspect to take into consideration. Once again, in order to allow for conceptual flexibility, I propose that the term *formal design* is preferable to the expression *baroque garden* or other era-defined terminology. For instance, Karmansbo Manor, 170 kilometers west of Stockholm, and built in 1759, featured a garden layout ending in an exedra and a parterre surrounded by allées, proof that so-called *baroque* elements remained popular well into subsequent periods.⁴⁰⁹ The surroundings at Åkerö Manor, 140 kilometers southwest of the capital, retained medieval aspects until a new residence was built in the 1750s.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ De Jong also uses the term *geometric garden*. Jong, "Vackra igenom konst," 7, 8; Nolin, "Trädgårdsforskning," 31.

⁴⁰⁹ Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 102.

⁴¹⁰ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 138. See also Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 142, 144.

4.1 Garden Literature

In seventeenth-century Sweden knowledge about garden designs and technical innovation appears, once again, to have arrived from multiple sources and through various channels, such as study trips, Grand Tours, international trade, scientific correspondence, and books and manuals. The latter categories had the advantage of being relatively accessible. Customers who desired to purchase horticultural literature could use the services of cultural agents who were established at the large centres in continental Europe, such as Frankfurt, Stettin, Greifswald, Hamburg, Amsterdam, and London.⁴¹¹ Author Arne Losman suggests that garden design was one of the most valuable art forms, and this is why Carl Gustaf Wrangel purchased a particularly large number of books on this topic for his library at Skokloster Castle.⁴¹² Among the horticultural literature accessible to Swedish readers instructions on the cultivation of herbs and vegetables dominated. Also, interest in medicinal plants remained steady, for obvious reasons. Information on pleasure gardens, however, made a slow entry in the country. Despite the aspirations to replicate continental behaviour and to live up to the country's 'greatness,' estate owners, even at the highest levels, continued to occupy themselves with the year's harvests of vegetables and fruits.

Garden literature was not only purchased from abroad but also written in the country. Both foreign and local texts are worth examining, for the information they can reveal about local preoccupations, the status of gardens, and the literature that was considered applicable to Nordic conditions.

⁴¹¹ Jong, "Plants and Gardeners," 59.

⁴¹² For an overview of titles in Carl Gustaf Wrangel's library, which included a trilingual version of André Mollet's *Jardin de Plaisir*, see Losman, "Lust och välbehag;" Jong, "Plants and Gardeners," 71.

4.1.1 *Oeconomias* or *Hausväter Literature*

A category of literature called *oeconomia* was a sort of lifestyle manual, written for an audience with sufficient financial means to dedicate their lives not only to business but also to pleasure.⁴¹³ These documents provided detailed instructions on how to exploit a farm, but also how build a stately home and run a household, plus descriptions of how and when to plant vegetables, harvest, and preserve the garden's bounty. Some books even discussed the planification of study tours and how to find an appropriate career. In other words, all aspects of daily life were covered and the *oeconomia* manual was a sort of how-to guide for the wealthy to ensure a meaningful existence. A discussion of representative garden designs is therefore to be expected in this type of literature.

An early example of such a manual, written for a Swedish audience, was royal councillor Per Brahe the Elder's (1520-1590) *Oeconomia, eller, Huuszholdz-book för ungt adels-folck* (*Oeconomia, or, Household Book for Young Nobles*), a manuscript completed around 1581.⁴¹⁴ The title is indicative of the type of readership he had in mind. Brahe belonged to one of the oldest aristocratic families in the country and likely wanted to share his experience and advice with readers of comparable standards of living. According to the author, a well-managed estate set aside land for the cultivation of hops, (fruit) trees, herbs, cabbages, turnips, flax and hemp, peas and beans.⁴¹⁵ He appears to

⁴¹³ Also called *Hausväter literature*, or in Swedish *Husfaderslitteratur* or *Hushållningslitteratur*. Ahrlund, *Osynliga handen*, 241; Jong, *Nature and Art*, 3; Losman, "Lust och välbehag," 35; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*.

⁴¹⁴ Eriksson, *Botanikens historia*, 28; Granlund, "Författaren och verket," ix; Karlson, "Lustgårdarna Jönköping," 393; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 21.

⁴¹⁵ Brahe's manuscript was not printed until close to a century later, in 1677, but in the meantime existed in a number of hand-written copies. Author Torsten Lagerstedt suggests that Brahe's *Oeconomia* had no noticeable impact on Swedish country life before its publication. Karling proposes that the manuscript is indicative of the "rather high level of gardening" in Sweden at the end of the sixteenth century

have had no interest in growing plants or flowers for pleasure, and no concern of how to project an image of status through architecture.

At the turn of the seventeenth century a priest in northern Germany, Johannes Colerus (1566-1639), published *Oeconomia oder Hausbuch*, in six volumes (1593-1601), with advice on household management and agriculture, hunting and fishing, but also including comments on garden plants and how to care for them. Colerus' text was popular and re-issued more than a dozen times over the next century.⁴¹⁶ Isaac Erić (1576-1650), also a priest, decided to translate this German work into Swedish and *Coleri Oeconomia, thet är, Huushåldz underwijsning*, was published, posthumously, in 1683, almost a century after the original document.⁴¹⁷ Erić informs the reader that he has not only translated Colerus' manuscript, but also "amplified and improved" it. However, it appears that Erić did not take the difference in climate between Sweden and Germany into consideration in his translation.⁴¹⁸ Historian Bo Eriksson points out that Colerus, who based his information on ancient authors, had been aware that the light, the air, the water, and the soil were different from what his sources had described, and therefore chose to exclude information not applicable to his surroundings.⁴¹⁹ The fact that Erić's "improvements" did not include regional adaptations or advice on planting techniques could mean that the translator lacked knowledge about gardening or failed to recognize

("...trädgårdsskötselns tämligen höga nivå.") Karling, "Våra äldsta trädgårdar," 40; Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, viii.

⁴¹⁶ The Swedish councillor (*riksråd*) Hogenskild Bielke (1538-1605) acquired a copy of Colerus' text for his personal library. Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 136, 280.

⁴¹⁷ Erić's adaptation is shorter than the original text; Colerus' six books include more than 2,800 pages, while Erić's two-volume translation is approximately 800 pages in total. Erić, *Coleri Oeconomia 1-2*.

⁴¹⁸ Erić frequently quotes a Danish author, Henrik Smid (c. 1495-1563) and his herbal *Een skøn loestig, ny vrtegaard* (1546), but not on issues regarding adaptation of plants to a Nordic climate.

⁴¹⁹ Eriksson, "Broocman," 954.

the differences in climate between Wittenberg and Stockholm.⁴²⁰ Once again, there is no discussion of pleasure gardens. In fact, Erixi rather advises against cultivation for aesthetic purposes:

With regards to flower beds one knows well that in noble homes parterres are used... [they] commission all sorts of artistic work and when the plants grow and stand in full bloom, it looks as lovely as if an artist had painted and covered them with all sorts of colours. Which all together gives a lovely and airy appearance, but air does not fill the stomachs of the poor. Rather I will show them another way that brings more usefulness than loveliness.⁴²¹

Farmer's Almanacs existed in Europe since the early sixteenth century, and it is possible that this is where Erixi found the inspiration for dividing his book in chapters corresponding to the months of the year, something that Colerus had not done. A reliance on farmers' calendars could be one explanation for the focus on utility gardens. More likely, Erixi's translation is a reflection of the original manuscript from the late sixteenth century, and he did not bring its message and contents up to date.

⁴²⁰ An indication of the limited influence of Brahe's 1581 manuscript is the fact that it is not included in Erixi's bibliography. Erixi, *Coleri Oeconomia*, 425-427.

⁴²¹ "Hwad sängerna wijdkommer weet man wäl at uthi herrehof brukas qwarteer... beställa the allehanda konstlig arbete och tå krydderna upgåå och stå i sin fulla blomma seer thet så härligen uth såsom een målare hade them medh allehanda fergor öfwerdragit och bestrukit. Hwilket altsammans gifwer ett herligit och luftigt anseende, men thenna luften förslår doch litet i magen för the fattiga. Ty wil iag wijsa them ett annat sätt som meer hafwer gagn än herligheet medh sigh." Erixi, *Coleri Oeconomia*, 1:146-147.

In the early 1660s, retired diplomat Schering Rosenhane (1609-1663) wrote a manuscript for an *oeconomia*.⁴²² It appeared in print for the first time in 1944, but in spite of delayed publication dates, I suggest that his document, as well as Brahe's text, are of important historical value since their advice reflects knowledge at the time, in much the same way that diaries and letters reveal concerns and topics proper to the period. In the first part of the book, Rosenhane outlines the responsibilities of the (male) owner, his wife, the bailiff, and the domestic staff. Unfortunately, he spends less than one page on the gardener's duties. The manuscript was not finished when he passed away in 1663 and a comment scribbled in the margin reveals that he intended to expand this topic: "hereafter should follow instructions for a gardener."⁴²³ It is, consequently, important to pay attention to what Rosenhane did write on that half-page, since his few lines likely were his most urgent or immediate thoughts, quickly jotted down before moving on with the manuscript. However, his advice quickly turns into a complaint about the lack of competence among Swedish professionals, who only care for "cabbage and common vegetables", but who still want to call themselves *mäster*. He therefore suggests that the property owner should be his own *master* and the one to decide on the layout of the garden and to choose plants to his liking, both for pleasure and *potager*.⁴²⁴

⁴²² The undated manuscript is believed to have been written shortly before Rosenhane's death in 1663, see for instance Lagerstedt, "Inledning," xiii. Regarding Rosenhane's manuscript, see also Holmlund and Manker, "Det i flor stående Stockholm;" Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*; Swederus, *En trädgårdsbok*.

⁴²³ "Om Huushärren, Om Matmoderen, Om Fogden, Om Däijan, and Om Trägårdzmästaren." "Här näst bör föllia instruction för en trädgårdzmästare." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 34, 170 note 1, 175.

⁴²⁴ "Först adt han [trädgårdsmästaren] weet och förstår sitt wärk och hwad där till hörer både mäd trä och örter hwilken ähr en wacker dåch widlyfftig wetenskap och sällan finnes ibland vårt fålk här i Swerige, som intet wandra därpå, äller stort winläggia sig om annadt än om kål och gemena krydder, ehuru the likwäll willia heta Mästare... Och i sådant fall måtte husbonden wara bäste trädgårdzmästaren siällffwer, ordonera huru han will haffwa trädgården anlagder, och hwad för slags trä, och krydder till zierat och nytta han will haffwa beställte." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 34. Rosenhane repeats the same opinion on page 90. See also Ahrlund, *Osynliga handen*, 191.

Rosenhane continues by providing detailed instructions on the daily activities needed to operate a property that is both profitable and enjoyable. He discusses agricultural practices, how to care for meadows, and dedicates an extensive section to *horticultura*.⁴²⁵ It starts with a grandiose declaration:

Gardening is the most noble and pleasing activity that a nobleman in the country can amuse himself with, and a garden beside a manor is so useful and tidy, that without it the estate would be like a farm, and the lord would miss many a good moment and pastime for himself and his friends, and many good morsels in the kitchen and on his table, that the garden otherwise brings. And no matter how much a garden seems to cost, it is paid again by its beauty and good entertainment for its owner.⁴²⁶

It seems that interest in pleasure gardens had finally arrived in Sweden. However, this is Rosenhane's only attempt to describe gardening as a pleasurable and social activity. As we shall see, also this nobleman cared more for turnips than for tulips.

I suggest that Rosenhane was inspired by British author Francis Bacon (1561-1626), who, in his essay *Of Gardens* (1625) exclaims:

⁴²⁵ "Godzets beskaffenheet och däss administration," "Åkerbruk och hwad där till hörer," "Om ängeskötzel," and lastly "Horticultura eller trädgårdzskötzel." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 35, 53, 87, 89.

⁴²⁶ "Trädgårdzskötzel ähr dän ädlaste och lustigaste hantering som en adelsman uppå landet kan förlusta sig mäd, och ähr en trädgård vid en Sätessgård så nödig och prydlig, att dän förutan synes gården som en bondegård, och mister husbonden mången lustig stund och tidsfördriff för sig och sina wäner, och mången god bisken uthi köket och på sitt bord, som trädgården älliest mäd sig bringer. Och ehwad en trä äller kryddegård synes något kåsta, Så betalar han thet igän mäd sin prydna och gode tidsfördriff för sin Härre." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 89. See also Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 310; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 79.

God Almighty first planted a Garden. And indeed, it is the purest of humane pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the spirits of Man; without which, buildings and pallaces are but grosse handy-works; and a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to civility and elegancie, Men come to build stately, sooner then to garden finely, as if Gardening were the greater perfection.⁴²⁷

Both authors suggest that gardens were vital for enhancing the status of an estate, and hence of its owner. While Bacon continues by dreaming of appropriate flowers for each month of the year, Rosenhane goes on to discuss the importance of good soil quality and exposure to the sun.

Rosenhane's instructions on orchards are worth noting, since he there stumbles onto challenges encountered when introducing foreign plants to Sweden. While being in favour of plant exchanges and importation, Rosenhane reveals both the pessimism of a seasoned gardener and the optimism of a government official in a politically successful country. The author has noticed an *affect* causing the bark on cherry and plum trees to crack, especially on those imported from Holland.⁴²⁸ This problem leads him into one of a long series of complaints about the Swedish climate: "That young foreign trees do not thrive for long in Sweden but dry up and their bark falls off could be caused by the air and the difference in soil, but mostly because of the cold Swedish winter."⁴²⁹ Later in this chapter we will see that the need for weather-proofing of plants became a preoccupation

⁴²⁷ Bacon, "Of Gardens," 266.

⁴²⁸ "Somblige trä få och en affect uppå sig såsom en watuskiuka... händer thet gemenligen åt kirsebär och plomon och mäst them som ähre komne ifrån Hålland..." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 111.

⁴²⁹ "Adt unga främmande trä älliast intet wäl truffwas länge i S[werige] utan att the och tårkas bårt och barken faller aff, måtte wäl lufftens och jordmännens förändring till end deel wara orsaken, Män allramäst vår kalla Swänska winter." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 111.

also for a professional gardener such as André Mollet. Rosenhane even suggests that the work needed to acclimatize certain species to Swedish conditions was not worth the effort.⁴³⁰ But he then resumes optimistically:

For when one considers how Italy and France in the beginning had little knowledge of good varieties of apples, pears, and cherries, and even less of pomegranates and lemons and more precious fruits, but imported them from Greece, Asia and Africa, because one nation communicated [with] another. And likewise, when one now considers how many varieties of fruit have been added lately in Sweden, which, in the time of our forefathers did not exist, one should not despair that we, through curiosity and culture, will not be able to improve our gardens over time.⁴³¹

This reflection is, in its references to European nations and even to other continents, an example of how people in various parts of Europe were becoming increasingly aware of botanical discoveries and horticultural developments.

In the *Oeconomia*, Rosenhane discusses how to create a pleasurable garden, but seems oblivious to the possibility of bringing attention to the owner's ancestry, status, or

⁴³⁰ "Ty ändoch man skulle kunna twinga några aff thässe att wäxa och wänias i våra trädgårdar, Så måste thet dåch skee mäd sådan flijtt och upwartning, och så grant gömmas om winteren, adt dän bekåstnan och arbete på så owiss utgång näpplig lönar mödan, och sällan får man någon trädgårdsmästare som dätt förstår och där till någon lust haffwer..." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 123.

⁴³¹ "Ty när man besinnar huru Italien och Frankrike uthi begynnellsen föga haffwa wetat utaff någon god art aff äpplen, päron och kirsebär, mycket mindre några pomerantzier och Citroner och kåsterligare frucht, utan ähre them utur Grekeland, uthur Asien och Afrika införde, däraff dän ena nationen haffwer communerat dän andra. Och man nu sammaledes befinner huru mångahanda slags frucht i S[werige] ähre på någon tid tillökade, som I våra förfäders tid intet haffwer warit, Så måtte man icke misströsta, adt wij genom Curiositet och flitig Cultur icke kunna vårt land och våre trädgårdar mäd tiden förbättra." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 123.

accomplishments through horticulture. For instance, formal gardens would typically include statues chosen according to an allegorical theme referring to traits the owner wanted to be associated with, or embroidery motifs replicating the family's coat of arms. The most successful gardens in the Dutch Republic created subtle messages that could be "read" throughout the entire estate.⁴³² Rosenhane suggests three components that add to the beauty of a site: flower parterres, statues, and waterworks, but then loses himself in an enumeration of all the flowers he knows. Rosenhane's manuscript was, as mentioned, not completed at the time of his death, and he possibly intended to deepen the discussion in additional chapters. On the other hand, it is unlikely that he would have left out such valuable instructions if he had wanted to raise the awareness of this art form among his readers. Surprisingly and contradictorily, in the early 1650s Rosenhane had employed André Mollet, one of the designers most closely associated with formal gardens, but there is no reference to their collaboration or to such concepts in the *Oeconomia*.⁴³³

What were Rosenhane's thoughts on flower parterres? Here too the advice is practical and result-oriented; he discusses suitable materials for fences and gates and provides instructions on how to ensure that pathways remain dry and pleasant to walk on.⁴³⁴ He suggests that flower beds can be shaped into circles, squares, or rectangles, and then surrounded by thin oak planks, or boxwood, which, according to Rosenhane, can be trimmed into any shape and has the advantage of remaining green in winter. He

⁴³² On Het Loo Palace as a site for political propaganda, see Jong, *Nature and Art*.

⁴³³ Karling finds that Rosenhane's manuscript reveals influences by Mollet, for instance in his preference for rectangular terrains and his insistence on regularity and order. Karling also claims that Rosenhane "expresses his keen appreciation of Mollet and of his skill in creating elegant *carrés*." Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 22; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 309-314.

⁴³⁴ Rosenhane suggests using sand or compacted clay for wide footpaths, and white sand or tannery scraps for narrow walkways. Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 138.

nevertheless admits that box is prone to “drying” in cold temperatures and suggests strengthening the plants by splicing the roots and water abundantly to encourage growth during the first year.⁴³⁵ Embroidery motifs on flower parterres are not mentioned, his suggestion is rather to fill the space with potted plants:

Then one can adorn and decorate the flower parterre with flower pots that one has had made by a potter, with holes in the bottom, and paint them with colours, which can be placed here and there in the parterre in a nice order or on top of a low wall or balustrade made in the walkway, on which you can also place busts of old emperors and noble men, or putti designating the five senses or the four seasons.⁴³⁶

After a few brief comments on waterworks, Rosenhane continues on to flowers, a topic he clearly enjoys.

⁴³⁵ “Älliest besätter man gemenlig kanten mäd buxbom som grönskas winter och såmmar och låter klippa sig som man will. Dåch ähr han icke wäl till troendes adt han uthi skar winter icke förtårkas, synnerlig mädan han späd och ung ähr, ty måste man thet observera först han planteras, adt man bryter ändan på rötterna när man deelar them från hwarandra och mäd en steen klyffwer äller klappar them tunna och sätter them wäl diupt neder och strax wattnar them och farer så fort adt wattna them två gånger om dagen wäl fiorton dagar äffter hwarandra, och om första winteren täcker them mäd hallm, så kunna the sådan bliffwa beståendes.” Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 138.

⁴³⁶ “Sedan kan man och utståffera och pryda blomequarteret mäd blompåtter som man låter göra hooss krukemakarna mäd hål i bått, och måla them mäd färior hwilka kunna sättias här och där i quarteret i en vacker ordning äller uppå en låg mur äller balustrade som görs i gången, uppå hwilken man och kan sättia om hwar andra några bröstbild[er] aff gamla käijsare och förnämlda män, äller små pilltar som betekna fäm sinnen äller fyra åhrsens tider...” Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 139.

Beside this, the greatest adornment comes from living, beautiful, fragrant and brightly coloured mixes of grasses and flowers, that a curious homeowner learns to collect from different places.⁴³⁷

Rosenhane concludes his chapter on horticulture by recommending a few literary sources, thereby giving an indication of the authors he was familiar with, and what he thought would provide the best information.⁴³⁸ For anyone searching for more variety in the garden, Rosenhane suggests that the reader consult authors as varied as Giambattista Della Porta, Olivier de Serres, Emanuel Sweerts, and Olof Rudbeck the Elder.⁴³⁹ The majority of the titles are straight-forward plant catalogues, such as Sweerts' *Florilegium*, which was one of the sources for Rudbeck's botanical encyclopaedias (chapter two). On the other hand, de Serres' *Théâtre* includes a discussion of parterres and provides designs created by André Mollet's father and also garden designer Claude Mollet the Elder (1564-1649). The reference to de Serres confirms that Rosenhane was familiar with one of the most essential components of formal gardens. Nevertheless, he suggests combining

⁴³⁷ "Förutan allt thätta ähr största Zieraten som skeer utaff leffwandes, sköna, wälluchtande och aff åtskillige höga färör förblandade gräs och blomor, hwilka en curieux hushållare lærer samla tillhoppa aff åtskillige orter." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 139.

⁴³⁸ Landscape architect Sylvia Gibson suggests that early modern garden literature available in Sweden was not useful since many texts were translations. Gibson, "Barockträdgårdens växtmaterial," 78.

⁴³⁹ Giambattista Della Porta (1567–1650), *Villae* (1583-92); Olivier de Serres (1539-1619), *Théâtre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs* (1600); Emanuel Sweerts, *Florilegium*; Wilhelm Lauremberg the Younger (*1598), *Botanotheca* (1626); Adolphus Vorstius (1597-1663), *Catalogus Plantarum Horti Academici Lugduno-Batavi* (1633); Olof Rudbeck the Elder's first catalogue on the Botanical Garden in Uppsala, *Catalogus Plantarum* (1658). Lagerstedt interprets Rosenhane's short "Laurenbergio" as a reference to Wilhelm Lauremberg the Younger and his *Botanotheca* of 1626 (erroneously dated to 1627.) However, an older brother, Peter Lauremberg (1585-1639) also wrote on gardening and his *Horticultura* had been published in 1631. Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 148, 173, 174.

parterres with medicinal herbs, “for those who prefer something not quite so extravagant.”⁴⁴⁰

Rosenhane wrote his manuscript a few years before the gardener Jan van der Groen published the influential *Den Nederlandtsen Hovenier* in Amsterdam in 1669.⁴⁴¹ The Dutch garden treatise was translated into German and French and was reprinted many times. Since *Nederlandtsen Hovenier* was published in combination with other manuals on housekeeping, de Jong suggests that van der Groen’s document belongs to the *oeconomia* tradition. Noldus argues that van der Groen exemplifies the “essence of the seventeenth-century Dutch planning tradition” in his suggestions for a “combination of utilitarian and pleasure elements in one design.”⁴⁴² A focus on utilitarian crops emerges as a shared characteristic between Swedish and Dutch gardens. Later in this dissertation, other common features between the two regions will be discussed.

Van der Groen also describes another dimension of horticulture, presenting garden work as a noble undertaking and country life as a praiseworthy activity for the mind. For instance, to van der Groen fruits are not only a necessary staple for winter months, but a source of pleasure for the senses, both for their fragrance and for their taste. His inclusion of garden poems emphasizes the connotations of cultural refinement linked to gardening. In comparison, Erici’s and Rosenhane’s *Oeconomias* are much more down-to-earth, in spite of Rosenhane’s ambitious introductory poem. So-called country-house poems,

⁴⁴⁰ “Blomequarteret föllier däruppå, så wäl som medecinsquarteret, hwilka och kunna fogas tillhoppa för dän som intet begärrar så stor widlyffthigheet.” Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 137.

⁴⁴¹ Tessin the Younger has also written a manuscript on gardening; *Remarques touchent les Jardins de propreté et premièrement de leur Situation*. It has not been published. A comparative analysis of Tessin’s treatise, Rosenhane’s *Oeconomia*, and contemporary European works would be highly rewarding. Henriksson, “Trädgårdskonsten,” 151; Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*, 171; Jong, *Nature and Art*, 3-4; Jong, “Vackra igenom konst,” 13; Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 201.

⁴⁴² Noldus, “Profit and Pleasure,” 76.

praising life away from the city, became an appreciated literary genre in the Dutch Republic, but poems dedicated to gardens, or at least to specific plants, were also written in Sweden. We have seen that Sophia Elisabet Brenner and others praised the spectacular and tenacious aloe at Noor (chapter one). In 1703, Brenner composed a poem dedicated to a lime tree at Malmvik Manor, slightly west of Stockholm. She explains:

The large Lime tree at Malmvik
 Rich in branches, leaves, and shade
 Holds high its head and receives praise
 On behalf of all the Trees in the vicinity
 It rooted itself in my mind
 The first moment that I saw it
 So that I have often thought and found
 [that] such a splendid tree is worth a poem...⁴⁴³

Brenner continues by claiming that the tree had been brought from Holland by the family's ancestor, Erik Larsson von der Linde, the merchant whose paintings had been admired by the French ambassador in the 1630s (see Introduction). The spectacular agave at Noor Castle had also arrived from the Dutch Republic. These two specimens were not exceptions but are rather evidence of a continuous trade in plants between Sweden and Amsterdam. According to agronomist Rune Bengtsson, the Malmvik lime tree was

⁴⁴³ "Den stora Linden på Malmwijk / Af Grenar, Löf och Skugga rik / Som hufwud högt och prisen bär / För alla Trän i neigden där / Den är som rotat i min Håg / Från första stunden jag den såg / Så at jag offta tänkt och tyckt / Så prächtig Trä är wärdt en Dicht." Brenner, *Uti Åtskillige Språk*, I:212–216.

planted already in 1618, and over the years had been shaped into a *village tree*, a technique known in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere on the continent.⁴⁴⁴ *Village trees* are created by attaching the lower branches to wooden posts thereby encouraging them to grow horizontally. The shape of the Malmvik lime is best seen in a drawing prepared by Johan Lithén for the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (figure 56).⁴⁴⁵ While Brenner's text cannot be described as a country-house poem, it nevertheless indicates an awareness of plants being appreciated for characteristics beside being sources of food and nourishment.

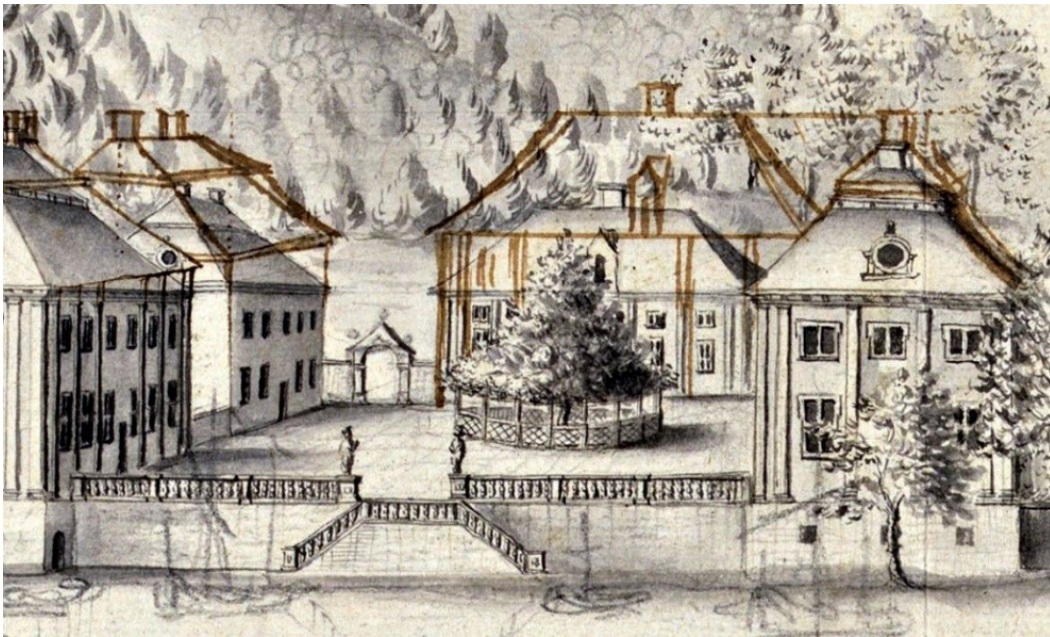


Figure 56. Johan Lithén (Litheim), *Malmwiik*, before 1693. Pencil, wash, and pen on paper, 13x33 cm. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 4:51). Image cropped.

In the 1690s, a whole series of *oeconomias* were written by semi-retired lieutenant colonel Åke Rålamb (1651-1718). His *Noble Exercises* were intended to complement the

⁴⁴⁴ Bengtsson, "The Malmvik Lime." On the Malmvik lime, see also Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 579 #6.

⁴⁴⁵ Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb. Handt. 4:51). The historic tree fell during a November storm in 1999.

education of young aristocrats.⁴⁴⁶ The topics are varied and range from arithmetic, fortification architecture, land surveying, ship building, and agriculture to *Horticulture or the Garden's proper usage here in Sweden*.⁴⁴⁷ The information is divided according to kitchen-, tree-, and flower gardens. Like Brahe, Erics, and Rosenhane before him, Rålamb provides detailed instructions on the cultivation of vegetables and herbs. Close to thirty pages are dedicated to flowers, but, again, only a few paragraphs discuss pleasure gardens. The reader is encouraged to divide parterres into symmetrical parts (for instance, according to Pythagoras' theorem) and to create designs, although no ideas for patterns are provided. In fact, Rålamb suggests that the reader can create any motif he fancies.⁴⁴⁸ In his discussion of plant hardiness, Rålamb proposes to replace boxwood with sage (*Salvia officinalis*) or rue (*Ruta graveolens*.) According to the author, trimming these herbs will make them appear like box.⁴⁴⁹ Rålamb gives only one literary reference; in his opinion, the German botanist Johan Sigismundo Elsholtz' (1623-1688) advice in *Garten-Baw* (1666) corresponds best to the Swedish climate.⁴⁵⁰

Through these examples, it appears that Swedish estate owners were not particularly attracted by pleasure gardens and showed little interest in cultivating non-edible plants. Many of them did, however, construct large, and in many cases, elaborate

⁴⁴⁶ Rålamb, *Adelig öfning*, of which six books were published: numbers 1, 2, 4, 10, 13, and 14.

⁴⁴⁷ *Adelig öfnings fjortonde tom, medh behörige kopparstycken – Horticultura eller Trägårdsz rätta bruk här uthi Swärike*. This volume also includes an early cookbook: *Att kooka och tillreda allehanda slagz rätter*.

⁴⁴⁸ "Man gör allehanda rijtningar uthi qwarteren effter snöre, delar sitt qwarter i wisza delar, tager ett centrum och där effter skapar hwad slagz figur man will." Rålamb, *Adelig öfning*, 14:46.

⁴⁴⁹ "Sidst till prydnat stussar [man] växterna som när man planterar om på sängarna salvia, ruta, att det blir lika med buxboom." Rålamb, *Adelig öfning*, 14:53; SAOB, 13:13227.

⁴⁵⁰ "Blomster trögårdar finnas af många beskrefne och af ingen bättre än af Johan Sigismundo Elsholtz, hwilkens maneer kommer alldrabäst öfwer ens med vår climat, därföre dhen som här medh icke kan wara förnögd han kan uthi hans book finna öfwerflödigt angående detta lustwäcket." Rålamb, *Adelig öfning*, 14:46.

residences, which would contradict any assumption that intricate gardens were avoided because of limited financial resources or an unwillingness to spend money on status symbols.

4.1.2 Garden Manuals

In addition to the comprehensive *oeconomias*, straight-forward garden manuals were also produced throughout the seventeenth century. Their authors seem equally uninterested in the pleasurable aspects of gardens while the plants' financial or health-related benefits are emphasized. The herbalist Arvid Månsson's (c. 1590-1649) *A Very Useful Herbal (Een myckit nyttigh örta-book)* from 1628 is one example among many texts dedicated to the medicinal properties of herbs and vegetables. Månsson's compilation was very popular and reissued repeatedly. In later editions a section on gardening was added.⁴⁵¹ On thirty-three pages the author covers everything from soil quality to fertilization, from sowing to grafting, and how to deter moles and rodents. Each chapter is brief and Månsson's ideas for parterre decoration are to plant roses, berry bushes, "or Dutch trees according to what each person desires in order to obtain nice air from them."⁴⁵²

In 1671, Johan Risingh (c. 1616-1672), an economist and former governor of the Swedish colony in North America, published *A Land-book, or a Few Essays for the Benefit and Development of our Dear Fatherland*, in which he makes a case for the economic gains to be derived from nature.⁴⁵³ Risingh suggests that new sources of income

⁴⁵¹ Månsson, *Een myckit nyttigh örta-book... Sampt en Nyy Täägårdz-Book widh änden tilsatt*.

⁴⁵² "Hållans trää effer [sic] som hwar behaghar at hafwa fin luft uthaff." Månsson, *Een myckit nyttigh örta-book*.

⁴⁵³ Risingh was the colony's last governor, from May 1654 to September 1655.

and hence improved quality of life would result from the cultivation and exportation of produce from meadows, fields, forests, livestock, hunting, and *horti*. Revenues would be generated by fruit trees, vineyards, spices, root vegetables, hops, flax, hemp, and mustard.⁴⁵⁴ Rising discusses the same plants as previous authors, but from a mercantile viewpoint. His text is scattered with references to successful edible products in other parts of Europe, such as cider from France, marmalade from Portugal, wine from Spain, France, and Germany, and flax oil from the Dutch Republic.⁴⁵⁵ The unbounded optimism typical of the period – this manual is written about two decades after the Treaty of Westphalia and about one decade after the Treaty of Roskilde -- is in evidence in Risingh's conviction that it would be possible to grow grapes, almonds, citrus fruits, and even palm trees in his "dear fatherland." For these species, Risingh suggests using various techniques such as greenhouses, southern exposure, and "ovens and other inventions."⁴⁵⁶

Risingh's literary references reveal an awareness of differences in topography within Europe. He suggests seeking out information from authors familiar with the Nordic climate: "... regarding medicinal herbs, look up those who have described spices in various languages, in Swedish... and preferably in German and Dutch...", and on the topic of soil he claims that "...it is best to fetch knowledge and techniques from good masters in the land where such [species] grow; but the grounds in Italy and Spain are to

⁴⁵⁴ "The äro trågårdar, wijngårdar, kryddegårdh til krydder, blommor och rötter, humblegård etc. Theslijkes lijn, hampa och senapztäppor..." Risingh, *Een land-book*, 33.

⁴⁵⁵ Risingh, *Een land-book*, 47-49, 59.

⁴⁵⁶ "Wijngård kan icke wäl i våre kalla länder trifwas, therföre och intet stort ther om här röres, dock kunde wel wijnrancker hoos osz wäxa och goda drufwor bära, ther the söder om huus eller muur, wägg eller gård plantas och medh lusthuus, trä- eller kryddegårdar theraff göras, ther til och kunnuga männ behöfwat." "Fremmande fruchter, e.g. citroner, orange-, granate-, mandle-, mullar-, ficone-, palme- etc trän moste man i kastor eller pottor förwähra undan frostet i våre länder, under gallerier eller hütte förwähra och i solskin igen uthföra at lufftas, man kan medh ugnar och andre inventioner wärma the rum ther the undan frostet nedsättias och the skole bära frucht som i sitt egit land..." Risingh, *Een land-book*, 34, 45.

our Swedish grounds incompatible; best are the lands in England or Netherlands or Germany etc.”⁴⁵⁷ Like his countrymen and fellow authors, Risingh finds pleasure gardens unnecessary, remarking that “gazebos, galleries, allées or pathways, labyrinths, images, colours, and other such festive constructions are expensive and serve the big and rich...”⁴⁵⁸ A few pages later, he exclaims:

Medicinal-, flower-, spice- or pleasure [gardens] I do not want to discuss, it serves in certain places and is a difficult and costly work, [and] therefore only for rich men..., flowers bring no advantage to taxpayers.⁴⁵⁹

Obviously, the notion of a garden as a social marker or as a site for indulging in sensorial pleasure did not impress this merchant. Of the many authors who determined to share their knowledge of gardens, and especially of horticulture, Risingh’s approach was unique, and perhaps influenced by his years abroad. He was commercially oriented and interested in consumer products in a way seen on the continent. In addition to minerals, wood and other natural resources – which contributed to Sweden’s rise both politically and financially -- Risingh wanted to export apple cider and marmalade.

⁴⁵⁷ “Doch om läkekrydder, besee them som haffwa beskrefwet om krydder i åthskillige språk, på svenska... och helst på tyska och holländska...” “Om alle thesse gårdesaker är bäst att inskaffa wetenskaper och handgripen aff gode mestare uthur the land ther sådant växer; men Italiens och Spaniens grund äro emoot våre Swediske grundar incompatible, bäst är Engeland eller Nederland eller Tyske etc landen.” Risingh, *Een land-book*, 52, 65.

⁴⁵⁸ “Lusthuus, galleri, alleer eller gångar, labyrynther, bilder, coleurer och andre sådana lustbygningar hörer bekostning til och tienar stoore och the rijka...” Risingh, *Een land-book*, 35.

⁴⁵⁹ “Om läke-blomme-krydder eller luste wil iagh intet här omröra, thet tienar på sin ort, [det] är och ett swårt och kosesampt wärck, therföre allenast för rijke herrar..., blommer giffwa skattdragare ingen fordeel.” Risingh, *Een land-book*, 51.

The above overview of Swedish garden literature, written between the early 1640s and the end of the century, and by educated authors representing prominent social groups – a priest, a diplomat, a colonel, and a governor -- appear to suggest that the notion of pleasure gardens was not appreciated or little known. However, embroidery parterres and formal designs had been introduced by André Mollet, an experienced and well-travelled garden designer and author who spent half a decade in the country in the middle of the century.

4.2 Garden Designer André Mollet

During the seventeenth century, the ability to indulge in conspicuous consumption, for instance by collecting or growing plants simply for their perceived beauty or rarity, was seen as increasingly valuable in many circles. Owning a flower still life or a book on botany or horticulture was admirable but owning a pleasure garden became a social signifier on a completely different level. Formal gardens had been planted in Italy and France already in the sixteenth century and became widely accepted in several European countries during the course of the seventeenth century. Information on developments and design ideas were spread through various channels of communication, but one of the most direct forms of input came from personal visits, especially by garden architects.⁴⁶⁰

4.2.1 André Mollet's Five Years in Sweden

⁴⁶⁰ Some estate owners sent their gardeners between different properties, thereby favouring exchanges of horticultural knowledge. Carl Gustaf Wrangel owned several estates in Swedish Pomerania (a region on the south shores of the Baltic Sea obtained through the Treaty of Westphalia, today part of Germany) and sent local gardeners Michel Blandow (in 1662) and Johan Leve (in 1671) to work at Skokloster Castle, sixty-five kilometers northwest of Stockholm. Wrangel also shipped plants between Pomerania and Sweden, such as seventeen pear- and walnut trees in July 1671. Losman, "Lust och välbehag," 36.

André Mollet lived and worked in several countries throughout his career, in France, the Dutch Republic, Sweden, England, and Germany, and his activities constitute a poignant example of the high level of artistic multi-directional exchanges in the early modern period. The work he accomplished in Sweden is a reflection of a yearning for increased contacts with the continent, but also of a lingering fear of food shortages or failed harvests among people living in a severe climate.

Swedish ambassador Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie travelled to Paris in 1646 and during his time there met garden designer André Mollet, who was working at the Tuileries Palace garden at the time.⁴⁶¹ De la Gardie extended an invitation on behalf of Queen Kristina to become the royal gardener in Sweden. The young queen wanted to surround herself by an international and intellectual court and frequently called upon scholars and professionals from the continent. Mollet received the official employment offer two years later and travelled to Stockholm in the summer of 1648. The Frenchman's arrival coincides with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia and the subsequent period when the perceived need to visually manifest the Swedish nation's legacy and status came to the forefront. At the same time, the country's military officers were financially rewarded for their efforts during the war, allowing them, for instance, to build new, or to expand old, residences. However, I will argue that Mollet's legacy would have been more extensive had his clients been more receptive to the idea of pleasure gardens and formal designs.

Mollet came accompanied by his son Jean (†1708) and at least one assistant. He was well prepared and brought many plants, such as orange and lemon trees,

⁴⁶¹ Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 95.

pomegranate, myrtle, Spanish jasmine, and bay laurel seedlings, tulip bulbs, anemone and ranunculi plants, as well as garden tools.⁴⁶²

By 1648, Mollet was a well-travelled garden architect, with a solid knowledge absorbed during his education and work in several European countries. His grandfather, Jacques Mollet (†1595), had been the gardener at the Château d'Anet west of Paris. André's father, Claude the Elder had learned his profession at Anet and proudly announced that he had worked for three French kings: Henri IV, Louis XIII (reigned 1610-1643), and Louis XIV (reigned 1643-1715). Claude the Elder is the one who contributed with illustrations to Olivier de Serres' garden book. In his capacity as *premier jardinier du roi*, Claude the Elder's collaborators included the gardeners Pierre Le Nôtre (c. 1540-1594/1603) and his son Jean (1575-1655). Garden historian Michel Conan suggests that Jean's son, the well-known André Le Nôtre (1613-1700) in part learned his profession from Mollet.⁴⁶³ Claude the Elder claims to have been the one who created and introduced the embroidered parterre, with inspiration provided by the royal architect Etienne Du Pérac (c. 1525-1604).⁴⁶⁴ In his book *Théâtre des plans et jardinages*, published posthumously in 1652, Claude the Elder gives an account of how garden layouts changed from consisting of small separate plots to large parterres with a unified decorative program, which subsequently became a hallmark of formal gardens.

⁴⁶² Conan, "Postface," 111; Nyberg, "André Mollet," 21; Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 313.

⁴⁶³ The two families were apparently close and André Mollet's mother, Claude de Martigny, was André Le Nôtre's godmother. Conan, "Postface," 100; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 123; Nyberg, "André Mollet," 23.

⁴⁶⁴ On Claude Mollet the Elder as inventor of the parterre design, see Adelswärd, "Vad menade André Mollet," 56; Conan, "Claude Mollet;" Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*, 166; Laird, "Parterre, Grove and Flower Garden," 177; MacDougall and Hazlehurst, *French Formal Garden*, 8; Nyberg, "André Mollet," 22; Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 108; Woudstra, "Planting of Privy Garden," 43.

... I had the honour of receiving instructions from the very illustrious person, the late Sieur du Pérac, grand royal architect, who after his return from Italy, which was in the year 1582, [when] the duke of Aumale, a great admirer of brave men, employed the same Sieur du Pérac as his architect... [who] took the trouble of preparing drawings and images of compartments in order to show me how to make beautiful gardens, in such a way that one garden is and constitutes [in itself] one [whole] compartment...⁴⁶⁵

These were the first parterres and compartments *en broderie* which had been made in France, which is why I have always continued to work on a large scale... and since then many young gardeners have imitated me...⁴⁶⁶

The discussion of whether a member of the Le Nôtre family or the Mollet family was the initial or the most influential contributor to the appearance of formal gardens has to be left aside at this point, as we follow André Mollet's journey to Sweden and the work he executed there. Claude the Elder had five sons, who pursued the family profession; Pierre († before 1656), Claude the Younger (†1664), André, Jacques the Younger (†1622), and Noël. Claude the Younger became royal gardener at Versailles, the Louvre

⁴⁶⁵ "... j'ay eu l'honneur de recevoir les instructions de très illustre personnage le feu sieur du Pérac, grand architecte du roi, lequel après son retour d'Italie qui fut en l'année mil cinq cens quatre vings deux, monseigneur le duc d'Aumalle, grand amateur des braves hommes, retint icelui sieur du Pérac pour son architecte... [qui] prit la peine luy-mesme de faire des dessins et des portraits de compartimens pour me monstrier comme il falloit faire de beaux iardins, de telle manière qu'un seul iardin n'estoit et ne faisoit qu'un seul compartiment..." Mollet, *Théâtre des plans*, 200.

⁴⁶⁶ "Ce sont les premiers parterres et compartimens de broderie qui ayent esté faits en France. C'est pourquoi j'ay toujours continué depuis de faire des grands volumes parce que l'expérience montre la vérité. De sorte que je ne me suis plus arrêté à faire des compartimens dans des petits quarrez, l'un d'une façon, et l'autre de l'autre. Et depuis plusieurs ieunes hommes iardiniers m'ont imité..." Mollet, *Théâtre des plans*, 201. Translation based on Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 108. Mollet the Elder is also quoted in Laird, "Parterre, Grove and Flower Garden," 177.

and the Tuileries. Jacques the Younger was employed at the Palace of Fontainebleau but passed away at a young age. André had a more international career.⁴⁶⁷ During the 1620s and 1630s, he worked in England and the Dutch Republic, at reputed estates such as St James's Palace, Wilton House, Honselaarsdijk, Buren, and Wimbledon House.

In the Swedish capital, Mollet's first task was to re-design the royal garden, Kungsträdgården, in central Stockholm.⁴⁶⁸ Before his arrival, this is where vegetables for the royal household had been cultivated, but the idea was now to turn this space into a pleasure garden. A detailed inventory was drawn up when responsibility was officially transferred from the former gardener Hendrich Locher to Mollet in October 1648. The document enumerates enormous amounts of apple and pear trees already growing in the royal garden, and also describes areas dedicated to asparagus, Jerusalem artichokes, horseradish, and other vegetables.⁴⁶⁹

Mollet devised a large parterre, 75 x 75 meters, for the southernmost part of the royal garden. At this time Kungsträdgården measured approximately 250 x 100 m, and Mollet's layout consequently covered almost the entire width of the terrain and close to a third of its length. Mollet's parterre was divided into four equal parts and each was decorated by symmetrical embroidery patterns in boxwood (figure 57). Freshly arrived from the continent, Mollet devised a traditional formal parterre, but nevertheless took care

⁴⁶⁷ It is believed that all five sons became gardeners, although little is known about Pierre and Noël. The tradition even continued to a fourth generation: André's son Jean and Claude the Younger's sons Charles (†1693) and Gabriel (†1663) also worked with gardening in different capacities. Incidentally, Charles' son Armand Claude (1660-1742) became an architect and is the one who designed the Élysée Palace in Paris. Berthelot, *Grande Encyclopédie*, 24:33; Conan, "Postface," 100; Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 288; Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 313.

⁴⁶⁸ The discussion of Mollet's work at Kungsträdgården is based on Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 298; Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet;" Nyberg, "André Mollet;" Wollin, "Kungsträdgården I." The Kungsträdgården is also where Mollet lived during his stay in Sweden, in a small house at its edge; see Åhrland, *Osynliga handen*, 285; Wollin, "Kungsträdgården I," 78.

⁴⁶⁹ Wollin, "Kungsträdgården I," 78.

to adapt the motif to honour his new employer; each quarter featured three crowns symbolizing the Swedish nation, plus a royal crown in the upper corner.⁴⁷⁰ Each square was framed by two rows of hedges made up of box and roses. The area between the hedges was filled with low-growing flowers and this border arrangement alone measured 1.8 meters in width.⁴⁷¹ This was Sweden's first formal parterre. Mollet later included a drawing of the design in his book *Jardin de Plaisir* (figure 57).

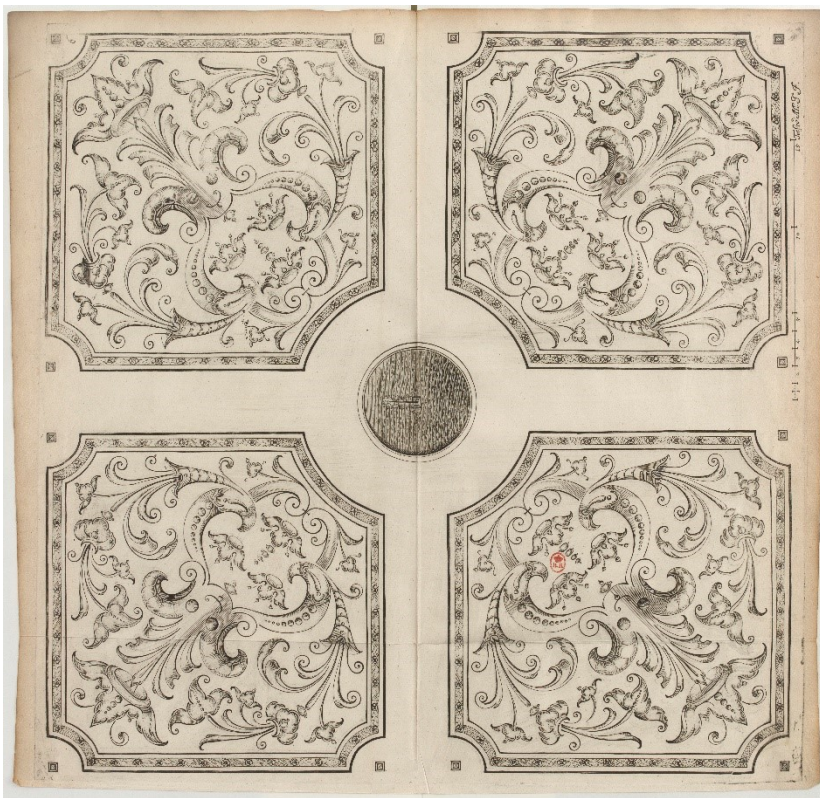


Figure 57. André Mollet, *Parterre at Kungsträdgården, Stockholm. Jardin de Plaisir*, plate number 6, 1651.

⁴⁷⁰ The external corners of the four squares were hollowed out to provide room for statues. In the centre of the formal layout – while waiting for enough funds to build a fountain -- a simple iron pole with a gilded button at the top was installed. The Three Crowns (*Tre Kronor*) have been a national emblem of Sweden since at least the 1330s. Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 108; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 298; Marklund et al. *Nationalencyklopedin*, 18:402; Wollin, "Kungsträdgården I," 49.

⁴⁷¹ Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 108.

Karling suggests that Erik Dahlbergh made a sketch of the Kungsträdgården parterre in 1661 (figure 58).⁴⁷² Magnusson confirms that Dahlbergh spent the year 1661 in the Stockholm area making drawings for the *Suecia*, including one of the Royal Palace.⁴⁷³ It would be quite feasible that he also made the sketch in the royal garden at this time. Art historian Göran Axel-Nilsson claims that Dahlbergh's drawing was not done *in situ*, but rather that it was copied from Mollet's book *Jardin de Plaisir*.⁴⁷⁴ However, making a sketch of an already existing image seems redundant. In addition, Dahlbergh's drawing is not identical to the illustration in *Jardin de Plaisir* – most noticeably the shape of the crown at the top -- which would indicate that it is based on another source, such as the actual garden. The dating and accuracy of Dahlbergh's sketch is of importance since some sources, (see below) suggest that the royal garden was allowed to disintegrate after Mollet's departure in 1653.

⁴⁷² Dahlbergh's sketch was never used for the album; the two prints of the royal garden in the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* were not made until 1700, by which time the layout had been changed. Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 108; Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," pl. 19; KoB Dahlb I:32, I:33, KoB Dahlb Handt. I:54b.

⁴⁷³ Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt I:20); Magnusson, *Illustrera fäderneslandet*, 91, 183.

⁴⁷⁴ Dahlbergh, *Teckningarna I*, 30. See also Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 1:54b).

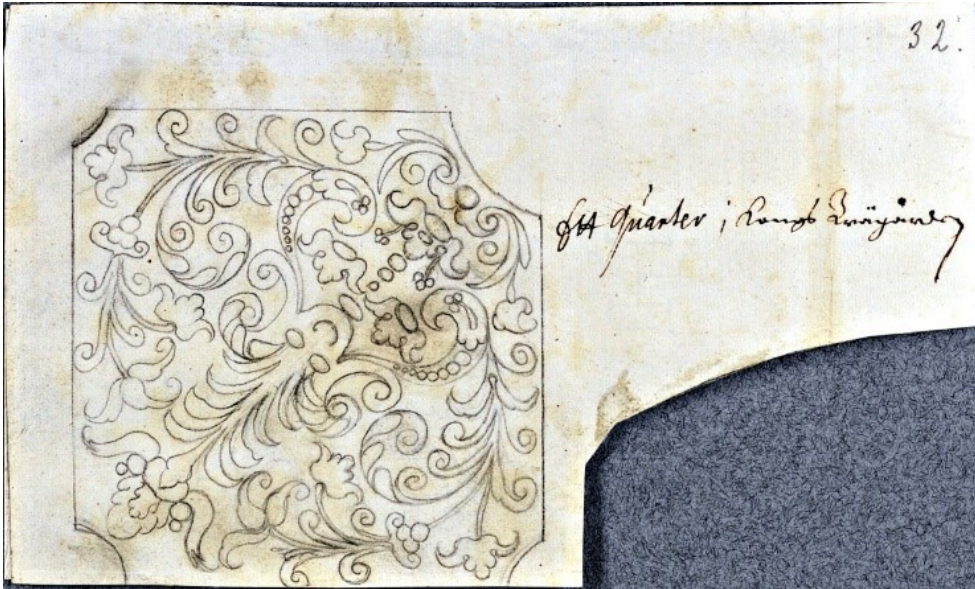


Figure 58. Erik Dahlbergh, *Embroidery motif, Kungsträdgården (Kungsträdgården broderikvarter)*, 1661. Pencil and pen/paper, 12x20 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb Handt 1:54b).

Stockholm is a city built on islands, and while Mollet's parterre was situated the closest possible to the Royal Palace, the two were separated by a narrow stretch of water, making it impossible to discern intricate motifs from the windows of the royal lodgings, which was the popular way to view formal gardens. In addition, between the Kungsträdgården and the Palace another house had been built in the 1630s; the lavish residence Makalös (Unrivalled), which Queen Kristina had bought for her mother, Gustav II Adolf's widow Maria Eleonora (1599-1655).⁴⁷⁵ Therefore, Mollet's parterre was likely best observed from the windows of Makalös. This residence was even equipped with a roof terrace, from which the view would have been even better. In his book Mollet confirms the proximity between his installation and the queen dowager's home: "We have created and executed the above-mentioned parterre in this city of Stockholm in front of

⁴⁷⁵ Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet," 13–14.

the palace of the Queen Mother.”⁴⁷⁶ The decision to create a pleasure garden for the Royal Palace in spite of the distance and limited view could be explained by a desire to emulate traditions from the continent, with an apparent disregard for physical circumstances. It could also be an indication of Queen Kristina’s indifference to garden design, or a wish to encourage her mother’s involvement in such a project. The Queen dowager was known to take an interest in gardening and historians Göran Lindahl and Åke Nisbeth suggest that Mollet, in fact, considered the queen’s mother to be his actual patron. Maria Eleonora was possibly directly involved in the planning of the garden’s new layout.⁴⁷⁷

No comprehensive image of the entire Kungsträdgården garden exists from this period, and the first inventory drawn up after Mollet’s departure dates to 1661. This document, created eight years after the designer had left the country, lists large numbers of elm (*Ulmus glabra*) and lime trees (*Tilia cordata*) as well as apple, pear, even apricot and peach trees, which leads to the conclusion that besides the parterre, the largest part of the royal garden had retained its original function. Ten cherry trees are recorded as having been bought by ‘*Molet*’, as well as two boxes of rosemary and thirty glass bells for the protection of melon seedlings.⁴⁷⁸ Consequently, edible crops continued being grown at Kungsträdgården next to the new embroidery parterre and in spite of a decision to reserve former hops fields nearby for the cultivation of kitchen produce.⁴⁷⁹ An inventory of this second site, Humlegården, also from 1661, describes a vast and well-stocked kitchen

⁴⁷⁶ “Nous avons fait & executé le sus-dit parterre en cette ville de Stockholme devant le Palais de la Ser.^{me} Reine Mère.” Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir 1651*, chapter XI. See also Brunon, “André Mollet;” Pattacini, “André Mollet,” 7.

⁴⁷⁷ Makalös Castle was destroyed by fire in 1825. Lindahl and Nisbeth, “André Mollet,” 3. Regarding Maria Eleonora’s garden interest, see also Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 165.

⁴⁷⁸ “10 Kirssbers trä, inkiöpt av Molet... 30 Melon glass iinkiöpt af Molet... 2 Kist: medh Rosmarin som Molet haar in iköpt.” Wollin, “Kungsträdgården I,” 81, 82.

⁴⁷⁹ Karling, “Drottning Christinas,” 116.

garden with large quantities and varieties of vegetables and fruits. Some trees were grown in espalier, a technique recommended by Mollet in order to expose plants to maximum sunlight. One of the assistants who had arrived with him from France, Médard Gue, had become the head gardener at Humlegården. The suggested fear of food shortages appears to have permeated also the Swedish court, which otherwise would have been in possession of both the means and the sites for complete formal gardens, not just one single parterre.

Mollet's royal employment also meant that he was responsible for small pieces of land situated in direct proximity to the royal palace *Tre Kronor*, such as a narrow strip beneath Queen Kristina's apartments (10 x 35 meters), and a rectangular garden reserved for the ladies-in-waiting (approximately 15 x 80 meters).⁴⁸⁰ Lindahl suggests that Mollet's designs for these small plots can be seen in a plan for the reconstruction of the palace created by architect Jean de la Vallée (c. 1620-1696) in 1654.⁴⁸¹ According to Lindahl, the areas surrounding the palace were uneven, and the latter garden would have had to be divided into several sections and the fountains, statues, gazebo, and small bosquets be built on different levels. This design by Mollet was never carried out. On the other hand, the 'little garden behind the gazebo' (*Lilla Träa Gården baakom Lust Hwset*), mentioned in the Kungsträdgården inventory of 1661, refers to a *giardino secreto* with carnations, lilies and myrtle trees in boxes, was built during Mollet's time in Sweden.⁴⁸² The garden designer was also given other tasks by the court, such as the floral decorations for a

⁴⁸⁰ Lindahl, "Drottning Christinas," 36.

⁴⁸¹ Lindahl, "Drottning Christinas," 36. Depending on the source, Jean de la Vallée is said to have been born in 1620, 1623 or 1625. Alm et al, *Barockens konst*, 37; Lindahl, "Jean de la Vallée," 34; www.nationalmuseum.se; *Nordisk familjebok*; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*.

⁴⁸² Wollin, "Kungsträdgården I," 51, 82.

banquet to be held after a ballet performance, organized by Queen Kristina during Epiphany in January 1653.⁴⁸³

Other than the above commissions in Stockholm, Mollet's sojourn in Sweden led to few tangible results. In 1649, the garden architect travelled to Uppsala, possibly with the intent of building a pleasure garden next to the town's castle in time for Queen Kristina's coronation, which was to take place there in October 1650.⁴⁸⁴ However, a few months before the grandiose event, it was decided to transfer the ceremony to the capital and it seems that no garden work was carried out in Uppsala at that time. In May 1654, British Ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605-1675) visited this historically significant town, and in his travel journal criticized the state of the "Queen's garden, which scarce deserved that name."⁴⁸⁵ Botanist Hans Oscar Juel states that renovations of the Uppsala Castle garden finally started in 1665, and that it was then designed according to Mollet's *Jardin de Plaisir*, long after the book's author had left the country. Karling claims that the new castle garden was reminiscent of Mollet's style, both in terms of layout and of individual embroidery patterns.⁴⁸⁶ Mollet's visit to Uppsala coincided with Rudbeck the Elder's student years, but the latter was a generation younger than the garden architect and a meeting between the two would have been merely a social encounter. That Rudbeck knew of Mollet's work is "obvious", according to Lindahl and landscape architect Anna Jakobsson. They even suggest that the appearance of two small triangular "parterres" in the Uppsala Botanical Garden reveal an influence by Mollet.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 99; Lindahl, "Drottning Christinas," 35.

⁴⁸⁴ Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 207; Th. M. Fries, "Naturalhistorien," 456; Juel, "Några drag ur Uppsala," 69; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 118; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 302; Nyberg, "André Mollet," 21.

⁴⁸⁵ Whitelocke, *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, 289.

⁴⁸⁶ Juel, "Några drag ur Uppsala," 69; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 118.

⁴⁸⁷ Jakobsson and Lindahl, "Pomeranshus," 154.

In early 1653, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie sold Ulriksdal Castle, situated a few kilometers north of Stockholm, to Queen Kristina. It appears that Mollet was then approached about taking care of, or possibly redesigning, the castle garden. However, by this time the queen was planning for her abdication and her request does not appear well-thought-out. Court page Johan Ekeblad (1629-1697), an avid letter writer, rarely mentions visits by the queen to Ulriksdal between her coronation in October 1650 and her abdication in June 1654.⁴⁸⁸ Again, Mollet's involvement does not seem to have resulted in actual designs, although Karling finds that De la Gardie, who recuperated his palace in September 1654, "in many aspects tried to realize some of Mollet's ideas."⁴⁸⁹

Not receiving much work from his royal employer, Mollet was able to take on commissions from private customers. In late 1652 or early 1653, Mollet was hired by Schering Rosenhane, who had decided to create an entirely new garden on a piece of land on the Kungsholmen Island in Stockholm.⁴⁹⁰ Rosenhane had been Swedish envoy during the peace negotiations in Münster (1643-47) and ambassador to Paris (1648), and this well-travelled statesman might have been instrumental in popularizing the pleasure garden in Sweden. However, between the Munkelägrät project in 1653 and the early 1660s, when

⁴⁸⁸ Ekeblad, *Breven till Claes*, 29 June 1653; Wollin, "Ulriksdal," 70.

⁴⁸⁹ "... när Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie själv några år senare gjorde upp storartade projekt för trädgårdens utvidgning och försköning, sökte han i många stycken förverkliga några av Mollets idéer." Art historian Nils Wollin excludes any influence from Mollet at Ulriksdal since there is no correlation between the garden and Mollet's illustrations in *Jardin de Plaisir*. Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 118; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 302; Wollin, "Ulriksdal," 65.

⁴⁹⁰ In his correspondence Rosenhane refers to Kungsholmen by its old name, Munkelägrät. The terrain had been donated to Rosenhane in June 1652; it measured 120 x 400 m and was situated between the current streets Kungsholmsgatan and Fleminggatan. Nothing remains of this garden. Bergh, "Drag ur Kungsholmens historia;" Conan, "Claude Mollet," 26; Forsstrand, *Malmgårdar*, 70; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 119; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 303; Lindahl, "Drottning Christinas," 31; Nyberg, "André Mollet," 21. Also briefly mentioned in Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 22.

the *Oeconomia* manuscript was written, the former diplomat seems to have lost interest in formal designs.

Rosenhane originally envisaged that the Munkelägrät terrain was to be designed as a combined pleasure and utility garden of considerable size and splendor. Large numbers of trees and flowers were imported.⁴⁹¹ One third of the plot was set aside for the formal garden, corresponding to a square of approximately 120 x 120 meters, and consequently was larger than its royal counterpart at Kungsträdgården. Mollet seems to have been responsible for both the design and for overseeing the actual construction work. In March 1653, Rosenhane sent a letter to one of his employees instructing him that “He shall in my absence be advised and directed by the French gardener Mollet and follow what he on my behalf commands.”⁴⁹² In subsequent messages, the owner refers to a drawing by Mollet, *affritning* or *dessein*, which must be consulted and not altered in any way.⁴⁹³ However, the construction took time and by 1660 – Mollet had already left the country – the original designs were no longer followed.⁴⁹⁴ It seems that by then the entire terrain had been turned into a kitchen plot. In his travel diary of the same year, the Danish physician Gerhard Stalhoff mentions “a few recently planted kitchen- and fruit gardens in the centre of the [Kungsholmen] island,” possibly referring to Rosenhane’s property.⁴⁹⁵ Rosenhane died in 1663 and in 1689 his Kungsholmen lot was bought by a rope maker named Nyman who made use of the length of the terrain for a ropewalk.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹¹ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 303; Rosenhane, *S135a*.

⁴⁹² “Han skall uthi min frånvaro låta sig råda och styra utaff frantzöske trädgårdsmästaren Mollet och äfterkomma hwad han på mina wägnar befaller.” Rosenhane, *S135a*, 72:14. Also quoted in Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 304.

⁴⁹³ For instance, on 12 March 1653 (items 7 and 9) and again in 1654, after Mollet’s departure (items 2 and 3). Rosenhane, *S135a*, document number 72 and document number 19-21.

⁴⁹⁴ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 306; Rosenhane, *S135a*, document number 18.

⁴⁹⁵ “Midt på ön ligga några nyanlagda köks- och fruktträdgårdar.” Stalhoff, “Stockholm 1660,” 40.

⁴⁹⁶ Bergh, “Drag ur Kungsholmens historia,” 23.

In the late summer of 1653, and after five years in Sweden, Mollet returned to France. Mollet's contributions to the Kungsträdgården and the Humlegården gardens had been carried out in 1648-49 and the consultations for Ulriksdal Castle and Rosenhane's Munkelägrät in 1653, but no garden designs have been recorded for the years in between. I believe that the reasons for such a limited legacy were two-fold. Queen Kristina announced a desire to abdicate for the first time in August 1651 and she officially left her duties on 6 June 1654. Therefore, Mollet's stay in Sweden coincided with an extremely preoccupying and turbulent time for his employer, and garden design was far from her mind during these years. Secondly, as indicated above, the Swedish court and nobility – Mollet's customer base – were not ready for formal gardens and the concept of a space dedicated to social interaction. Rosenhane's change of mind regarding Munkelägrät is a fitting illustration of this attitude. His *Oeconomia* manuscript confirms his reluctance to alter the garden's more traditional vocation. In spite of the country's claims to a grandiose history and a promising future, a reliance on private food sources permeated society, even among the most fortunate.

With few extant gardens designed by Mollet, it could be argued that he was an underutilized resource during his time in Sweden. However, I suggest that he also contributed to the development of garden architecture in Sweden in an indirect manner. The layout he created at Kungsträdgården would have constituted an (likely initial) encounter with formal parterres for visitors to the royal garden. Such knowledge paved the ground for pleasure gardens constructed later in the century. In addition, while his suggestions for Uppsala Castle and Ulriksdal were only partially applied, these gardens

nevertheless confirm that formal components were gradually introduced to the country.⁴⁹⁷ Finally, the small number of commissions could, somewhat ironically, be the reason why Mollet wrote and published a gardening manual while in Sweden, a document that would allow the diffusion of his ideas and knowledge to an even greater audience.

4.2.2 Mollet's First Book

Mollet published his gardening manual, *Jardin de Plaisir*, in Stockholm in 1651.⁴⁹⁸ Besides the French text, the document was simultaneously issued in Swedish (*Lustgård*), and in German (*Der Lust Garten*).⁴⁹⁹ A posthumous English adaptation, not an exact translation, was issued in London close to twenty years later, in 1670. The work could be obtained in editions with one or several languages bound together. In spite of being produced in Stockholm, the book was clearly intended for an international audience, a conclusion based on the multilingual editions, but also by the topics covered. Mollet's choice of languages is not as illogical as it might appear. His target audience -- people with sufficient financial means to build a pleasure garden -- would have been able to read either the French or German edition, or both. The Swedish translation might have been undertaken in the hope of being able to convince a local customer to invest in the creation of a formal garden.

⁴⁹⁷ Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie's gardener Erik Jonsson later claimed to have learned his profession from André Mollet, during a three-year apprenticeship at Kungsträdgården. Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 585 #44.

⁴⁹⁸ I discuss the *Jardin de Plaisir* especially from the point of view of the geography of art. On Mollet's book, see Baridon, *Jardins*, 759-762; Conan, "Postface;" Edmondson, "André Mollet;" Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*; Hopper, "Dutch Classical Garden;" Karling, "Drottning Christinas;" Karling, "Importance of André Mollet;" Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 288; Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir;" Nisbeth, "André Mollet och hans trädgårdstraktat;" Nyberg, "André Mollet;" Olausson, "Trädgårdskonsten."

⁴⁹⁹ The German translation was done by Gregorius Geijer; the identity of the Swedish translator is not known.

While *Jardin the Plaisir* was not the only book dedicated to the topic of formal designs, Mollet also contributed valuable information on gardening techniques, and, especially, provided drawings of a large number of suggested parterre motifs. According to Noldus, “for several generations *Le Jardin de Plaisir* was a major inspiration for gardeners and (garden) architects, who allowed their designs to be influenced by Mollet’s examples of ideal gardens.”⁵⁰⁰ De Jong suggests that *Jardin de Plaisir* constituted a milestone in garden literature:

Mollet’s treatise was one of the most important works on the classical principles of landscape architecture before the publication of new treatises which explained Le Nôtre’s ideas of landscape architecture (such as *La Théorie et la Pratique du Jardinage*, 1709, by A. J. Dézailler [*sic*] d’Argenville). Mollet’s work was a useful starting point for Dutch patrons because the book combined Dutch and French traditions.⁵⁰¹

In this quote, de Jong brings attention to the international aspect of garden design, and a Dutch open-mindedness toward French ideas and traditions. The title of Mollet’s document, *Jardin de Plaisir*, gives the impression of being entirely dedicated to pleasure gardens. In fact, only the eleventh and last chapter addresses formal designs, while the main part of the book provides practical instructions on soil quality, grafting techniques, and the cultivation and propagation of vegetables and fruit trees. In other words, this was

⁵⁰⁰ Nyberg suggests that the book’s impact was limited since (or because) it was never reissued. Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 176; Nyberg, “André Mollet,” 22.

⁵⁰¹ Jong, *Nature and Art*, 79.

a complete manual covering both traditional knowledge and innovative design ideas.

Thirty illustrations were included – all signed by Mollet – providing suggestions for embroidery patterns, grass parterre motifs, bosquets, and labyrinths, plus two layouts for complete gardens (figures 59 and 60).

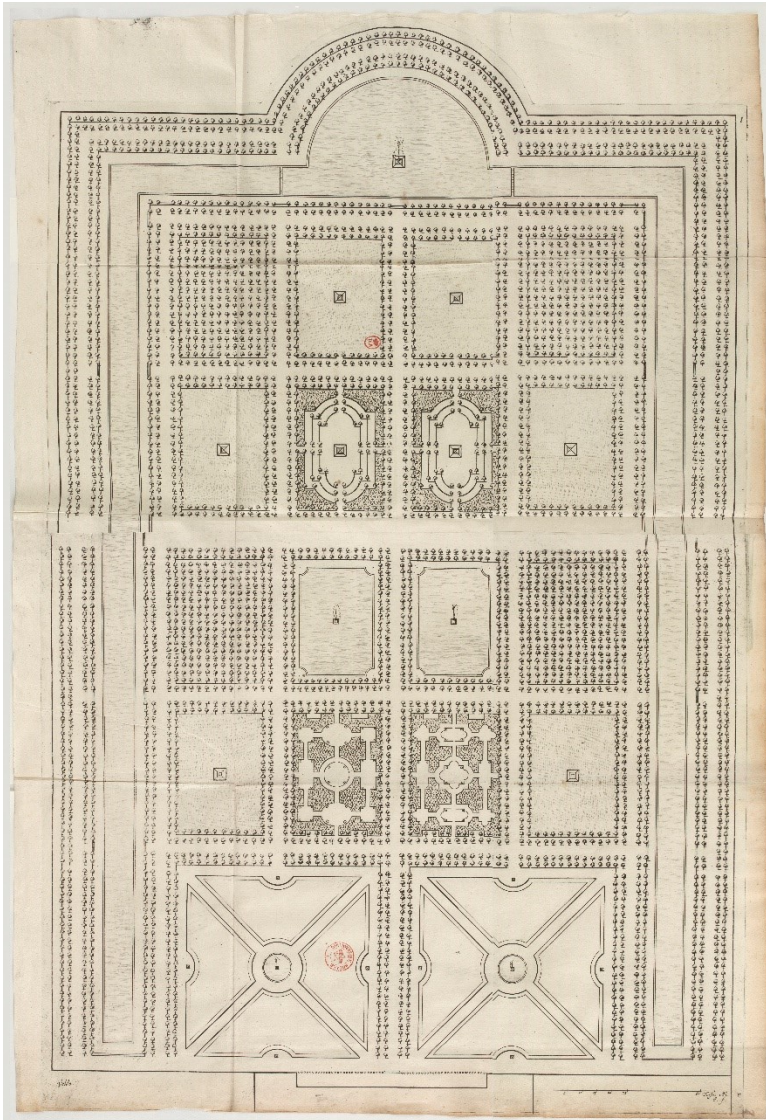


Figure 59. André Mollet, *Plate number 1. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651.

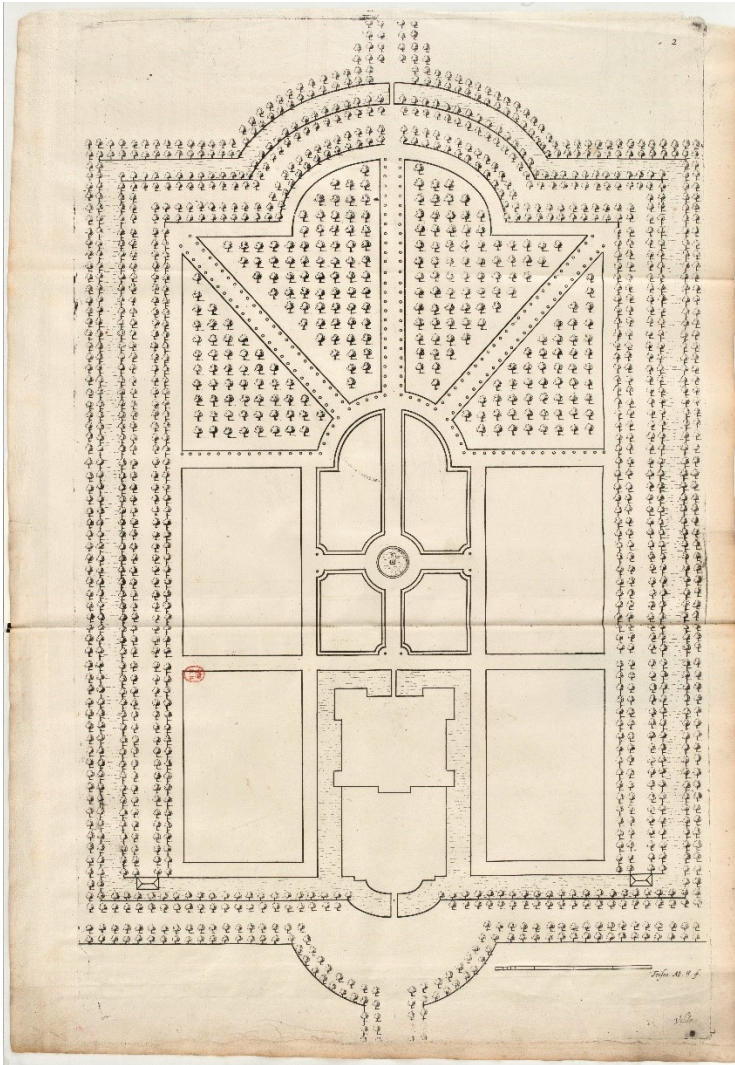


Figure 60. André Mollet, *Plate number 2. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651.

The two garden plans were based on existing layouts at Huis ter Nieuburch and Honselaarsdijk respectively, both situated in the Dutch Republic, where Mollet had worked in the early 1630s.⁵⁰² While his responsibilities at ter Nieuburch are not clear, he

⁵⁰² Arguing for the links between Mollet's Plate 1 and the Dutch garden ter Nieuburch, Sellers nevertheless adds that the way Mollet's plan ends in a *demi-cercle* was characteristic of French gardens, such as Luxembourg, Charleval, and the Tuileries. In one instance, Sellers refers to the close resemblance between ter Nieuburch and "Mollet's *second* ideal plan in his *Jardin de Plaisir*." I believe this is a misprint, since the author everywhere else in the text discusses the connection between ter Nieuburch and Mollet's *first* plan. Lindahl, "Swedish Pleasure Garden," 170; Sellers, *Courtly Gardens*, 178.

designed and oversaw the installation of embroidered parterres at Honselaarsdijk.⁵⁰³ Art historian Vanessa Bezemer Sellers states that the designer not only brought his knowledge of French gardens to the Dutch Republic, but that what he saw at Honselaarsdijk inspired him in return.⁵⁰⁴ Mollet's observations in the Dutch Republic were consequently the basis for both large-scale plans in his book on pleasure gardens, written two decades later. Other illustrations also confirm Mollet's souvenirs from the Dutch Republic: the *Jardin the Plaisir's* plates 14 and 23 are detailed images of the parterres Mollet created at Honselaarsdijk on either side of the palace (see overall image in figure 63).⁵⁰⁵ While Mollet's plate 23 (figure 61) is an exact replica of his Honselaarsdijk design (only the 'Dutch Lion' in the centre has been omitted), plate 14 (figure 62) has become better defined and less cluttered than its Dutch original.

⁵⁰³ In addition, Mollet worked on other properties belonging to Stadtholder Frederick Henry (1584-1647), such as Buren and Zuylesteijn. Based on similarities in parterre layouts, Sellers deduces that Mollet also contributed to Batestein Castle in Vianen and Prinsenhof in Groningen. The artist responsible for the complete layout of the Honselaarsdijk garden is not known. Hopper, "Dutch Classical Garden," 33; Sellers, *Courtly Gardens*, 177.

⁵⁰⁴ Sellers, *Courtly Gardens*, 195.

⁵⁰⁵ Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," figure 16; Sellers, *Courtly Gardens*, 37.

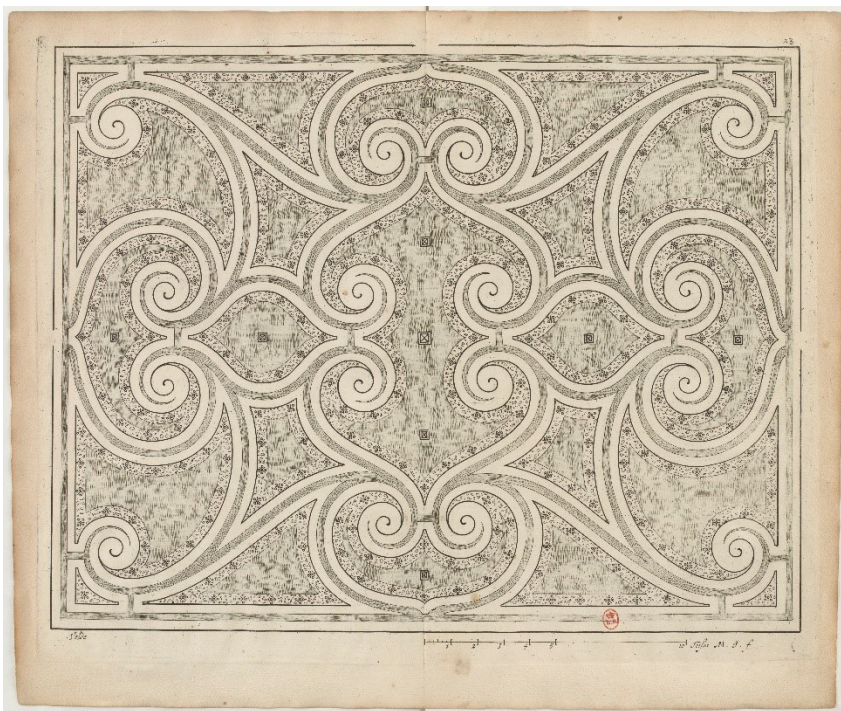


Figure 61. André Mollet, *Plate number 23. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651.



Figure 62. André Mollet, *Plate number 14. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651.

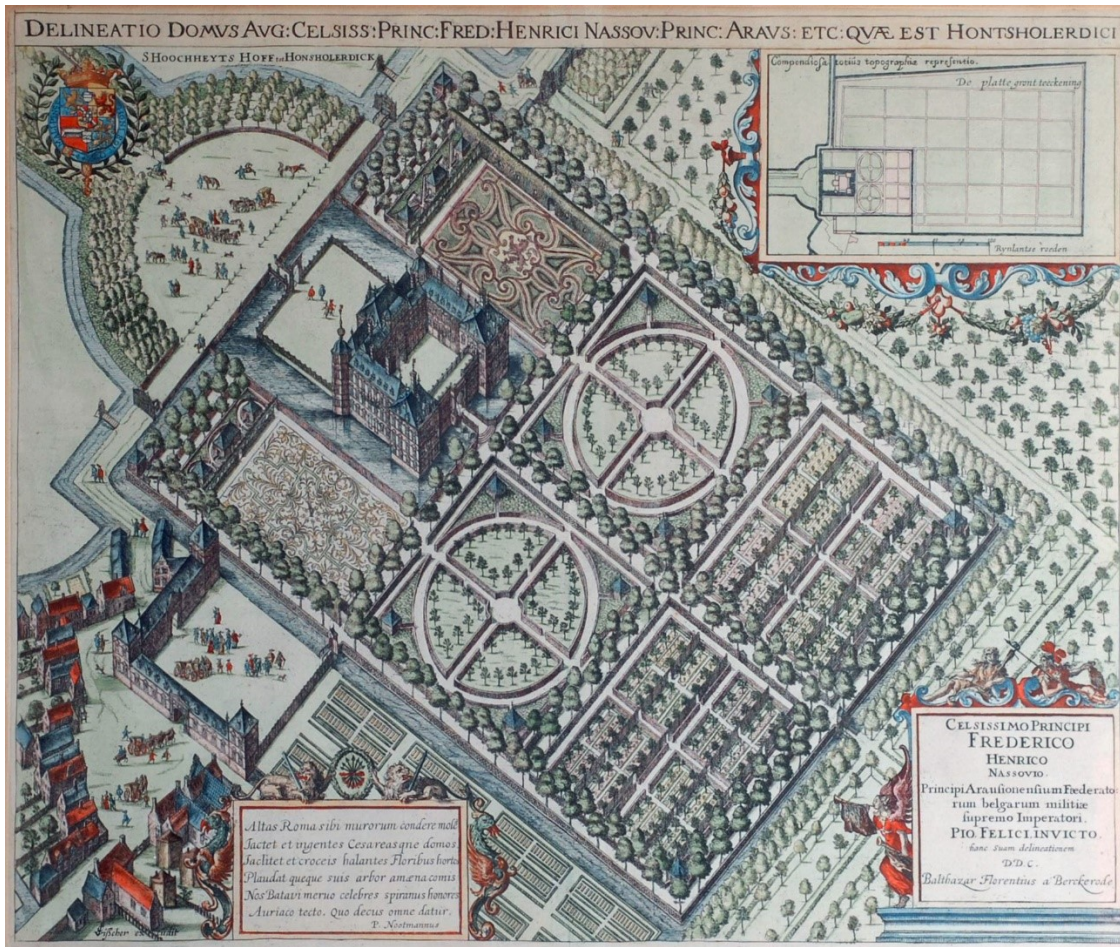


Figure 63. Balthazar Florisz van Berckenrode, *View of Honselaarsdijk*, c. 1638.

Mollet also presented what appears to be entirely new embroidery designs in his book: plates 5 (figure 64), and 24 (figure 65) are individual motifs to be created in box and grass, and added to overall plan number 2, the one inspired by Honselaarsdijk. Since these motifs do not reflect existing parterres at Honselaarsdijk they can be seen as examples of Mollet's development as garden designer.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Conan, "Claude Mollet," 27.

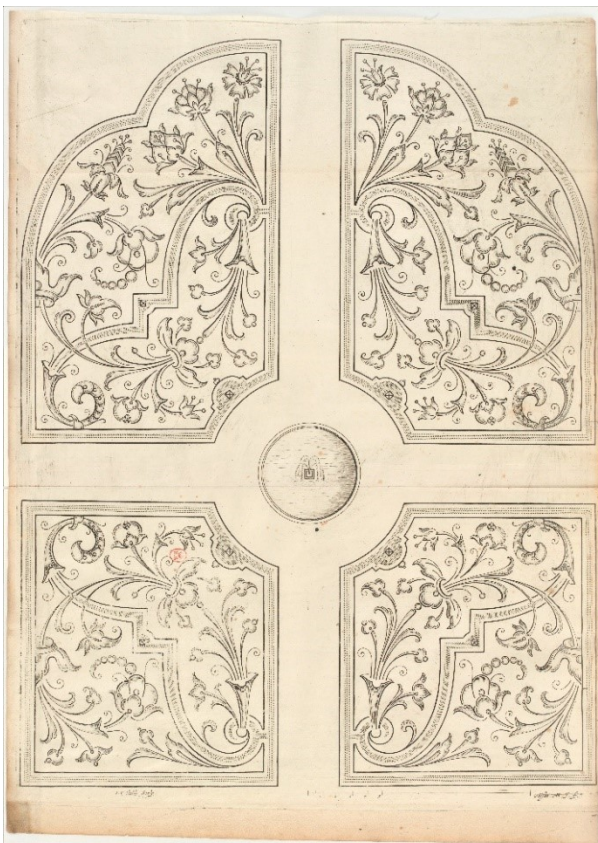


Figure 64. André Mollet, *Plate number 5. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651.

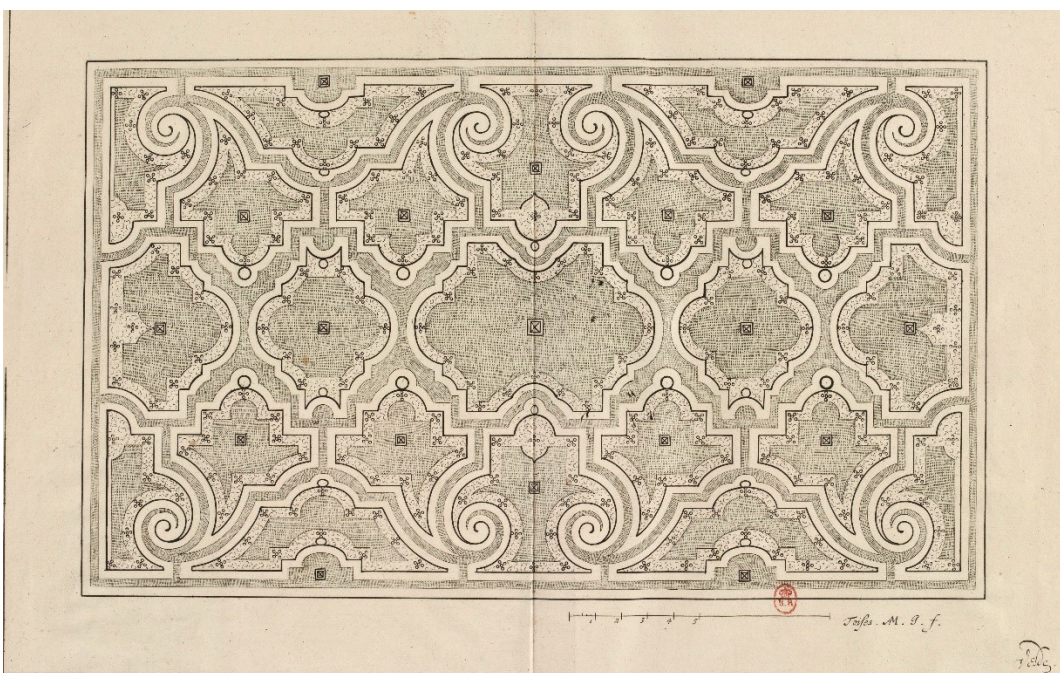


Figure 65. André Mollet, *Plate number 24. Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651.

If the smaller designs (figures 61, 62, 64-65) were inserted in the large garden layout (figure 60), it would be complete, and therefore reflect Mollet's suggested development of a twenty-year old design. Images of the actual garden at Honselaarsdijk indicate that it went a different route and focused on (other) embroidered parterres.⁵⁰⁷

Mollet's international background was not only demonstrated through his illustrations in the *Jardin de Plaisir* but also in the accompanying text. In fact, the architect brings attention to his varied background and experience already in the preface, proclaiming that for this "small treatise" he has drawn on "what I have learned and practised while working in France, England, and Holland."⁵⁰⁸ Beside his Dutch knowledge acquired between 1633 and 1635, Mollet also returned to France thrice during the remainder of his career, working as gardener there in 1635-40, in 1642-48, and after leaving Sweden, from 1653 to approximately 1658. In addition, Mollet was employed in England 1629-33, 1641-42, and in the 1660s. Naturally, he would have shared his knowledge, experiences, and ideas with colleagues and patrons in all these places. For instance, the diagonal allées seen in plate 1 in *Jardin de Plaisir* (figure 59) was, according to Conan, adopted by André Le Nôtre for the Tuileries garden.⁵⁰⁹ This fact is noteworthy since this means that Mollet contributed to introducing Dutch concepts in France, confirming that design ideas were exchanged from one region to another, and also that France received influences on formal designs. Both Karling and art historian Magnus Olausson emphasize that Mollet published his book with parterre patterns a decade before

⁵⁰⁷ Hopper, "Dutch Classical Garden," 36; Hunt, *Dutch Garden*, 35; Sellers, *Courtly Gardens*, 47, 48.

⁵⁰⁸ "... desquelles choses nous traitterons en son lieu en ce petit traité, comme aussi en bref de ce qui dépend du Jardin de plaisir, suivant ce que j'en ay appris & prattiqué en travaillant, tant en France, Angleterre qu'Hollande, où j'ay eu l'honneur de servir..." Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir* 1651, Au Lecteur.

⁵⁰⁹ "André Mollet y [pl. 1] introduit deux grands parterres coupés par des allées diagonales, un schéma adopté ensuite par Le Nôtre dans son projet pour les Tuileries." Conan, "Claude Mollet," 29.

Le Nôtre emerged as an influential garden architect. Conan specifies that *Jardin de Plaisir* predates Le Nôtre's acclaimed designs at Vaux-le-Vicomte by five years.⁵¹⁰

Mollet's drawings for the *Jardin de Plaisir* were engraved by Jan van de Velde IV (c. 1610-1686) and Wolfgang Hartmann (b 1600s-1663), from the Dutch Republic and from Germany respectively, both working in Stockholm in mid-century.⁵¹¹ Once again, a publication's ambition to reach an international audience is reflected in the background of its contributors, not only by Mollet's personal expertise but also by seeking out engravers with thorough training and appropriate artistic experience. When Dahlbergh later wanted to have his drawings for the *Suecia* printed, in the late 1660s, some fifteen years after Mollet's publication, he felt compelled to travel to Paris to find qualified engravers. According to Nordin, it was necessary for Dahlbergh to employ French artists since skilled engravers could not be found in Sweden. Could *still* not be found, one might add. The conclusion is that van de Velde and Hartmann had not trained local artists during their stay in the Swedish capital and it remained a slow-growing profession in the country. The persistent lack of qualified engravers also proves that artistic exchanges between Sweden and the European continent did not develop in a linear fashion, and that it took time to establish a base of local expertise.⁵¹²

By publishing *Jardin de Plaisir* in a Nordic country and by the advice he offered on winter protection and on how to provide maximum sunshine and warmth for sensitive

⁵¹⁰ Conan, "Postface," 99; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 285; Olausson, "Trädgårdskonsten," 159.

⁵¹¹ Jan van de Velde IV, born in Utrecht, worked in Sweden 1650–55, an employee of Queen Kristina and of Queen Maria Eleonora. Print historian Ad Stijnman suggests that van de Velde IV was the inventor of the aquatint technique. Wolfgang Hartmann, likely from Gdansk (Danzig), worked in Sweden from 1643 or -44 until about 1652. Brunon, "André Mollet;" Franken and van der Kellen, *L'Oeuvre de Jan van de Velde*, 190; Hultmark, Hultmark and Moselius, *Svenska kopparstickare*; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 96; Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 287; Nisbeth, "André Mollet och hans trädgårdstraktat," 22; Stijnman, "Jan van de Velde IV."

⁵¹² Nordin, *Bortom Bergen*, 14.

plants, Mollet demonstrated that the formal garden was a geographically flexible concept, and that it was possible to create pleasure gardens in different climates and within varied topographical conditions.

4.2.3 French or European?

Works of art have often been discussed according to the artist's birthplace or nationality and this has certainly been the case with André Mollet. In spite of his peripatetic career and personal exposure to varied design concepts, Mollet has consistently been labelled a *French* gardener, a spokesperson for a specific national style.⁵¹³ In 1982, garden historian Florence Hopper brought attention to, and criticized, the prevailing assumptions of unidirectional influences in discussions of historic gardens: "An exaggerated and unwarranted emphasis on the French contribution to the Dutch garden has obscured appreciation of an indigenous development."⁵¹⁴ De Jong, as well, views Dutch gardens as having developed from distinct local conditions rather than having adopted foreign ideas wholeheartedly: "The orientation toward France, then, should be seen rather as a repeatedly renewed acquaintance with new views than interpreted as an all-determining element for Dutch gardens... [In the Dutch Republic] Netherlandish traditions remained dominant over French ones, which often only influenced parts of gardens or garden decorations."⁵¹⁵ Both architecture and garden

⁵¹³ For authors – of texts published between 1945 and 2004 – who suggest that Mollet promoted *French* garden design only, see Adelswärd, "Vad menade André Mollet," 48; Conan, "Postface," 100, 112; Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 106, 121; Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 19; Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 287; Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 45; Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 179.

⁵¹⁴ Hopper, "Dutch Classical Garden," 25.

⁵¹⁵ Jong, "Profit and Ornament," 42.

layouts developed different characteristics in different parts of Europe, and the reasons for this are as varied as the places themselves. In the case of Dutch gardens, Hopper points to the Republic's intellectual history: "During the 1620s and 1630s one witnesses the genesis of the Dutch classical garden together with Dutch classical architecture. These were based on the Vitruvian-Albertian principles of harmonic proportion and symmetry, and reflected Dutch expertise in the sciences and mathematics."⁵¹⁶ Noldus suggests that treatises written by Italian architects such as Serlio (1475-1554), Vignola (1507-1573), Palladio (1508-1580), and Scamozzi (1548-1616) also exerted an influence on the development of Dutch architecture and gardens in the seventeenth century.⁵¹⁷ In addition to a unique vision of the concept and function of gardens, Dutch designs necessarily differed from their French counterparts for topographic reasons. According to art historian Vanessa Remington, the Dutch stadholder, William III (1650-1702) and his wife Mary Stuart (1662-1694) "espoused the new classical style of gardening that had been developed first in Italy and then in France, but adapted it to suit the very different Dutch terrain, with its smaller parcels of land, plentiful water supply and flat countryside."⁵¹⁸ In addition to a similar reluctance to abandon edible plants, Swedish gardens shared several features with the Dutch landscape, such as an abundance of water. There were also narrow rectangular layouts in Sweden, not because of small terrains as in Holland, but imposed by the hilly landscape.⁵¹⁹ As witnessed by his instructions in *Jardin de Plaisir*, André Mollet was aware of regional particularities and adjusted his advice accordingly. It is consequently impossible to claim that he represented French design only. I suggest that

⁵¹⁶ Hopper, "Daniel Marot," 140.

⁵¹⁷ Noldus, "Profit and Pleasure," 57.

⁵¹⁸ Remington, *Painting Paradise*, 120.

⁵¹⁹ Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 171.

Mollet rather is an outstanding example of the adaptation and dissemination of artistic ideas and stylistic influences across Europe.

Mollet left Sweden in late summer 1653.⁵²⁰ In addition to his assistant Gue, who had been appointed head gardener at Humlegården, his son Jean also stayed on in the country. The younger Mollet's reasons for remaining in Sweden were perhaps of a personal nature; his first child (of six), Johan, was born in 1655.⁵²¹ Jean was given responsibility for Kungsträdgården when his father left, and this is where he worked at least until 1661.⁵²² Art historian Nils G. Wollin suggests that Jean was responsible for the royal garden until Christian Horleman (1633-1687) took over in 1666.⁵²³ In 1654, and after having criticized the garden in Uppsala, ambassador Whitelocke continued to Stockholm, where he was equally unimpressed by the Kungsträdgården garden, using phrases such as "not well kept" and "not extraordinary."⁵²⁴ A few years later, in April 1660, the Danish physician Stalhoff enumerated the Swedish capital's sights in his travel diary. Seeing the royal garden, he simply states: "For the length of this garden are needed

⁵²⁰ Regarding possible reasons why Mollet left Sweden at this particular time, see Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 288; Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet," 8; Lindahl, "Drottning Christinas," 37.

⁵²¹ The spelling of the family name changed over time. When Jean Mollet died in 1708, the estate inventory recorded the name of the deceased as Johan Andersson Molette. Jean's son Johan Molett (1655-1700) became a naval captain and was ennobled in 1695, taking the name Stiernanckar. Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor*; Elgenstierna, *Introducerade svenska adelns*; Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet," 9.

⁵²² The discussion of Jean Mollet and his career is based on Conan, "Claude Mollet," 26; Conan, "Postface," 100; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 120; Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 23; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 228, 307; Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 288; Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet," 9; Nyberg, "André Mollet," 25; Nyberg, "Simon de la Vallée," 16; Pattacini, "André Mollet," 9; Skogh, "South, East and North," 122; Wollin, "Drottningholms I," 14, 206; Wollin, "Kungsträdgården I," 53; Wollin, "Rosersberg," 11; Wollin, "Ulriksdal," 81.

⁵²³ Wollin also notes that Horleman travelled to the Dutch Republic to purchase plants for Kungsträdgården in 1667. Wollin, "Kungsträdgården I," 53, 54.

⁵²⁴ Lindahl and Nisbeth suggest that Kungsträdgården appeared disorderly at that time because work had been temporarily interrupted. Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 299; Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet," 4; Whitelocke, *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, 290.

260 steps, for the width 152. There is [in the garden] nothing particularly noteworthy.”⁵²⁵

Even if the doctor was completely uninterested in plants, his lack of commentary in an otherwise extremely detailed account can only mean that Kungsträdgården was less than memorable. What had happened? Or rather, what had not happened? Had no work, maintenance or improvements, been done at Kungsträdgården after André Mollet’s departure in 1653? Whitelocke’s visit, less than a year later, describes a garden in disarray. Jean Mollet would later claim to have been trained by his grand-father Claude the Elder – the gardener to three French kings -- and had naturally been taught by his father as well, but his own career as gardener, or garden designer, seems irregular and unfulfilled.⁵²⁶ Beside his employment at Kungsträdgården, only a small number of projects can be attributed to Jean, and no designs of his remain. In 1664, Jean received a request to design embroidery motifs for a parterre at Rosersberg Palace, about forty kilometers north of Stockholm. It is not known whether this commission was actually carried out; Mollet decided not to travel to the estate on the agreed day since he had to “plant his melons.”⁵²⁷ André and his nephews Gabriel and Charles, Jean’s cousins, had

⁵²⁵ “Till denna trädgårds längd åtgå 260 steg, till bredden 152. Där finns ej något särskildt märkligt.” Stalhoff, “Stockholm 1660,” 37.

⁵²⁶ A few notices point to a varied career and, possibly, a turbulent life. Genealogists Elgenstierna and Anrep claim that Jean Mollet was dismissed from his position as royal gardener because of “neglect” and that his first wife divorced him. In March 1676, Jean Mollet was caught up in a brawl at the *Skinnpälsten* tavern, north of Stockholm, and a person was killed. According to Mollet, he had used his duck-hunting gun in self-defence. In spite of seeking refuge with the French ambassador in Stockholm, Mollet was arrested and sentenced to death. While in prison, he wrote several letters asking for leniency, among others to Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, the former ambassador who had invited his father to Sweden exactly thirty years earlier. Mollet was eventually liberated in the autumn 1676. Sometime after this incident, Mollet sent a letter to dowager queen Hedvig Eleonora asking for renewed employment at the court, either as gardener or in the army (!) Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättar-taflor*, 4:160; Conan, “Claude Mollet,” 27; Elgenstierna, *Introducerade svenska adelns*, 7:615; Karling, “Drottning Christinas,” 120; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 228; Lindahl and Nisbeth, “André Mollet,” 9; Wollin, “Kungsträdgården I,” 53.

⁵²⁷ Wollin, “Rosersberg,” 12.

opened nurseries in London and in Paris, and for a period Jean operated as their Swedish representative, ordering plants on behalf of local customers. While this seems to be a very mundane occupation for a trained professional, he possibly contributed to the introduction of new plant species to the country. Finally, in the 1670s, Jean rented the gardens at Svartsjö Castle, which he used as a nursery.⁵²⁸ Lindahl and Nisbeth claim that the younger Mollet was a sought-after expert, especially during the country's period of intense construction activities after 1660. Referring to the Rosersberg commission, Karling suggests that Jean Mollet would have played a significant role as an advocate of formal gardens. However, in a later text, Karling expresses regret at the lack of tangible proof of Jean's contributions in Sweden. Conan suggests that Jean was simply unable to benefit from the reputation of the Mollet family name.⁵²⁹

While Jean could have been expected to obtain commissions after his father's departure, it appears that his career fizzled out rather quickly. Instead, significant design projects in the latter part of the seventeenth century went to local garden architects, as will be explored below.

4.2.4 Mollet's Second Book

A few years after leaving Sweden, André Mollet travelled to England.⁵³⁰ While his work as royal gardener there has been discussed by several authors, a trip from London to

⁵²⁸ Svartsjö Castle is situated approximately thirty kilometers west of the capital.

⁵²⁹ Conan, "Claude Mollet," 27; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 121; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 307; Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet," 10.

⁵³⁰ Regarding André Mollet's work in England c. 1658-65, see Ahrlund, *Osynliga handen*, 188; Cecil, *History of Gardening*, 181; Conan, "Claude Mollet," 26; Hopper, "Daniel Marot," 150; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 120; Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 24; Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 288; Lindahl and Nisbeth, "André Mollet," 8; Nyberg, "André Mollet," 25; Pattacini, "André Mollet," 10; Remington, *Painting Paradise*, 138; Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 313; Westin Berg, *Tulpan, nejlika och ros*, 35.

Hamburg in 1658 has received limited attention.⁵³¹ Yet, the evidence that Mollet had moved to England actually exists in the form of a travel pass, issued by the Public Records Office in London on 29 June 1658, for a trip to Germany. The document authorized Mollet, his wife, and a servant to leave for Hamburg.⁵³² The earliest confirmation of their return to London is a contract, dated June 1661, confirming employment for both André and his nephew Gabriel as royal gardeners to King Charles II (1630-1685), with lodgings at St James's Park.⁵³³ Therefore, the trip to Germany could have lasted as long as three years, between June 1658 and June 1661. More research is needed to establish his whereabouts and activities during this period. It is, however, certain that Mollet was in Hamburg in 1659, which is where he published his second book on gardening *The Manner and Style of Cultivating the Noble Fruit Melon, Described in the Best Way for Connoisseurs*.⁵³⁴ This horticultural manual, written in German, is entirely dedicated to the cultivation of one species: melons. The choice of topic is surprising for an artist known for his royal commissions and large-scale garden layouts. Admittedly, melons were particularly prized plants in the early modern period. Mollet had

⁵³¹ Conan claims that Mollet travelled to Hamburg in 1661. Conan, "Postface," 114; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 120; Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 24; Pattacini, "André Mollet," 9; Wollin, "Ulriksdal," 81.

⁵³² Author W. Roberts suggests that two travel passes were issued; the first one dated June 29, 1658 for Mollet, his wife and a servant, plus a second pass dated July 1 the same year, for Gabriel Mollet and another servant. According to documents, André Mollet and Marthe Aucher had been married on 6 April 1644. Roberts claims that, in 1660, Mollet's wife's name was Elizabeth. Guiffrey, *Artistes parisiens*, 322; Pattacini, "André Mollet," 16 #19; Roberts, "André Mollet's Garden of Pleasure."

⁵³³ According to Roberts, Elizabeth Mollet submitted a formal complaint against "the late King's woodmonger" on 30 June 1660. It is, of course, possible that she had returned before the others. Cecil, *History of Gardening*, 181; Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 288; Pattacini, "André Mollet," 16 # 20; Roberts, "André Mollet's Garden of Pleasure."

⁵³⁴ Mollet, *Art und Weise die Edle Frucht Melohnen zu zeugen, Allen Liebhabern derselben zum besten Beschrieben von André Mollet, Frantzösischen Garten-Meister der Königl. Mayt. in Franckreich*. This and following translations by Nora Kaschuba, Berlin. See also Skogh, *Material Worlds*, 192; Skogh, "South, East and North," 122.

already discussed the fruit in *Jardin de Plaisir* earlier in the decade, where he expressed the opinion that melons are “rather difficult” to grow in temperate regions, and “consequently much more so in these Nordic climates.”⁵³⁵ In the 1651 text, Mollet briefly explained how to create ideal conditions for the successful cultivation of this fruit, discussing soil requirements, the advantages of horse manure, when and how to sow the seeds, as well as various techniques to protect the fragile plants in cold weather. We recall that Mollet had bought thirty glass bells for the royal garden in Stockholm and additional documents reveal that Mollet also acquired ten melon covers for the royal vegetable garden nearby, Humlegården.⁵³⁶ The fact that melons were grown at both royal gardens in Stockholm is an indication of the popularity of this fruit.

In spite of the apprehensions expressed by Mollet, there is proof that melons were successfully grown in Sweden in the seventeenth century. Rudbeck the Elder claimed that he cultivated *Cucumis melo* in the Botanical Garden in Uppsala; the species is listed in his catalogues of 1658 and 1685.⁵³⁷ Illustrations of melons could, consequently, be expected to appear in Rudbeck’s botanical encyclopaedias, and there is, effectively, an image of a melon in the *Book of Flowers* in the company of cucumbers and pumpkins in *Liber viii*. A young melon plant has been drawn by Rudbeck the Younger, featuring five leaves and two flowers -- but no fruit. The inscription reveals that this particular specimen was drawn in the Uppsala Botanical Garden on 16 June. It was obviously too early for any fruit to

⁵³⁵ “Les fruits du jardin de cuisine sont Melons, concombres, citrouilles, Artichaux, pois, febues & autres légumes, desquels le Melon est assez difficile à faire venir en quelques lieux des pays temperez & par consequent beaucoup plus en ces climats du Nord...” Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir* 1651, chapter VII.

⁵³⁶ Åhrland, *Osynliga handen*, 80; Lindahl and Nisbeth, “André Mollet,” 7; Lundquist, “Om Dyngesängien,” 108 n13; Wollin, “Kungsträdgården I,” 51, 81. For a discussion of the use of glass to protect garden plants, see Åhrland, *Osynliga handen*, 79–89.

⁵³⁷ Martinsson and Ryman, *Hortus Rudbeckianus*, 106.

have ripened.⁵³⁸ Time constraints could be a reason why Rudbeck or another student draughtsman did not return later in the season to complete the image.

Mollet's former client Schering Rosenhane also refers to melons in his *Oeconomia* manuscript from the early 1660s. Among thirty-eight tools needed for proper gardening, Rosenhane suggests "glass bells to cover melons."⁵³⁹ His instructions regarding the cultivation of this fruit are even more detailed than what was provided by Mollet in 1651. Rosenhane seems to have accumulated, in spite of a career in government, considerable experience in gardening and his advice is surprisingly insightful. While discussing practices in other countries, he does not mention Mollet by name, even though they had collaborated only a few years earlier:

The last and third kind of kitchen vegetable is the one where the fruit is used; among them the Melon is the most precious and the one that requires the most skill and care. And since they have not been common in our country for long, and consequently few among our gardeners know how to correctly nurture them, one should observe and learn how they are cared for and grown in other countries. Since this plant needs great heat, and while it in France becomes considerably larger than here, it does not grow or ripen there either without particular skill and the utmost diligence and work.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁸ Only the day and month, not the year, is indicated. Rudbeck, *Book of Flowers*, 8:256.

⁵³⁹ "Glaskläckor adt betäckia meloner mäd." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 93.

⁵⁴⁰ "Thätt sidste och tredie slaget utaff kökekrydder ähre the som nyttias utaff fruchten som växer, däribland ähre Meloner the allrakåsteligaste och the som störste kånst och rycht behöffwa, Och äffter the intet länge haffwa warit brukelige I vårt land och fördänskulld få utaff våra trögårdzmästare weta rätt där mäd adt umgåås, Ty måtte man observera och lära huru man I andra land them sköter och upbringar, Ty såsom thänna kryddan will haffwa en stor heta, Och dän i Frankrike ähr fast större än hooss oss, Så växer hon icke där håller och kommer till sin fulla mognad utan synnerlig kånst och mäd störst flijtt och arbete." Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 133.

Rosenhane provides detailed instructions on how to sow and water this delicate fruit, as well as when and how to harvest it. Of course, he also suggests covering the seedlings with glass bells until they are “so big that they no longer fit under it.”⁵⁴¹ He ends his section by suggesting a possibility of growing this fruit indoors and coaxing the plants to ripen by placing them next to tiled stoves (*kakelugn*) or in baking ovens. Unfortunately, he finds it “unnecessary” to describe these techniques in detail.⁵⁴²

Because of the challenges when growing exotic fruits in Nordic countries, a successful harvest was cause for celebration. We recall that flowering plants were remarked upon and recorded by artists such as David von Cöln and Elias Brenner (chapter one). In the late 1670s, Ehrenstrahl was asked to immortalize a particularly large and spectacular melon (figure 66). He did so, explaining the significance of the event in an inscription at the top of the painting; “This Milon is Ao 1678 grown in Stockholm and weighs one *Lisspunt*.”⁵⁴³ Since this still life was executed by the court painter Ehrenstrahl the fruit likely grew in a royal garden. The reference to Stockholm would indicate that the melon came from either Kungsträdgården or Humlegården, which were both, as noted above, equipped for the cultivation of this type of fruit. Ehrenstrahl has given the single fruit the treatment such a rarity deserved; the melon fills the entire canvas and rests on a crumpled but shiny white cloth, which, in turn, is placed on a table or narrow ledge. As in

⁵⁴¹ “Älliäst ähr icke håller orådeligit att man brukar glasklåckor till adt täckia öffwer them, så länge och in till däss fruchten bliffwer så stor att hon därunder intet rymmer.” Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 134.

⁵⁴² “Huru Melonen på annadt sätt och mäd stor möda och bekåstnad bringas up, och till mognad i hus och värma, wid kakelungnar [*sic*] och bakungn [*sic*], ähr onödigt här adt beskriffwa.” Rosenhane, *Oeconomia*, 135.

⁵⁴³ “Thenna Milon är Ao 1678 Wüxen uthi Stockholm och Wägit ett Lisspunt.” One *lisspunt* equals 8.5 kg. Rapp, *Djur och stilleben*, 136.

many still lifes, the background is neutral. The artist has succeeded in infusing the image with a subtle degree of tension; the shallow foreground and the lack of depth means that the round fruit could roll in any direction, at any minute. Ehrenstrahl has thus succeeded in communicating the same sense of fragility as seen in still lifes of piles of drinking glasses and silverware, for instance in banquet pieces by Pieter Claesz (1597-1660) or Willem Claesz Heda (1593/94-1680/82).⁵⁴⁴ Art historian Lisa Skogh suggests that the inherent ephemerality of fruits constituted additional impetus for having such specimens immortalized in works of art. To that awareness, Ehrenstrahl's composition added a reminder of the melon's instability.⁵⁴⁵



Figure 66. David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl, *Still Life with Melon*, 1678. Oil/canvas. Private collection.

⁵⁴⁴ Segal, *Prosperous Past*, 119, 126.

⁵⁴⁵ Skogh, *Material Worlds*, 189.

Melons were also depicted by Johan Johnsen on the *chinoiserie* cabinet he decorated for the de Besche family at the turn of the century (figure 18). His choice of motif was possibly motivated by a successful harvest at Forsmark. Unlike Ehrenstrahl's focus on the surface texture and roundness of the specimen, one of Johnsen's fruits has been cut open to reveal the bright orange flesh inside. The seeds are visible as well, once again confirming the Forsmark artist's scrutinizing eye when painting natural objects.

Perhaps it was Mollet's realization that it was possible to grow melons in all parts of Europe that eventually prompted him to expand his chapter from *Jardin de Plaisir* into a complete manual. It is also possible that a patron's request or working situation contributed to his decision to write another gardening book. In 1651, Mollet's information on melons was only a page and a half in length. In the document published eight years later in Hamburg the topic was expanded to thirty-two pages. Although declaring that the intended readership was "all connoisseurs of the pleasant and noble melon fruit" the text exists only in German.⁵⁴⁶ Since this document has not yet received any attention in literature on Mollet and his oeuvre, its essential arguments will be discussed briefly:

In order to reassure the readers of his authority on the topic, Mollet informs *Meine Herrn* that he has "spent several years in the midnight countries, studying their climate and how it is beneficial or harmful to garden plants."⁵⁴⁷ Apparently, he had not forgotten the difficulties he had encountered in Sweden. But he also refers to the passionate people, *Liebhaber*, he had met there, and who put much effort into growing beautiful and tasty

⁵⁴⁶ "An alle Liebhaber der Edlen und angenehmen Frucht der Melonen." Mollet, *Art und Weise*, Preface.

⁵⁴⁷ "Als ich mich nun etliche Jahr in den Mitternächtigen Landen aufgehalten und derselben Climat, so viel als es den Garten-Gewächsen dienlich und schädlich ist wol observiret..." Mollet, *Art und Weise*, Preface.

melons every year. Considering Rosenhane's detailed knowledge of the topic, he could be one of the people Mollet had in mind.

In the first pages of *Art und Weise* Mollet provides general advice on how to maximize the chances of successful cultivation and harvest. The melon plants should be exposed to the midday sun, and they should be sheltered between two fences, constructed of poles and straw mats, allowing just enough air to circulate, a technique still in use.⁵⁴⁸ On the following pages, Mollet reverts to the start of the planting season and provides step-by-step instructions on where and how to sow melon seeds. There is advice on how to transplant the seedlings to open fields (he observes that transferred plants carry more fruit), on how to water the melons just enough, and on the proper techniques for pruning the vines. Mollet also explains how to identify good-quality fruit, and how to choose the best seeds to be preserved for the following season. While discussing elimination of vermin, the author reveals that he was also working as a gardener in Germany at the time. According to Mollet, mice tend to rummage around, disturb the soil, and dig up the seedlings, "just as has happened to ourselves this year."⁵⁴⁹ When describing the dangers of abundant rains in late season "just as was the case this year," Mollet observes that since he had not been in possession of enough protective blankets his melons had not turned out as well as he had hoped.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁸ "Erstlich muss man einen Ort erwählen der so viel immer möglich vor den Winden sonderlich dem Nort-Winde bedeckt und ein wenig gegen dem Mittag geneiget sei, damit die Sonnen-Strahlen desto schnurrechter darauf scheinen können. Es muss auch derselbe Ort mit Stangen die an der Länge 9 oder 10 Schuh hoch an welches man langes Stroh oder Schilff fest machen sol, eingezäunet werden auff dass sich die Winde daran brechen." Most of Mollet's advice is applicable today, except perhaps, his suggestion to steep the seeds in Spanish wine before planting them. Mollet, *Art und Weise*, 3-5, 7.

⁵⁴⁹ "... denn dasselbe Bette in Grund verderbet wird, wie wir solches dieses gegenwertige Jahr mit unserm Schaden erfahren haben." Mollet, *Art und Weise*, 10.

⁵⁵⁰ "Nach diesem vorigen nun kan man auch in Acht nehmen dass bissweilen gegen St. Johannis Tag nemb... als dann wenn die Melonen anfangen zu reiffen ste... Regen zukommen pflegen wie sonderlich dieses Jahr geschehen da weil wir uns auff solche immer anhaltende Regen nicht gefast gemacht, noch

Finally, Mollet informs his *liebhaber* readers that if a melon is intended as a gift, it is possible to inscribe a phrase, a friend's emblem or an employer's coat of arms directly onto the fruit. Such finesse! The carving should be done several days before the melon is completely ripe and the skin must not be pierced too deeply.⁵⁵¹

As indicated, Mollet returned to London at the latest in the summer of 1661. During the last years of his life he operated a nursery in London together with his nephew Gabriel.⁵⁵² This commerce was likely carried out in parallel with their work for King Charles II. The nursery seems to have been both importing and exporting plants across Europe. For instance, in 1661 Gabriel purchased flowers for St James's Park from his brother Charles, who ran a similar horticultural firm in Paris. The plants that were shipped to London had, in turn, been procured in Italy and France.⁵⁵³ Already mentioned is Jean Mollet's position as their representative for the Swedish market. Therefore, the Mollet family not only spread horticultural knowledge and design ideas for formal gardens throughout Europe, but by the 1660s also contributed to the dissemination of actual plants.

The work executed by André Mollet, both as designer and as author, constitutes an important source of information regarding the development of garden architecture in Europe in the seventeenth century. The existence of a second book by Mollet, published in Germany, points to another development and a rarely discussed period in the gardener's

vorrath an hiernach gemelten Decken verschaffet, wir auch an unsern Melonen dasselbe vergnügen welches wir gehoffet nicht gehabt haben." Mollet, *Art und Weise*, 28.

⁵⁵¹ "Der Liebhaber kan seinen Melonen auch noch einen andern Zierath geben, wenn er nemlich mit einem spitzigen Metallinen Griffel solchen Spruch oder Re... als er wil wie auch seines Freundes Marck Zeichen oder seines Herren Wapen darauff sticht... Doch muss er mit dem Griffel nicht allzutieff hinein stechen, sondern allein die Haut oder Schale durchritzen." Mollet, *Art und Weise*, 30.

⁵⁵² André Mollet died in 1665, apparently from the plague. Gabriel had died already in 1663.

⁵⁵³ Cecil, *History of Gardening*, 181; Conan, "Claude Mollet," 26; Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 24; Pattacini, "André Mollet," 13, 17.

career. Being able to add yet other work to an already extensive legacy has brought valuable knowledge to current discourse on Mollet's accomplishments, in particular, and to historic gardens, in general.

5 GARDEN DESIGN IN SWEDEN AFTER MOLLET

During the Middle Ages, gardens had been valued for their capacity to supply vegetables, fruits, and medicinal herbs, but in the early modern period there was a change in attitude toward the land surrounding a manor or palace in large parts of Europe.⁵⁵⁴ The garden took on a more symbolic meaning; it became a means to enhance the owner's status, in a similar manner to the *château* itself. A successfully designed garden reflected and reinforced the splendour of the building, and *vice versa*. Garden historian Kenneth Woodbridge suggests that the purpose of the embroidered parterre, besides being admired for its aesthetic value, was "to reveal the architecture, and to accord with the general appearance of ordered regularity."⁵⁵⁵ If the two parts formed a coherent unit, visually and conceptually, the message to the outside world became that much stronger. Elevating a garden to an object of social interest manifested the owner's capacity to indulge in beauty and intellectual stimulation. The utilitarian *potager* was replaced by a site of sensorial amazement, pleasurable strolls, social encounters, or tranquil reflections. Vegetables were still grown, but kitchen plots were commonly located in a less prominent part of the property. Gardens had become objects of conspicuous consumption.

Mollet had had limited success introducing parterres and formal designs in Sweden in the 1650s, but the notion of gardens created for pleasure gained ground later in the century. However, if it had been relatively easy to transpose concepts such as flower still lifes and garland pictures to Nordic regions (while occasionally adjusting the choice

⁵⁵⁴ For a discussion of medieval and Renaissance gardens in Sweden, see Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 1-146; Karling, "Våra äldsta trädgårdar;" Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 37-56.

⁵⁵⁵ Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 107.

of motifs to available species), the introduction of garden components in Sweden was not as straight-forward. As has been mentioned in connection with Mollet's advice, conditions in the north necessitated particular adaptations, for instance for the chilly climate, the lack of light, and the hilly topography. Noldus claims that gardens in Sweden were shaped by its "culture, climate and inhospitable landscape."⁵⁵⁶ When designing formal gardens for Swedish customers, it was not possible to uncritically copy layouts from France, or even the Dutch Republic.

5.1 Sweden Cold and Dark

When architects, gardeners, or estate owners wished to introduce formal gardens in one of the northernmost countries in Europe, they were met by a variety of challenges, of which the cold winters were one. Indeed, the low temperatures presented unique difficulties, but also some advantages. Landscape architect Thorbjörn Andersson suggests that the clear light in the north gives a dome-like appearance to the atmosphere, as opposed to the "hazy air and flat sky of countries on the European mainland."⁵⁵⁷ Therefore, gardens situated at higher latitudes – Sweden stretches between the fifty-fifth and sixty-ninth parallel -- are infused by an impression of clarity and lightness. According to Andersson, this Nordic light is caused by "the low water temperature, which reduces atmospheric humidity and causes the air to become extremely translucent." Also, because of the relative proximity to the North Pole, sunrises and sunsets are slow processes, easily lasting several hours, while producing a soft, muted light that envelopes people and objects in a warm glow, creating an almost fairy-like ambiance. The further north you go,

⁵⁵⁶ Noldus, "Profit and Pleasure," 64.

⁵⁵⁷ T. Andersson, "Appearances and Beyond," 278.

the more beautiful the light. These characteristics provided unique opportunities to visit gardens late in the day while still enjoying clear views.

In France, the gardens' central axis generally extended out over a flat landscape, while the Swedish topography did not easily lend itself to such endless vistas. Although large numbers of trees were felled for parterres and walkways, the gardens were still locked in by dense forests, leading to a feeling of enclosure. The solution was to use the unimpeded views across water, and many Swedish pleasure gardens were consequently oriented toward a lake, the sea, even rivers.⁵⁵⁸ In addition to providing an extended vista, open water also reflected the light, brightening the space and diminishing the sensation of enclosed isolation.

Not just forests rendered the creation of a garden vista in Sweden more complex. When the ice covering the northernmost parts of the globe started withdrawing about ten thousand years ago, it did not simply melt and evaporate but also slid across large areas of land. The force and weight of this movement was so intense that it altered the landscape, creating hills and valleys – Andersson calls them “long ridges and hollowed out lake systems” – leaving rocks and boulders of all sizes in its wake.⁵⁵⁹ Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Marquess of Torcy (1665-1746), who travelled through Sweden in 1685 laments: “Lakes and rocks covered with pine trees are almost the only objects that present themselves along the whole route,” and during a visit to Drottningholm Palace observes that “the surrounding rocks limit the view and eliminate the space that it should have to extend its

⁵⁵⁸ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 482; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 171; Wollin, “Svenska lustträdgårdar,” 85, 86, 89.

⁵⁵⁹ T. Andersson, “Appearances and Beyond,” 278; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 171.

gardens.”⁵⁶⁰ Since perspective and regularity were essential characteristics of formal gardens, an uneven terrain was clearly undesirable and had to be eliminated, adding cost and time to the construction. In some cases, flat land became unattainable, for instance when trying to add a pleasure garden to an old estate. Medieval castles had often been built on hills for reasons of defense. In such cases, the garden necessarily had to be located at a distance, which undermined the possibility to view the entire layout from above and the ability to hear its fountains and smell its flowers from the residence.⁵⁶¹

Yet another challenge for garden architects working in Sweden in the seventeenth century was the climate; the dreaded long and cold winter months. Andersson suggests that the low temperatures combined with poor soil quality led to a limited choice of plants that could thrive in the north, and reduced sizes for those that did grow.⁵⁶² In addition to sub-zero temperatures in winter, the summers remain cool and – in spite of long days, and even sunlight at night – many plants struggle to mature before the end of the season. Therefore, aiming for the same visual impact as on the continent, designers of formal gardens had to find substitutes for several varieties of trees and flowers, and perhaps even adjust the entire layout when working in Nordic regions.

These were some of the challenges that faced André Mollet when he arrived in Sweden in 1648. Even though his horticultural knowledge was based on experiences obtained in milder climates, he made great efforts to adapt his advice in *Jardin de Plaisir*

⁵⁶⁰ “Des lacs et des rochers couverts de pins sont presque les seuls objets qui se présentent pendant toute la route... Les rochers qui l’environnent luy bornent la vue et lui ôtent l’espace qu’elle devoit avoir pour étendre les cours et des jardins.” Colbert de Torcy, “Mission extraordinaire,” 926.

⁵⁶¹ Examples are Läckö Castle (from 1298), situated on a small and narrow peninsula in Lake Vänern, 400 kilometers west of the capital, and Hörningsholm Castle (sixteenth century), perched on a hill over-looking a bay in the Baltic Sea, seventy kilometers south-west of Stockholm.

⁵⁶² T. Andersson, “Appearances and Beyond,” 278; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 279.

to Nordic conditions.⁵⁶³ His innovative ideas for the protection of plants in freezing temperatures could, ultimately, become beneficial to gardeners all over Europe, for example in mountainous regions. Thus, this is an instance where a peripheral country contributed to botanical experimentation in the early modern period, or what Kaufmann calls *diffusion*, as opposed to unidirectional influences. One of Mollet's ideas was to grow fruit trees flattened against the façade of a building or a wall, which would not only provide shelter against wind and frost -- stones retain heat -- but also expose the entire plant to maximum sunshine:

These are good to espalier, that is, against the walls in a palisade shape & protected from northerly winds, but exposed to the midday sun as much as possible; and this is the manner we need to employ in these cold countries and regions of the North with regards to sensitive trees, such as Bon Chrétien, Bergamotte, Messire Jean [pear varieties], apricots, peaches, early cherries or precocious & many others.⁵⁶⁴

Throughout the *Jardin de Plaisir*, Mollet continuously complains about the cold winds and difficult growing conditions. Chapter ten is dedicated to orangeries and greenhouses,

⁵⁶³ Mollet claims that it took him six months to write the text and prepare the illustrations for *Jardin de Plaisir*. The book's privilege is dated 12 March 1651; he would consequently have begun the manuscript in the second half of 1650. Since he arrived in Stockholm in late summer 1648, Mollet would have lived through two winters and two summers in the north before putting his advice on paper. Lindahl, "Jardin de Plaisir," 287; Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir 1651*, Au Lecteur.

⁵⁶⁴ "Ceux-cy sont propres à mettre en expailler, c'est à dire contre les murs en forme de palissade & à l'abry des vents du Nord; mais exposez au soleil du Midy le plus qu'il est possible; & c'est la manière qu'il nous faudra tenir en ces pays froids & quartiers du Nord, pour le regard des arbres délicats, comme Bon-Chrestien, Bargamotte, Messire Jean, Abricots, Pêches, Cerises précoces, ou hastives & plusieurs autres." Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir 1651*, chapter III.

which Mollet ends up proscribing for almost every plant. He even had an idea for turning this necessity into a charming advantage:

The above-mentioned dwarf trees can also be planted in boxes, because in this way they can be kept in soil as orange trees, and then be transplanted from one place to another at the appropriate occasion, even to banquet halls and feasts when it would be possible to pick the fruit directly from the tree.⁵⁶⁵

However, not all plants could be moved indoors at will, and most troublesome was the discovery that boxwood (*Buxus sempervirens*), a staple of the formal garden, was quite sensitive to cold temperatures and did not grow well in the north.⁵⁶⁶ Box hedges provided framework and motifs to parterres and ensured straight lines and sharp symmetry to the overall layout. In favourable conditions, box can be trimmed to almost any shape and was used for decorative hedges and topiary and even appropriate for embroidery patterns. Again, the inventive author proposed a solution, a replacement plant that, according to him, would be as effective and spectacular as box. In chapter eleven, Mollet writes:

Again, due to the lack of boxwood, one can use, in these parts of Sweden, another species of greenery, which in Swedish is called *Liong-ris* & whose leaf closely

⁵⁶⁵ "Les sus-dits arbres nains se peuvent aussi curieusement planter dans des quaiesses, car par ce moyen on les pourra conserver dans la terre comme les orangers & les transplanter de lieu à autre au beau temps, mesmes jusques dans les salles aux banquets & festins où l'on pourra prendre plaisir de cueillir le fruit de dessus les dits arbres." Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir* 1651, chapter III. See also Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 99; Pattacini, "André Mollet," 12.

⁵⁶⁶ The discussion of boxwood is based on Adelswärd, "Vad menade André Mollet;" Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*, 167; Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 107; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 291; Lundquist, "Om lingon;" Nyberg, "André Mollet," 21; Olausson, "Stormaktsambitioner," 205; Olausson, "Trädgårdskonsten," 160; Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 179.

resembles that of box, is more robust against cold [temperatures] and bad weather.

It is found and grows abundantly in all woods of this country.⁵⁶⁷

Mollet's expression *Liong-ris* did not correspond to an existing species, or word, but is reminiscent of the names of two Swedish plants; *ljung*, heather (*Calluna vulgaris*), and *lingon*, lingonberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*). The suffix *-ris* is simply an allusion to a plant's bushy appearance and could apply to both heather and lingonberry. In 1931, Karling wrote: "Behind the building followed immediately the embroidery parterre, that is, designs in box, or, as Mollet proposed as particularly suitable for Sweden, in heather."⁵⁶⁸ In 1969, he repeated his conclusion.⁵⁶⁹ In the mid-1980s, Woodbridge widened the discussion: "He [Mollet] mentions that whortleberry may be used as a substitute for the more tender box in the parterres of Sweden."⁵⁷⁰ The ambiguity lingered on and in 1992 garden author Penelope Hobhouse continued in the same vein as Woodbridge: "... André Mollet recognized the limitations of European box in harsh climates and recommended the use of deciduous whortleberry or bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*) in Sweden"⁵⁷¹ The leaves of blueberry and lingonberry plants are somewhat similar in appearance, but blueberries were never mentioned by Mollet. Two years later

⁵⁶⁷ "Derechef par faute de büis, on se peut server en ces quartiers de Suède d'une autre espèce de verdure, qui se nomme en Suédois Liong-ris & qui a la feuille fort approchante à celle du büis, estant encore plus robuste au froid & iniures du temps. Il se trouve & croist en grande abondance dans tous les bois de ce pays." Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir* 1651, chapter XI. In the Swedish translation, the plant is called *liunggräs*, and in the German edition *Liunggräs*. Replacements for boxwood are not discussed in the English edition.

⁵⁶⁸ "Bakom byggnaden vidtog omedelbart parterren med lövverk, d.v.s. ritningar i buxbom eller, som Mollet föreslog såsom särdeles lämpligt för Sverige – i ljung." Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 290.

⁵⁶⁹ "Som ersättning för den i Sverige svårskötta buxbomen föreslår Mollet ljung, men det är föga sannolikt att han fick tillfälle att pröva sitt uppslag med framgång i verkligheten." Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 107.

⁵⁷⁰ Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 179.

⁵⁷¹ Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History*, 167.

author Gösta Adelswärd successfully argued that the garden architect had had lingonberry in mind when writing *Jardin de Plaisir*.⁵⁷² As seen in the quote above, Mollet claimed that the leaves of box and *liong-ris* resemble each other, which therefore necessarily should have excluded heather from the start, in spite of a linguistic resemblance.

Landscape architects Thorbjörn Andersson and Kjell Lundquist, and author Tove Jonstoj suggest that Mollet not only recommended lingonberry plants but possibly also grew them at Kungsträdgården in Stockholm.⁵⁷³ It is still difficult to cultivate box in Sweden, a fact that was confirmed during my visits to the gardens at Tessinska and Drottningholm Palaces in April 2015. However, in spite of meagre results, there seems to be some hesitation to replacing box with lingonberry, a wild and utilitarian common plant.

5.2 Topography

During the early modern period, Swedish country estates were ideally situated in proximity to a lake or to the sea. With a sparingly developed and uncomfortable road network, travelling by boat was more convenient.⁵⁷⁴ However, over the centuries, these waterfront estates have faced a change in sea levels caused by the post-glacial rebound, mentioned above. During the last Ice Age, approximately 20,000-10,000 years ago, the North Pole region was covered by up to four kilometers of ice, and the earth's on-going adaptation to no longer being compressed by these glaciers has had a gradual but noticeable impact in northern Europe and elsewhere across the northern hemisphere.

⁵⁷² Adelswärd also makes an attempt at guessing why Woodbridge arrived at whortleberry as the likely translation for *Liong-ris*. Adelswärd, "Vad menade André Mollet."

⁵⁷³ T. Andersson, Jonstoj and Lundquist, *Svensk Trädgårdskonst*, 9.

⁵⁷⁴ Karling suggests that castles and manors were also situated near water for reasons of "fortification." Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 262.

Currently, central Sweden – where the majority of estates were built during the seventeenth century – rises by approximately four millimeters per year, which corresponds to an elevation of roughly 1.2 meters over the last three hundred years.⁵⁷⁵ The effects of the land rise is clearly visible, for instance, at Sjöö Castle, approximately seventy kilometers northwest of Stockholm. In the late seventeenth century, its garden extended down to the very edge of Mälaren, the country's third largest lake with access to both the capital and to the Baltic Sea. Today we find a stretch of farmland between the original garden and the waterfront. The visual impact of the added terrain can be appreciated by a comparison of a 1696 print from *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (figure 67) and a photo from 1995 (figure 68), almost exactly three hundred years later. Agricultural fields now curve around the original garden's edge and an added allée leads down to the waterfront. Similar topographic changes due to the rise in land are visible at Östanå Castle and at Sandemar Castle, both situated on the shores of the Baltic Sea.

⁵⁷⁵ Author Bengt-Olof Bengtson suggests that Sandemar Manor lies 1.5 meters higher than three centuries ago. Author Jonas Norrby estimates that the ground at Forsmark has risen by as much as 1.8 meters since 1719. Bengtson, "Sandemar," 10; Norrby, *När Forsmark brann*, 27.

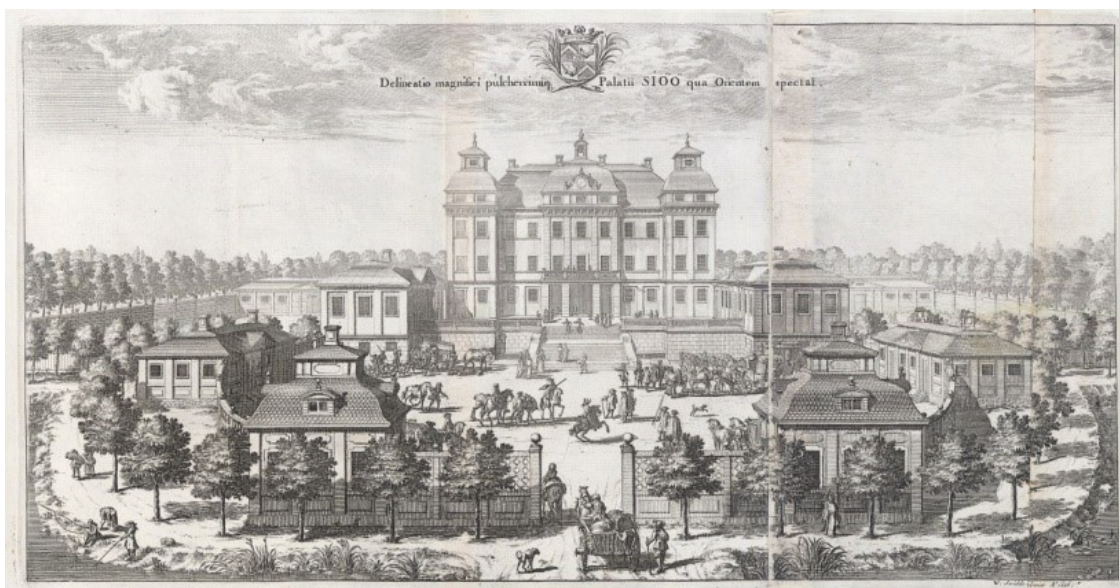


Figure 67. Willem Swidde, *Delineatio magnifici pulcherrimiq: Palatii Siöö qua Orientem spectat*. W. Swidde *Holmiae* Ao 1696. Engraving, 22x41 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:137).



Figure 68. *Sjö Castle*, 1995. Riksantikvarieämbetet (kmb.raa.se).

While it may seem that the addition of a small parcel of terrain does not constitute a significant change to the overall property size, it can, in fact, completely alter the program of a pleasure garden. Formal designs were based on principles of geometry and visual harmony, and additional land at one end would destroy this important balance. In addition, the parterres, the statues, the flower borders, and the symmetrical pathways were, in many instances, situated between the residence and the waterfront in order to create an impressive and coordinated view for visitors arriving by boat. A well-designed estate was meant to send a message of elevated social status and financial solidity to everyone who came to visit, or even just happened to sail by. An additional and nondescript stretch of land simply destroyed that effect.⁵⁷⁶

While the rise in land has led to altered vistas in formal gardens, these sites have also been affected by decisions taken by their owners or by local governments during the past three centuries, some of them prompted by a growth in infrastructure.

5.3 Up-keep

A garden ceases to exist as soon as it is no longer tended. A number of historic gardens in Sweden have, over the past three centuries, retained traces of their original layouts and designs but have otherwise been simplified to the point of unrecognizability. Allées still exist, but parterres have become lawns, and the intricate embroidery designs eliminated altogether. Statues still stand but many fountains are empty. Compared to the profound changes parterres and bosquets underwent in England in the eighteenth century,

⁵⁷⁶ Lately, alarms have been sounded regarding on-going climate change and ensuing rising water levels across the globe. It is, at this point, premature to speculate on the impact this will have on historic gardens.

Swedish gardens were not as dramatically altered, but rather pared down or allowed to become overgrown.⁵⁷⁷ Lundquist suggests that such small successive changes are, nevertheless, a large problem, slowly eating away at the garden's structure and program.⁵⁷⁸ However, in addition to having retained their basic layouts, many original drawings and descriptions still exist, and they therefore remain of interest in spite of simplifications. In a sense, these historic gardens illustrate both the ephemerality and the longevity of this art form. While the architectural formats have survived, the elimination of individual components give a sense of austerity, quite contrary to the original concept. Formal gardens were typically characterized by an abundance of flowers and were intended to provide stimulation in terms of sounds, smells, sights, physical exercise, and fresh air, all combining to encourage interesting conversations and reflections.

Finally, there is the enticing possibility of complete restorations. Many castles and manors built in the seventeenth century are today open to the public, and I suggest that seeing these *châteaux* surrounded by their original formal gardens would offer a more historically accurate experience, and hence be of greater interest to visitors.

5.4 Infrastructure and City Growth

Swedish gardens from the seventeenth century have not only been affected by topographical shifts or the elimination of decorative elements. Industrialization has also left a mark. In addition to their countryside estates, seventeenth-century politicians and merchants often built homes in the capital or in other major towns in order to live close to

⁵⁷⁷ Most formal gardens in England were turned into landscape gardens in the eighteenth century. Ahrland, "Utbildning för omhändertagande," 170.

⁵⁷⁸ Regarding the garden at Ulriksdal in the first quarter of the twentieth century, see Lundquist, "Trädgårdskonstens," 22; Wollin, "Ulriksdal," 62.

decision-making and to business opportunities. The areas surrounding central Stockholm constituted a good compromise between nature and city – fresh air was particularly valued during plague outbreaks -- and several of these suburban homes, *malmgårdar*, were large enough to provide space for gardens.⁵⁷⁹ However, as the capital has grown, increased infrastructure and rising property values have led to the disappearance of large numbers of early modern estates. In many instances, the original gardens ceased to exist before the buildings did. In the Södermalm part of town – popular among Dutch immigrants during the seventeenth century -- the Daurerska *malmgården*, built in 1694 by the wine merchant and restaurateur Heere van Santen (†1695), had a large garden with parterres, box hedges, and an orangery. It was erased when the street Hornsgatan was widened in 1901.⁵⁸⁰

Breweries were established on the sites of Hornsberg Manor and the Permanska *malmgården* in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁸¹ The Sparreska Palace, built in the 1670s in a very desirable part of town across from the royal garden, was replaced in 1913 by a department store.⁵⁸²

These examples – changing topography, urbanization, maintenance issues – explain why so many historic gardens no longer exist, and not in their original state. For historic gardens to live again, there must be willingness to preserve such works of art, but also awareness of what these gardens offer, and the role they played. The history of Venngarn Castle is a case in point.

⁵⁷⁹ In the seventeenth century, the country's political and commercial power was concentrated to a few small islands in central Stockholm, especially Gamla Stan (Stadsholmen). The surrounding areas, called *malmar* (Södermalm, Norrmalm, Västermalm-Kungsholmen, and Östermalm-Ladugårdslandet) have become integrated parts of the city.

⁵⁸⁰ Nystöm, "Daurerska malmgården," 91, 93, 113.

⁵⁸¹ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 452; Bedoire, *Guldålder*, 114; Alm et al, *Barockens konst*, 73.

⁵⁸² Bedoire, *Guldålder*, 181.

5.5 Case Study: Venngarn Castle

In the 1660s, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie decided to rebuild an existing but aging castle, conveniently situated half-way between Stockholm and Uppsala, Venngarn.⁵⁸³ Jean de la Vallée designed both the residence and its surroundings. In contrast to many countrymen, De la Gardie decided to plan a garden created for pleasure. Venngarn became an early example in Sweden of a formal garden elaborated in harmonization with the building.

In order to achieve the desired multiplicative effect obtained by coordinated designs, both entities would best be created simultaneously and with attention to proportion, structure, texture, width, length, and perspective. In de la Vallée's plan, wide semi-octagonal terraces descended from the building down to the central part of the garden, which, in turn, extended outwards on both sides of a central axis giving symmetry and regularity to the entire layout.⁵⁸⁴ Covered allées, *berceaux*, framing the parterres provided volume and emphasized the symmetrical effect. Large numbers of trees and flowers were imported for this ambitious project and both terraces and parterres were decorated with flowers and trimmed hedges. A team of sculptors created decorative elements, portrait busts of Roman emperors for the terrace balustrades and allegorical scenes for the waterworks. A fountain constituted a visual focal point and peripheral channels at straight angles diffused any excessive rigidity caused by the rectilinear central

⁵⁸³ The discussion of the Venngarn *garden* is based on Eriksson, *Rudbeck*, 208; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 418; Lindahl, "Jean de la Vallée," 39; Olausson, "Trädgårdskonsten," 166; Swederus, "Svensk hortikultur," 10; Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 58.

⁵⁸⁴ Venngarn appears in four images in the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, of which two plates are dedicated to the garden: KoB Dahlb 1:148, 1:149, and two images on plate 1:150.

axis. The parterre section was followed by a star-shaped bosquet and the whole layout ended in a small building on a hill. This gazebo was likely used as a summer dining room and from there visitors could get a good view of the vegetation, smell the flowers, and hear the birds and the sparkling fountains. Thereby, all components of the Venngarn garden collaborated in order to achieve the sensorial stimuli characteristic of formal designs. Rudbeck the Elder helped his friend De la Gardie with the construction of orangeries stretching outwards from the *corps de logis*, thereby matching the width of the building to the surface of the garden.

De la Gardie died in 1686, and Venngarn has since then had many owners and occupants. During most of the twentieth century the site housed a rehabilitation centre and when Karling wrote his dissertation on garden history in 1931, the former parterres had been transformed into cabbage and potato fields.⁵⁸⁵ In 2013, Venngarn was bought by a developer, whose plan is to turn the castle and surrounding buildings into a residential village with its own bakery, a hotel, restaurants, conference facilities, a daycare, a gym, and cultural activities for the inhabitants. In 2014, the former octagonal terraces were the used for a movie projection (figure 70).

⁵⁸⁵ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 430.



Figure 69. Venngarn Castle garden. www.wenngarn.se, consulted 2014.

In the above photo, the structure of the original garden is clearly visible, but all details have been eliminated. The trees, not original, are pollarded. An interview with the head gardener at Venngarn, Daniel Bell, revealed that a re-creation of the early modern layout is not envisaged.⁵⁸⁶ Bell claimed that a restoration would be too costly, mentioning specifically a re-opening of the canals. Plants popular in the early modern period were not deemed to be of interest and Bell had decided to create an interpretation of a castle garden, meaning other plant varieties and the construction of new greenhouses, one of which features a ‘living wall’. Cherry trees have been planted, but they will not be formed into a tunnel arbour, *berceau*, as they were in the late seventeenth century. A promotional book on the recent and on-going renovations at Venngarn describes the vision as follows: “Garden designer Daniel Bell has been influenced by the previous traditions of the

⁵⁸⁶ Interview 27 April 2015.

garden, but also aspires to add his own vision of a romantic, light and airy terrace-cultivation.”⁵⁸⁷

In 1982, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), an advisory board to the United Nations’ organization for education, science and culture, UNESCO, adopted a declaration specifically regarding historic gardens, the so-called *Florence Charter*, which establishes what should be taken into consideration before carrying out any alterations to existing layouts:

No restoration work and, above all, no reconstruction work on a historic garden shall be undertaken without thorough prior research to ensure that such work is scientifically executed, and which will involve everything from excavation to the assembling of records relating to the garden in question and to similar gardens. Before any practical work starts, a project must be prepared on the basis of said research and must be submitted to a group of experts for joint examination and approval.⁵⁸⁸

The ICOMOS organization does not have any legislative power and the protection of ancient monuments is the responsibility of each member country. In Sweden, this area is regulated by the Cultural Heritage Act (*Kulturmiljölagen*), a law created to protect archeological finds, classified buildings and sites, religious cultural goods, and ancient

⁵⁸⁷ Ahlberg-Valdna, Larsson and Sahlqvist, *Wenngarn, Eight Months*, 46.

⁵⁸⁸ http://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/gardens_e.pdf (consulted on 30 September 2016); Lundquist, “Trädgårdskonstens,” 22.

geographic names.⁵⁸⁹ Venngarn was designated as a cultural monument (*byggnadsminne*) in 1935 and is therefore subject to obligations as per the Cultural Heritage Act. In the case of private properties, the Act is enforced by the County Administrative Boards (*länsstyrelser*) and listed monuments are managed and monitored on an individual basis according to their origin, history and current needs. In 1997, the Stockholm County Administrative Board added a few precisions, *Beslut*, to existing directives regarding Venngarn, pointing out that the entire estate is to be treated as a whole and that the adjoining land is covered by the same legal obligations as the buildings: “In view of the fact that the castle and its garden, from the point of view of cultural heritage, are to be considered a coherent unit, the same protection regulations shall apply to both areas.” The document continues: “Underground foundations may not be damaged. Terraces or trees are not to be handled in a way that alters the park’s architectural character.”⁵⁹⁰

The County Administrative Board has requested that the current owner prepare a plan for the development and care (*vårdplan*) of the Venngarn surroundings. By October 2016, no interest in the elaboration of such a document had been indicated.⁵⁹¹ The promotional book *Wenngarn*, published in 2014, declares: “Sweden’s first baroque garden has been renovated and become a beautiful vegetable garden with, among other edibles, hops and raspberry... The castle terrace has been renovated and is now beautiful picnic

⁵⁸⁹ The Cultural Heritage Act online: www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/kulturmiljolag-1988950_sfs-1988-950.

⁵⁹⁰ “Med hänsyn till att slottet och slottsparken från byggnadsminnessynpunkt skall ses som en sammanhängande enhet bör samma skyddsföreskrifter gälla för de båda områdena... 3. I jorden befintliga grundmurar får inte skadas. Terrassanordningar och trädbestånd får inte behandlas så att trädgårdens och parkens arkitektoniska karaktär därigenom förändras.” *Beslut. Byggnadsminnesförklaring enligt lagen om kulturminnen m.m. av Venngarns slott på fastigheten Venngarn 1:7 även omfattande slottsparken på fastigheten Venngarn 1:1, S:t Olofs socken, Sigtuna kommun*, dated 24 November 1997. See www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/anlaggning/visaDokument.raa?anlaggningId=21300000013386&page=dokument

⁵⁹¹ Correspondence with Patrick Björklund, Stockholm County Administrative Board, 19 October 2016.

areas with room for live music.”⁵⁹² With the construction of new commercial buildings at Venngarn and a completely different planting scheme, the possibility of reviving the original seventeenth-century garden has been drastically diminished. The Venngarn castle *building* has been renovated in recent years, to my knowledge preserving original structures and details, and the Venngarn estate is thus an example of the willingness to spend efforts and financial resources in order to maintain historic buildings, while gardens from the same period are overlooked.

5.6 Swedish Formal Gardens in the Late Seventeenth Century

5.6.1 Horticultural Knowledge and Live Plants

André Mollet and his son Jean had limited impact on the development of garden architecture in Sweden. However, horticultural knowledge and design ideas arrived through other means. As discussed, many garden owners and botanists imported large numbers of plants from the European continent. They used cultural agents or enlisted the assistance of diplomats, who organized the procurement and transportation of the coveted items. The frequent purchases and subsequent shipments of plants illustrate another web of cultural exchanges. Undoubtedly, the local agents regularly provided catalogues or information about horticultural novelties to their Nordic customers.

Examples of purchases of flowers and trees from abroad are numerous. Karling expressed his astonishment at the wealth of species that the large gardens contained.⁵⁹³ Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, a large-scale cultural investor, was very enthusiastic about

⁵⁹² Ahlberg-Valdna, Larsson and Sahlqvist, *Wenngarn, Eight Months*, 27.

⁵⁹³ “Man förvånas över den rikedom på arter, som de större trädgårdarna innehöllo, och varom inventarierna bära vittnesbörd.” Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 546.

his gardens and regularly bought plants and trees from across Europe. The year 1663 appears to have been a time with particularly intense horticultural purchases for the eager garden owner. As discussed in connection with the Uppsala Botanical Garden, 1663 is the year when De la Gardie and Rudbeck the Elder placed a large order together in the Dutch Republic.⁵⁹⁴ In addition, De la Gardie enlisted the help of the cultural agent Peter Trotzig (1613-1679) in Amsterdam and in the same year that he placed the large order together with Rudbeck, made a request to Trotzig for a shipment of lime trees, elm trees, cypresses, apple-, pear-, and plum trees, almond trees and apricot trees. Later the same year, he once again asked Trotzig to deliver: “two ‘acacia americana’, two ‘acacia egiptia’ and two ‘annanas Fruits Indiens Orientalis’.”⁵⁹⁵ In 1672, almond-, apricot-, and peach trees were bought from the Dutch Republic for another of De la Gardies properties, Höjentorp Castle, 350 kilometers southwest of Stockholm.⁵⁹⁶ A document on Ulriksdal Castle, *Mémoire de ce qui est besoin d’avoir d’Hollande au prain temps prochain*, confirms that large shipments were frequently considered; De la Gardie planned to order five thousand boxwood plants, apple trees (four varieties mentioned), pear-, cherry-, apricot-, and peach trees as well as some lime trees “semblables aux ormes.”⁵⁹⁷ De Jong suggests that the purchases by patrons such as Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie “make us aware of the trading of garden goods as a vital process for understanding the making of

⁵⁹⁴ Jakobsson and Lindahl, “Pomeranshus,” 159; Martinsson and Ryman, *Blomboken*, 19. For a list of plants sent from Amsterdam to Stockholm in 1663 on behalf of De la Gardie, see Wollin, “Ulriksdal,” 116–119. Regarding purchases of plants in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere in Europe by Swedish customers, see also Juvander, “Svenska folkets slott,” 25; Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 252; Losman, “Lust och välbehag,” 38; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 122.

⁵⁹⁵ According to botanist and author Robert Fries, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie also received two guelder-rose bushes (*Viburnum opulus*) from Holland in 1663. R. Fries, “Växtleverans,” 375; Noldus, “Profit and Pleasure,” 60. On cultural agents, see also Cools, Keblusek and Noldus, *Humble Servant*; Noldus, “Dealing in Politics,” Noldus, “Peter Spierinck.”

⁵⁹⁶ Ahrland, *Osynliga handen*, 20.

⁵⁹⁷ Wollin, “Ulriksdal,” 80.

gardens in the North”⁵⁹⁸ The identification of when and where specific plants were obtained would deepen the understanding and interpretation of gardens built in the seventeenth century.

Although the Dutch Republic was a reliable source of plants and trees, Swedish customers also turned to other cities for their horticultural needs. In London, Johan Leijonbergh (1625-1691), *envoyé extraordinaire*, was a popular contact not only for information on current political affairs but also for purchases of rare and exotic plants. In a letter written in February 1665, Leijonbergh informs De la Gardie that he would send six tuberose with a ship set for Gothenburg the next day, so that they could be planted in March at the latest. The correspondence also reveals that Leijonbergh worked in cooperation with André Mollet.⁵⁹⁹ Although a few words are missing from the available transcription, another letter from Leijonbergh to De la Gardie appears to suggest that Mollet was travelling due to work, presumably in his capacity as royal gardener, and that the diplomat had to wait for the return of “Queen Christina’s former gardener” before being able to provide instructions on how to care for the tuberose. Leijonbergh continues by discussing forty rose bushes, which had been wrapped in dry hay by “M:r Mollett,” but would be sent across the Sound at a later date.⁶⁰⁰ In 1687, communication between Leijonbergh and Carl Gyllenstierna (1649-1723), court administrator to dowager queen Hedvig Eleonora, indirectly confirm the high esteem for Dutch horticultural knowledge at the time:

⁵⁹⁸ Jong, “Plants and Gardeners,” 74–75.

⁵⁹⁹ See also Conan, “Claude Mollet,” 26.

⁶⁰⁰ In a letter written in June that same year, Leijonbergh is the one who informs De la Gardie that Mollet has died. Wollin, “Ulriksdal,” 113–114. See also R. Fries, “Växtleverans,” 370.

I am now sending with the skipper Stefwen Steenrot three wooden boxes, partly filled with young trees and partly with roots, and the rest with flowers, in addition to a small round basket in which are a few extraordinary *polianthes*, which can still perk up and carry [blooms], and are of the same kind as the Dutch ambassador might send to the Prince of Orange, but must be planted in a space free from sunshine.⁶⁰¹

Karling observes that matters regarding gardening occupy a remarkably large space in private correspondence in the seventeenth century. Besides diplomats in the Dutch Republic, France, and England, also Swedes travelling abroad were asked to purchase horticultural material, Karling referring especially to “Erik Dahlbergh’s many commissions.”⁶⁰² Rudbeck the Elder’s requests for botanical samples from family members and colleagues is discussed in chapter two.

In addition to flowers and seeds ordered through cultural agents or shipped by travelling countrymen, many immigrants brought fruit trees from their home countries when they relocated to Sweden, thereby contributing to the dissemination of not only garden knowledge but actual plants. Industrialist Louis De Geer the Elder (1587-1652) installed fruit trees from the Dutch Republic at his new home in Norrköping, Stenhuset, 160 kilometers southwest of Stockholm. On occasion, one of De Geer’s former gardeners

⁶⁰¹ “Jagh sänder nu medh Skiepparen Stefwen Steenrot trenne bräde lådor, dheelz fylte medh någre Vnge trään, dheelz medh rötter, och resten medh Blomor, jämppte een lijten rundh korgh, huar Vthi ähra någre synnerliger polianter, som ännu kan skie törez komma sigh före och bähra, warandes af samma slagh som Hollske Amb:n monde sända till Princen af Oranjen, men moste Vthi een orth som frij kan wara för Sohlen planteras.” R. Fries, “Växtleverans,” 373. Hedvig Eleonora had also used the services of Leijonbergh in 1673. Wollin, “Drottningholms I,” 33.

⁶⁰² For instance, Erik Dahlbergh bought plant seeds and trees for his brother-in-law Magnus Wilhelm Drakenhielm while in Paris. Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 468, 546.

collected seedlings from apple-, pear-, and peach trees at Stenhuset and brought to his new employer, and De Geer's friend, Johan Casimir, Count Palatine of Kleeburg (1589-1652) at Skenäs Castle, thirty kilometers east of Norrköping.⁶⁰³

Gift-giving, often informal and not always documented, contributed to increased horticultural variety, improved knowledge of plants and, ultimately, to the gardens' development. Plants were not only ordered from abroad but were also eagerly exchanged within the country. In March 1653, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie wrote to André Mollet asking him to send lime trees from Ulriksdal Castle to another of his estates, Ekholmen Castle, situated on the shores of Lake Mälaren, approximately sixty kilometers northwest of Stockholm.⁶⁰⁴ The fact that De la Gardie turned to Mollet with his request confirms that Queen Christina had, indeed, sent the gardener to work at Ulriksdal during the short time that she possessed the estate. Another example of exchanges and circulation of plants between local gardens is Anna Margareta Wrangel's (1622-1673) gift of plants from Skokloster Castle to her son-in-law and royal councillor Nils Brahe the Younger (1633-1699), who resided at Rydboholm Castle, in October 1671. The shipment consisted of 150 tulip bulbs in various colours, 125 lilies, 100 *narcisses*, and a large number of irises, hyacinths, jasmines, mallows, and crown imperials.⁶⁰⁵ In April 1683 De la Gardie made a note of the plants that he had decided to send from Karlberg Castle to Käggleholm Castle, an estate he had inherited, situated two hundred kilometers to the west. A transfer between two properties owned by the same person nevertheless contributed to increasing

⁶⁰³ Johan Casimir was married to king Gustav II Adolf's sister Katarina (1584-1638) in 1615. He settled in Sweden in 1622. Dahlgren, *Louis de Geer II*, 522; Dardel, *På jakt*, 23; Helmfrid, *De på Stenhuset*, 194; Noldus, "Profit and Pleasure," 71; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 61.

⁶⁰⁴ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 302.

⁶⁰⁵ Rydboholm is situated approximately seventy kilometers southeast of Skokloster, and twenty-five kilometers north of Stockholm. Losman, "Lust och välbehag," 37, 40.

awareness of, sometimes exotic, plants in various parts of the country. De la Gardie's list included exclusive items such as Adam's needle (*Yucca gloriosa*) in stone- and iron pots, a plant he calls *Indica minor*, irises, bay laurel (*laurum*), yellow violets, carnations, stonecrops (*sedum arborescens*), as well as fig and mulberry trees.⁶⁰⁶

5.6.2 Garden Design after André Mollet – Some Case Studies

As the concept of pleasure gardens became more accepted in Sweden a new generation of architects and gardeners created formal layouts, for instance Jean de la Vallée's design for Venngarn Castle, discussed above. The appearance of Venngarn and other historic gardens in Sweden confirms that geographic mobility was a phenomenon not only among painters, draughtspeople or engravers, but also in horticulture and gardening. In a discussion of seventeenth-century study tours to the continent, historian Ola Winberg suggests that it was increasingly felt that such trips should not only be interesting or educational in a general sense but also contribute to the advancement of scientific knowledge.⁶⁰⁷ The fact that many artists' travels were financed by the Swedish state or by members of the court is also indicative of a conscious desire to raise the level of knowledge and understanding of developments in art, not only to *accept* new forms but to encourage an openness toward them. Lars Olof Larsson suggests that official monetary support was offered in order to improve the level of Swedish art and architecture so that it

⁶⁰⁶ The name *Indica minor* reveals that it was a plant originally from India, or that De la Gardie believed it to be. In 1729 David von Cöln would label the pineapple he depicted *Indica major* (see chapter one). Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 508, 606.

⁶⁰⁷ Winberg suggests that the notion of structured learning and goal-oriented travels was also motivated by an increased awareness of the need for qualified staff to fill positions in government. Winberg, "Mårten Törnhielm," 111

could adhere to “the norms of Italian and French art.”⁶⁰⁸ However, when looking at *all* study tours undertaken by artists such as Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, Johan Hårleman, and Jean de la Vallée, it becomes clear that in addition to trips to Italy and France they also visited the Dutch Republic, Germany, England, even Spain. The possibility, and results, of impressions from such additional sites therefore need to be considered.⁶⁰⁹

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to a discussion of estates and layouts that exemplify the development of formal garden design in Sweden after Mollet’s departure. The literature on individual contributions by the Tessin, Horleman, and de la Vallée families is extensive; the following case studies have been chosen for the way they negotiated international collaboration and local conditions.

Nicodemus Tessin the Elder arrived in Sweden in 1636. Although he is mostly known for accomplishments in architecture, he designed gardens as well. His son, also named Nicodemus, chose the same profession(s) as his father and the Tessin family was highly influential during both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁶¹⁰ While Tessin the Elder came from Stralsund on the south side of the Baltic Sea, the son was born in Sweden.⁶¹¹ However, as has been pointed out, the place of birth is relatively unimportant in comparison to where the artist obtained his education and professional training and

⁶⁰⁸ “Det handlar alltså om ett medvetet försök att genom att gynna den inhemska återväxten inom arkitekturen och bildkonsten kunna ansluta sig till de normer i den italienska och franska konsten som nu accepterades som tongivande.” Larsson, “Konstnärlig utveckling,” 274.

⁶⁰⁹ Tessin the Younger made study trips in 1673-77 (to Germany and Italy), in 1677-80 (to France and England), in 1687-88 (to the Dutch Republic, France, and Italy), and in 1690 (to Germany). Johan Hårleman’s travels were done in 1680-85 (to England, the Dutch Republic, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain), in 1689 (to the Dutch Republic), and in 1699-1700 (to France and the Dutch Republic). Jean de la Vallée visited France and Italy 1646-50.

⁶¹⁰ A third generation Tessin, Nicodemus the Younger’s son Carl Gustaf (1695-1770) became a leading personality, culturally and politically, in the eighteenth century.

⁶¹¹ Stralsund belonged to Sweden 1648–1814. It is today part of Germany.

both generations Tessin made extensive study trips on the European continent and during these tours made detailed drawings of buildings and gardens and their time abroad was spent in serious study.⁶¹² Over time, both father and son Tessin worked on the design of the garden at Drottningholm Palace, the home of dowager queen Hedvig Eleonora. After a fire had destroyed an original building in the last days of 1661, Tessin the Elder was commissioned to create plans for both a new palace and its surroundings. Tessin's garden was an expansive layout that extended directly from the terrace behind the main residence. There would be four rectangular parterres, two in boxwood and two in *gazon coupé*, waterworks such as ponds and canals, bosquets, and an aviary. The whole arrangement was to end in double allées in the shape of a star, with rows of trees pointing outward into the landscape. In sum, Tessin's project contained many of the 'required' elements of a formal garden. However, there was no stylistic connection to the building, nor had Tessin taken the topography of the area into account and enormous efforts to level off the terrain for the bosquet would have been necessary. As suggested above, a popular technique to extend garden vistas was to orient a garden toward water, which added light and unhindered views. Surprisingly, while Drottningholm is situated on an island, Tessin's placement of both castle and garden did not take advantage of the proximity to water. The waterside parterre is narrow and mostly a place to disembark from boats arriving from the capital or elsewhere around Lake Mälaren. In addition, the formal garden behind the castle is situated on higher ground and cannot be glimpsed through the building's windows or French doors, which would have increased its attraction.

⁶¹² The Nationalmuseum has published a series of original documents by Tessin the Younger, including a travel diary and drawings of garden designs. See Tessin, *Sources, Works, Collections III, IV*. On Tessin the Younger's travel diary, see also Henriksson, "Trädgårdskonsten;" Sirén, *Tessin d.y:s s studieresor*; Upmark, "Besuch in Holland".

Tessin the Elder's garden had not been built when he passed away in 1681. Recently returned from his second European tour, his son inherited the task. Tessin the Younger based the new design on his father's earlier work but also on impressions gathered during his travels. He placed a stronger emphasis on the central axis by eliminating the transversal canals, thereby enhancing the perspective and the sense of grandeur. He also moved the allées further out to the sides (and doubled them from two to four rows), thereby making the width of the garden correspond to the size of the building. The resulting larger garden room favoured greater monumentality and thereby a more effective message about the owner's status and prestige. By this time, the younger Tessin had visited Italy, France, and England, but not yet the Dutch Republic. Wollin suggests that the young architect used ideas from French contemporary gardens for his Drottningholm commission, ideas which he combined and adapted to the existing topography at the site. For instance, the embroidery motifs were inspired by Vaux-le-Vicomte, the water parterre by the Château de Chantilly, the bosquets by Versailles, and the star-shaped finale by the Château de Clagny.⁶¹³

Tessin the Younger's plan is still visible in many components of the formal garden at Drottningholm.⁶¹⁴ However, a number of simplifications have taken place. The embroidery patterns have been replaced by plain grass lawns (compare figures 70 and 71) and the *plate-bandes* surrounding the parterres -- originally planted with spruce, juniper, lilac, elderberry, spirea and privet -- today consist of more grass and box trimmed to large

⁶¹³ Wollin, "Drottningholms I," 40-44. See also Lindahl, "Tessin d.y.," 55; Olausson, "Trädgårdskonsten," 178.

⁶¹⁴ The double allées -- four rows -- of lime trees were recently replaced, between 1998 and 2014. Cuttings from original specimens were partly used. <https://www.kungahuset.se/>; Löfgren Uppsäll, "Kungens nya lindalléer;" Nolin, *Drottningholms slottspark*, 55.

cubes.⁶¹⁵ However, according to head gardener Paulina Landin, there are plans to restore the parterres by reintroducing embroidery motifs and by adding bushes and other small plants to the surrounding *plate-bandes*, in accordance with the appearance in the seventeenth century.⁶¹⁶ In September 2019, garden architect Kolbjörn Waern confirmed the plans for embroidered parterres, but explained that the work is delayed because of financial considerations.⁶¹⁷



Figure 70. Drottningholm Palace, embroidery parterre seen from second floor, 2015. Photo by author.



Figure 71. Willem Swidde, *Drottningholm versus meridiem*, detail, 1692. Engraving, 27x57 cm. Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb I:78).

⁶¹⁵ Lindahl, "Tessin d.y.," 53; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 68; Nolin, *Drottningholms slottspark*, 49.

⁶¹⁶ Expressed verbally, Dec 2016.

⁶¹⁷ Email, 20 September 2019.

Toward the end of the century, Tessin the Younger built his own residence in the capital, in a lovely location across from the Royal Palace, and he naturally prepared all the plans himself, including the layout of the garden. The architect was met by the additional challenge of a small and oddly shaped terrain, somewhat resembling an ice-cream cone. Construction started in 1697, and Lindahl suggests that the building was inspired by Roman villas, such as Palazzo Farnese and the residence where Queen Kristina had settled after her abdication, Palazzo Riario (today Corsini).⁶¹⁸ The residence surrounds the small garden on three sides, but Tessin nevertheless managed to incorporate a number of formal elements normally associated with much larger sites; embroidery in boxwood, walkways, statues on pedestals, and two aviaries. A few trees represented the bosquet. On the fourth side, Tessin built an architectural structure, called the Hermitage. This elaborate wall consisted of a shallow grotto with imitation rock formations and trickling water, superimposed by two floors in *trompe l'oeil* giving an illusion of depth. This construction simultaneously guaranteed privacy in this densely populated part of Stockholm. Today, the aviaries are empty, and the statues have been replaced by urns, but the parterre is still planted in box and maintains the original motif (figures 72 and 73).

⁶¹⁸ Lindahl, "Tessin d.y.," 58.



Figure 72. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, *The Tessinska Palace. Plan for the Main Building and the Garden. With explanations*, detail, 1696. Pencil and ink, wash in gray, watercolour in green and blue/paper, 159.3x76.4 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMC THC 1262).



Figure 73. *Tessinska Palace, embroidery parterre seen from second floor, April 2015. Photo by author.*

Tessin's tightly planted parterre is best viewed from the windows of the residence.

Strolling about within the embroideries – as seen in the Drottningholm engraving from the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (figure 71) – was less practical, and people often skirted the

delicate designs. Instead, a visitor to the Tessinska Palace could engage with the garden by walking on the paths to the aviaries or to the grotto, while seeing, smelling, and touching the plants and listening to the birds. This was – and still is – a peaceful green oasis in the middle of the city.

In the 1690s, Tessin the Younger created designs for Piperska Muren (figure 74), a property on Kungsholmen Island belonging to the secretary of state Carl Piper (1647-1716) and his wife Christina (1673-1752). This garden work was, in fact, jointly carried out by Tessin and his colleague Johan Hårleman. The latter came from a family of gardeners of German or Dutch origin.⁶¹⁹ Hårleman's father, Christian Horleman, had worked in Germany and in the Dutch Republic before being appointed royal gardener and in charge of Kungsträdgården in Stockholm in 1666.⁶²⁰ As indicated above, Hårleman spent several years abroad and his numerous travels seem to have been undertaken both in order to study and document gardens – the Horlemans did not design buildings – and to arrange the importation of plants and trees for Swedish customers.⁶²¹ De Jong has also found that Hårleman carried out design work during a visit to Zutphen in the Dutch Republic, such as a grotto and a garden wall.⁶²² By the time Hårleman was hired by the

⁶¹⁹ Noldus claims that Johan's father, Christian Horleman, was born in The Hague, Stavenow that he came from Oldenburg, other sources suggest Delmenhorst, Germany. Johan was ennobled in 1698, and this is when he changed the spelling of his name to Hårleman. *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*; Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 170; *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*; Stavenow, "Johan Hårleman," 53.

⁶²⁰ In 1669 Horleman obtained a privilege to import fruit trees to Sweden. He appears to have worked in this capacity for the rest of his life. For instance, in 1684 Horleman received payment for one hundred lime trees delivered to Skokloster Castle. Wollin suggests that in this enterprise Horleman was assisted by Jean Mollet. This fact leads to the conclusion that Mollet continued trading in plants also after the death of his father (†1665). Losman, "Lust och välbehag," 38; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 68; Wollin, "Drottningholms I," 33.

⁶²¹ In a letter written during his third trip, Hårleman mentions that he intended to do his garden purchases in "Hålland and Brabandh," both for the possibility of finding rare plants and curiosities there and the facility of transportation (compared to Paris). Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste*, 172; Olausson, "Stormaktsambitioner," 203; Stavenow, "Johan Hårleman," 56; Wollin, "Noor i Uppland," 14.

⁶²² Jong, "Nicodemus Tessin," 44.

Piper family, he was a respected and experienced designer and horticulturist; he had been in high demand among both private and royal patrons since he returned from his first study tour in 1685.⁶²³ In 1695, a Danish apprentice, Nicolai Johansen Brandt, was sent to Sweden to study under Hårleman, presumably because he, or Swedish garden knowledge in general, was better regarded than what Denmark could offer. Letters sent to his employer chancellor Conrad Reventlow (1644-1708) reveal Brandt's admiration for his mentor's extensive knowledge.⁶²⁴ Hårleman was also responsible for the garden at Noor Castle and initially cared for the agave when it was gifted to the estate's owner Nils Gyldenstolpe in 1698 (chapter one).⁶²⁵ The exotic plant started blooming in 1708, the year following the gardener's death.

The Piperska Muren was an exceptionally large project for the capital, which was becoming more densely populated.⁶²⁶ According to Karling, the *malmgårdar* gardens in Stockholm played an important role in the development of the artform since they were more elaborate and detailed than corresponding properties in the countryside.⁶²⁷ In addition, the relatively short distances within the city facilitated exchanges and

⁶²³ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 611; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 69.

⁶²⁴ Brandt, "Letter 13 April 1695;" Brandt, "Letter 17 May 1695;" Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 611. Karling calls Brandt's employer Rantzau.

⁶²⁵ Lundquist suggests that the plant was "most likely" brought to Noor by Hårleman in person. Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 71.

⁶²⁶ Tessin the Younger and Hårleman collaborated on several projects – Piperska Muren, Steninge Castle, Rosersberg Palace and Drottningholm Palace -- from the late seventeenth century until 1707, when the latter died at the age of 44. The division of tasks between the two remains vague. Stavenow argues that Hårleman was no more than an assistant to Tessin, while Wollin claims that as Tessin's collaborator Hårleman worked "more or less independently" but was always "artistically dependent" on Tessin. Karling suggests that Hårleman "became one of our foremost garden architects." Lundquist claims that Hårleman was "one of the most versatile gardeners during the Swedish baroque period." Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 300; Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 63; Olausson, "Stormaktsambitioner," 203; Stavenow, "Johan Hårleman," 60; Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 77. For a discussion of the difficulty establishing the level of contributions by Hårleman, see Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 281n.

⁶²⁷ Karling, *Trädgårdskonstens historia*, 270.

communication, and inspiration, between gardeners and estate owners. When Carl and Christina Piper bought their piece of land on Kungsholmen Island in 1694 it was already quite large, covering two lots. They resided in the Petersenska Huset in another part of town, and the *malmgård* was to become their summer residence, even though the two properties were less than two kilometers apart.⁶²⁸ A few years later, they decided to add a *potager* to their retreat and purchased more land across the street. This vegetable plot was larger than the original garden, a circumstance pointing to an owner aspiring to pleasure and prestige but, again, to a practical mind.⁶²⁹ As suggested in connection with Rosenhane's decision to abandon Mollet's designs for his garden on Munkelägrät, many Swedish estate owners continued providing space for vegetables also in very formal settings.⁶³⁰ Rosenhane's project had been initiated in the early 1650s, and the Pipers' garden was built about forty years later, indicating a continued focus on the cultivation of edible plants throughout the century. Naturally, vegetables and fruits needed to be grown, but the Pipers' kitchen plot was even allowed to interrupt the line of perspective of their formal garden.

⁶²⁸ Forsstrand, *Malmgårdar*, 75.

⁶²⁹ Holmlund and Manker, "Det i flor stående Stockholm," 69.

⁶³⁰ Both Rosenhane's and the Pipers' garden were situated on Kungsholmen Island. Rosenhane's terrain stretched out between Kungsholmsgatan and Fleminggatan, and Piperska Muren was located between Bergsgatan, Scheelegatan (then called Trädgårdsgatan), Kungsholmsgatan and the hill Kvarnberget (today known as Kungsklippan).



Figure 74. Johannes van den Aveelen, *Piperska Muren*, c. 1700. Engraving, 29x37 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (ID 10925830).

Art historian Åke Stavenow suggests that on collaborative projects between the two garden architects, Tessin the Younger would create the overall plan while Hårleman designed individual components such as fountains and embroidery patterns. For the Piper family, Hårleman also drew a wall that surrounded the estate, which he adorned with niches and rusticated pilasters.⁶³¹ As a horticulturist with international experience, Hårleman would also be the one who chose and installed the various plants and trees. The Pipers' formal garden featured ten parterres with elaborate embroidery motifs, fountains, bosquets, and a large orangery. Yet, several un-traditional elements indicate that the owners also took local traditions into account; the central axis was very short, cut off by a hill in the east and by the kitchen garden across the street in the west. Furthermore, the owners built two residences, admittedly creating a very symmetrical layout, but thereby losing the effect and coherence a single building would have created. At the time, the Piperska Muren was praised as the tidiest and the most prestigious private garden in

⁶³¹ Hårleman's wall became such a significant hallmark that the entire estate is still known as the Pipers' Wall (*Piperska Muren*). A drawing of the wall, signed and dated by Hårleman, is kept at Nationalmuseum (NMH THC 4348). Lundquist, "Johan Hårleman," 68; Stavenow, "Johan Hårleman," 66.

Stockholm.⁶³² It is, therefore, surprising that this gem is not included in the *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, whose purpose was precisely to show off the country's most impressive buildings and their surroundings. Johannes van den Aveelen, the artist creating the engravings for the *Suecia* during these years, prepared as many as seven illustrations of the immense garden, but for 'unknown reasons' they were not chosen for the project.⁶³³

Over the years, the Piperska estate was divided and sold piecemeal.⁶³⁴ A part of the site is today owned by a fraternal order, the *Coldinuorden*, which in 1997 decided to create a geometric garden facing the street. Not based on original documents, it can be described as an homage rather than a recreation of the seventeenth-century design.

Another project where members of both the Tessin and Hårleman families were likely involved is Sandemar Castle, thirty kilometers south-east of the capital.⁶³⁵ This estate is described as "a miracle" because of the fact that both its interior and exterior have remained essentially unaltered since the late seventeenth century.⁶³⁶ Journalist Håkan Jonsson claims that Sandemar is "considered one of the world's best preserved baroque estates."⁶³⁷ The fact that this property, situated directly on the waterfront, was not destroyed by the Russian navy in 1719, could also be described as miraculous. The

⁶³² Forsstrand, *Malmgårdar*, 74.

⁶³³ Forsstrand dates van den Aveelen's prints to the late seventeenth or first years of the eighteenth century, while Holmlund and Manker suggest that they are "likely" from the 1720s. The later date would explain why the images were not included in the *Suecia*, which had been published in 1715. Forsstrand, *Malmgårdar*, 74; Forsstrand, "Trädgårdar," 89; Holmlund and Manker, "Det i flor stående Stockholm," 68.

⁶³⁴ Forsstrand, *Malmgårdar*, 88.

⁶³⁵ The discussion of Sandemar Castle and its garden is based on S-I Andersson, "Våra gamla trädgårdar;" Bedoire, *Svenska slott*; Bengtson, "Sandemar;" Groth and Strömblad, *Barock och Rokoko*; Jonsson, "Bland dansande putti;" Kjellberg and Svensson, *Slott och herresäten i Sverige*; Klingspor, *Sandemar*; Roosval, *Svenska slott och herresäten*; Stahre, "Nu är grindarna;" Sylvén, "Tvenne höstdagar;" Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 430; Thacker, "The Bounty of Sweden;" Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 71.

⁶³⁶ S-I Andersson, "Våra gamla trädgårdar," 11; Sylvén, "Tvenne höstdagar," 86; Wollin, "Svenska lustträdgårdar," 72.

⁶³⁷ "Sandemar anses höra till världens bäst bevarade barockanläggningar." Jonsson, "Bland dansande putti," 19.

theories as to why it was spared are many, the proximity to the Dalarö fortifications being the most plausible.

The architect for Sandemar has not been established with certainty but was likely Tessin the Elder.⁶³⁸ There are fewer doubts about the creator of the Sandemar garden, of which the final design has been attributed to Johan Hårleman.⁶³⁹ Work on both the residence and its surroundings were begun as early as the 1670s. The castle was finished in 1693, but it appears that the garden was elaborated over an even longer period of time.⁶⁴⁰ According to Jonsson, a first, simple, garden consisted of allées plus four parterres with a “round spot” in the middle.⁶⁴¹ It is unlikely that this layout was created by Hårleman, who was still young at the time. The garden was, however, re-designed in the 1690s, and this is when Hårleman would have been called in. In the first half of the decade, he also worked on the gardens at Östanå and Stora Wäsby Castles, before, as we have seen, collaborating on the Pipers’ summer residence.⁶⁴² Adding Sandemar to the other projects means that the last years of the seventeenth century were very busy for Hårleman, and an indication of the demand for his services.

Lundquist suggests that many of Hårleman’s designs are “very modest by European standards” but are simultaneously characterized by “an unpretentious

⁶³⁸ On proposed architects for Sandemar, including Erik Dahlbergh, see Bengtson, “Sandemar,” 11; Groth and Strömblad, *Barock och rokokok*, 73; Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 430; Stahre, “Nu är grindarna,” 8; Kjellberg and Svensson, *Slott och herresäten i Sverige*, 74.

⁶³⁹ Groth and Strömblad, *Barock och rokokok*, 81; Taylor, *Oxford Companion to Garden*, 430.

⁶⁴⁰ In the summer of 1696, King Karl XI and Erik Dahlbergh visited Sandemar together, by which time both *château* and garden would have been completed. Jonsson, “Bland dansande putti,” Klingspor, *Sandemar*, 9.

⁶⁴¹ Jonsson, “Bland dansande putti,” 19.

⁶⁴² Hårleman’s design work for Östanå Castle was mentioned in connection with the discussion of extant *Suecia* drawings, chapter three.

equilibrium and the refinement of simplicity.”⁶⁴³ Similar words are used by Jonsson when describing the garden at Sandemar: “... with reduced means and a restrained form, he created a measured, beautiful layout.”⁶⁴⁴ Considering Hårleman’s knowledge of European gardens, such modest designs could indicate that he knew how to adapt his ideas according to the financial concerns or personal preferences of his customers.

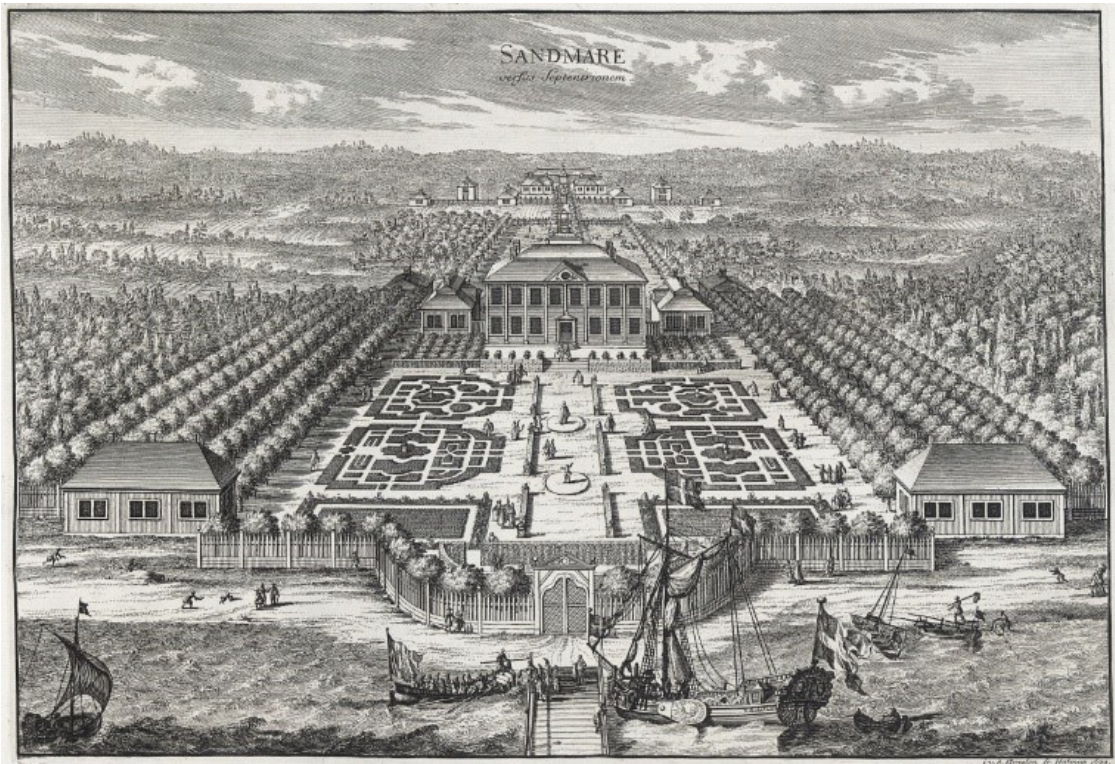


Figure 75. Johannes van den Aveelen, *Sandmare versus Septentrionem*, 1699. Engraving, 23x34 cm. Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm (KoB Dahlb II:25).

While several authors claim that the Sandemar estate has been untouched over time, I want to draw attention to certain details that have been altered since its inception.

⁶⁴³ “Även om uppbyggnaden av Noors lilla barockträdgård kan ses som högst programmatisk och hela anläggningen, liksom för övrigt både Stora Wäsby och Östanå, som ytterst modest med europeiska mått mätt, måste den ändå tillerkännas en anspråkslöshetens balans och ett enkelhetens raffinemang.” Lundquist, “Johan Hårleman,” 67.

⁶⁴⁴ “... med små medel och en sparsmakad gestaltning skapade han en måttfull vacker anläggning.” Jonsson, “Bland dansande putti,” 19.

The *Suecia* engraving from 1699 (figure 75) depicts a garden in which the central axis and, hence, the entire perspective is oriented from the back of the residence directly toward the water, the Stockholm archipelago and the Baltic Sea. However, the length of the axis has, as discussed, been extended because of the gradual rise in land. In 1699, the four parterres closest to the castle were decorated with intricate low-cut motifs and the central axis was accompanied by trimmed boxwood hedges along its entire length. With the framing effect provided by multiple rows of lime allées a well-proportioned garden room corresponding to the width of the residences was created. The entire garden measured about a hundred meters in length, but the vista over open water undoubtedly added considerable volume and perspective to the comprehensive view.⁶⁴⁵ However, no trees are seen on the parterres in the *Suecia* print whereas now there are several. Spruces (*Picea abies*) and/or yews (*Taxus baccata*), trimmed into pyramids, have been documented since at least the nineteenth century.⁶⁴⁶ These trees have now taken on quite gigantic proportions, which give a more vertical, but simultaneously altered, impression. In his *Jardin de Plaisir*, Mollet had proposed another species for bringing height and volume to a garden: the cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens*). He included advice on how to protect the sensitive plants in winter, including laying dried leaves on the ground to shield the roots, and hay mats wrapped around the trees all the way to the top.⁶⁴⁷ Lundquist suggests that Mollet's "benevolent" advice was not based on actual experience, and the cypress was never successfully adopted in Nordic gardens.⁶⁴⁸ Instead spruces became the

⁶⁴⁵ For an imaginative account of what it would be like to arrive at Sandemar by boat, see Klingspor, *Sandemar*, 5.

⁶⁴⁶ See watercolour by Fritz von Dardel (1817–1901), *Park with Statues, Sandemar, 23 August 1887*. Nordiska museet, Stockholm (NMA.0043714).

⁶⁴⁷ Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir*, chapter IX.

⁶⁴⁸ Lundquist, "Om vildväxande," 142.

favoured species for hedges and topiary. However, it appears that the trees now growing at Sandemar were not included in the original plan, and their non-symmetrical placement, although spectacular, is not quite geometrical.

Another father-and-son duo who contributed to the development of architecture and garden design in Sweden in the seventeenth century was Simon de la Vallée (c. 1590-1642) and his son Jean. The elder de la Vallée had received his training in France and had also worked in the Dutch Republic before he decided to move to Sweden in 1637. In the employ of Stadtholder Frederick Henry, de la Vallée had collaborated with André Mollet in the early 1630s. Karling suggests that influences from the latter can be seen in de la Vallée's designs, for instance in his plans for the surroundings at Fiholm Castle "with its firm composition and its articulation of the garden by means of rectilinear units."

Landscape architect Lars Nyberg suggests that Örbyhus Castle, another of de la Vallée's projects, is reminiscent of Mollet's plans for Honselaarsdijk.⁶⁴⁹ The designs for these estates thus exemplify, once again, the exchanges between French and Dutch design practices. De la Vallée arrived – and had died – in Sweden before Mollet moved to Stockholm in 1648. If de la Vallée brought influences from Mollet already in the second half of the 1630s, this means that Swedish patrons had had the opportunity to become familiar with formal garden concepts a decade before the Kungsträdgården parterre was created. Such an influence is, furthermore, another example of the extent of Mollet's importance in the development of garden design in the seventeenth century.

⁶⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the garden at Fiholm was never built, and nothing remains of the original design at Örbyhus. Fiholm Castle is situated approximately 100 kilometers west of Stockholm, Örbyhus Castle 120 kilometers north of the capital. Karling, "Drottning Christinas," 113, 121; Karling, "Importance of André Mollet," 20; Nyberg, "Simon de la Vallée," 18-19.

Simon de la Vallée's young son Jean was with him in the Dutch Republic and accompanied him on the move to the north. Jean naturally received his first architectural training from his father but in 1646 went on a four-year study tour to Holland, Paris, and Rome. Like the Tessins, Simon and Jean de la Vallée designed both buildings and their surroundings. The fact that gardens also were created by professional architects is indicative of their increasing status, plus the realization that outdoor spaces could be transformed into works of art and carry the same significance and status as buildings. As mentioned in connection with Jean de la Vallée's design for Venngarn Castle, when all components were designed simultaneously and by the same artist, the chances of a more harmonious and coherent appearance increased.

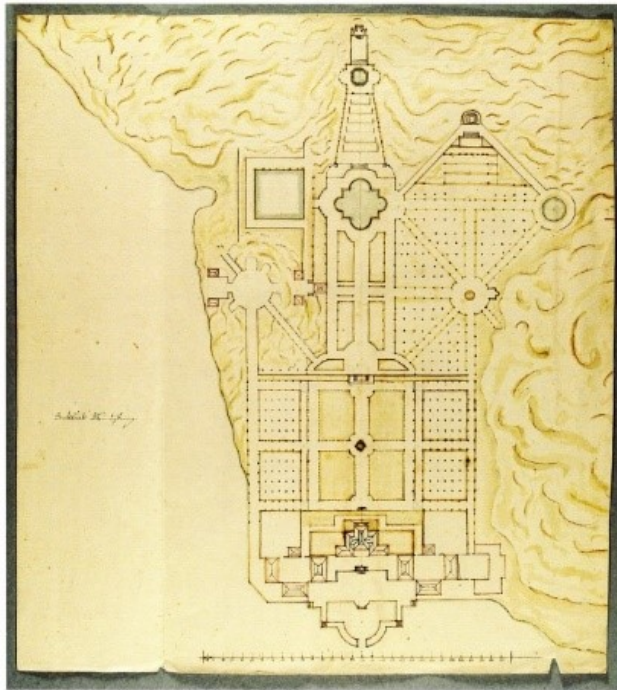


Figure 76. Jean de la Vallée, attributed, *Plan for Beatelund Manor garden*, seventeenth century. Graciously provided by S. Westerberg.

Jean de la Vallée designed the original residence at Beatelund, thirty kilometers east of Stockholm, and he is likely the one who also planned its surroundings (figure 76).⁶⁵⁰ The formal garden takes into account, even benefits from, the site's uneven topography. By orienting the garden parallel to the Baltic Sea, the surrounding forest becomes less overwhelming, and the overall impression is of light and airiness. The hilly terrain was then used for the raised focal point at the end of the central axis, on top of which a tower was built.⁶⁵¹ As an alternative to embroidered parterres, Mollet also promoted grass-covered lawns, so-called *parterres de compartments*. This feature was applied to the garden at Beatelund, where the parterres are covered by grass and decorated with a statue in the centre of each square.⁶⁵² The original garden did not survive, but it was decided, in the 1930s, to re-introduce the seventeenth-century design, and Beatelund is now one of the very few sites in the country where a formal garden can be experienced as it appeared and functioned in the early modern period.⁶⁵³

Through the examples of a few gardens, at Drottningholm Palace, Tessinska Palace, Piperska Muren, Sandemar Castle, and Beatelund Manor, it has been shown how formal garden designs arrived in Sweden in the later decades of the seventeenth century. While an awareness of the principles of geometric designs is apparent in these layouts, it

⁶⁵⁰ The estate was destroyed during the Russian raids in 1719. The new manor was rebuilt in 1726 on top of the original basement. The discussion of the Beatelund garden is based on Bedoire, *Svenska slott*; Cederlund, "Arkitekturen;" Kjellberg and Svensson, *Slott och herresäten i Sverige*; Löwenfeldt, "Beatelund;" Roosval, *Svenska slott och herresäten*; Salvius, *Beskrifning öfver Sverige*; Sylvén, "Tvenne höstdagar;" Westerberg, "Beatelund;" as well as verbal information from the current owner.

⁶⁵¹ The tower has been replaced by a gazebo.

⁶⁵² Lindahl, "Stora furstliga lustgården," 175; Lindahl, "Swedish Pleasure Garden," 169; Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir*, chapter XI.

⁶⁵³ A folly, *Fåfängan*, designed by Ragnar Hjorth (1887-1971), was also added in the 1930s. It is situated along the central axis but has little visual impact on the overall vista since it is inserted below the hill at the far end of the garden.

has also become clear that estate owners did not hesitate to take local traditions and conditions into account.

The importation of literature, study tours, and the work by visiting, or local, garden architects are some of the ways in which knowledge about contemporary gardens arrived in Sweden during the seventeenth century. The discussion of André Mollet and his activities in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe has exemplified the geographical flexibility of artists and designers. Mollet's oeuvre has also shown the importance of personal contacts when exchanging both knowledge and actual plants. In addition, Mollet's two manuals, *Jardin de Plaisir* and *Art und Weise*, have illustrated how knowledge was gathered in different parts of Europe, plus how literature became a valuable tool in sharing information about planting techniques, parterre motifs, and adaptations to varying weather conditions.

Since living gardens – compared to illustrations of gardens – are conditioned by the climate in which they are situated, a discussion of particular conditions in a Nordic country such as Sweden has shown the challenges that garden architects encountered in the seventeenth century, and, by extension, some of the factors that had an impact on the eventual layouts. Nevertheless, Swedish designs of the period were characterized by a willingness to try species from various regions, by collaborations across professions and borders, and by a curiosity about plants and about finding conditions in which they would thrive.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has explored how patrons, botanists, estate owners, and collectors came together through shared curiosity about flowers and other plants. To conclude, I will let a few voices from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries be heard in order to emphasize some key points and reiterate my arguments.

A central theme of my dissertation has been the relative ease with which boundaries were crossed in the early modern period. Throughout, I have examined how the traversing of geographic boundaries was connected to the intersections of wide-ranging research interests and artistic activities. Cross-border travel was in many cases necessary in order to expose oneself to developments and innovations elsewhere.

Nicodemus Tessin the Younger undertook three study trips abroad, during which he not only drew inspiration from works by local artists and artisans but also purchased (and received as gifts) large amounts of documents needed for the exercise of his profession.

At the height of his career Tessin reflected:

For such knowledge one needs not only to have talent, but also large expenses for lengthy travels, when drawings, expensive books and engravings in large quantities need to be amassed, especially as one wishes to inform oneself about all the areas that depend on architecture or else are related to it, which are sculpture, painting, garden design, water works, machines, *fêtes* [for] both happy and sad occasions...⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵⁴ "Till slijk kundskap erfordras inthet allena att wahra fallen, uthan och een stoor bekostnadh för dee långwahrige reesor, hwarest desseiner, kostbahre böcker och kopparstyckken i stoor myckenheet samblas

Over the years Tessin had visited numerous places in Germany, Italy, France, England, and the Dutch Republic, which generated the wide-ranging interests that he outlines in the quote. As the above comment reveals, his work spanned several media, such as architecture, painting, and garden design. In 1712 Tessin published a catalogue listing all of the books, drawings and prints in his possession.⁶⁵⁵ Tellingly, a large part of the inventory is organized according to motif (for instance fountains, cascades, ballets), not by the artist's nationality or by schools or styles of art.⁶⁵⁶

Another area with fluid boundaries was the interconnectedness of botanical gardens and cabinets of curiosity. Not only were flower pictures often displayed in *Kunstkammers*, there were also similarities in the way objects were gathered, organized, exposed, and ultimately examined.⁶⁵⁷ The level of interest elicited by both types of collecting is illustrated by an account written by Corfitz Braem (1639-1683), a student and future mayor of the Danish town Helsingør (Elsinore), who travelled through Sweden in the early 1670s. 26 December 1671 was spent in Uppsala and Braem recorded the day's activities in his diary:

In the afternoon, we saw *Hortim Medicum*, which has been created by Rudbeckio.

Then went to Schefferum [university professor Johannes Schefferus (1621-1679)]

måste, serdehles enär man sig will gjöra informer at utaf alla dee partier som utaf architecturen, dependera, eller och gemenskap därmed hafwa, som äro bildthuggeriet, måhlerijet, trögårdzwäsendet, wattuwärck, machiner, fester så wähl wijdh frögd som sorgl: tillfällen..." Tessin, *Sources, Works, Collections III*, 448.

⁶⁵⁵ Tessin, *Catalogue des livres, estampes & desseins*.

⁶⁵⁶ Tessin, *Sources, Works, Collections I*, 17.

⁶⁵⁷ Claudia Swan observes that "gardens frequently served as outdoor extensions of the cabinets and galleries..." Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft*, 67.

again and saw his cabinet of curiosities, which is small and nice... He has here also his library, and several manuscripts.⁶⁵⁸

The Danish visitor goes on to enumerate noteworthy items in the professor's cabinet, which contained both *naturalia* (metals, unusual rocks) and *artificialia* (Sami religious drum). Braem's account reveals that the visits to Rudbeck's Botanical Garden and the tour of Schefferus' collection were carried out in succession and were likely considered equally worthy of study. The journal entry indirectly confirms that Swedish scholars and collectors were part of an international network of exchange and communication. Braem's account also illustrates the significance of social visits and that travels were seen as a way to increase knowledge.

In my dissertation I have argued that a well-designed and well-tended formal garden added to the perceived value of an estate and together with the building emphasized the owner's social status and level of aspiration. In the following excerpt the garden at Skokloster is described in greater detail than the *château*, which indicates that the formal garden at Skokloster was a highly regarded feature of the estate. A group of friends, likely students, travelled from Uppsala to Skokloster Castle in early June 1734. After having attended church in the morning, the group toured the garden:

We stopped at the [garden's] entrance for a little while and observed the long allées, which with their straight lines accomplished so much that we did not

⁶⁵⁸ "Om Efftermiddagen bessaa wii Hortim Medicum, some er anrettet aff Rudbeckio. Ginge saa til Schefferum igien oc besaa hans konst kammer, some er liden oc nætt... Hand haffwer oc her hos sitt Bibliotec, oc adschillige MSS." Braem, *Dagbok resa i Sverige*, 45–46. Schefferus constructed a separate building for his collection, *Schefferska Huset*, which still exists.

accidentally get lost among the trees. There were trees of many kinds, that with their furry and dark shadows covered the earth with such pleasant twilight even during the hottest midday [hours], that the sun must, not without effort, send rays here and there between the large leaves down upon the beautiful lilies and narcissi, which in colours of blue, yellow and white created changing reflections on the small green fields in [onto] the eyes.⁶⁵⁹

After lunch the group continued the visit indoors.

We arrived at the first armoury which is located in the northwest. In here are all sorts of rarities that are worth remarking. Among other things, that one can quickly note, is a whale's bone as big as a tea table... a unicorn horn 10 quarters long; a welcome [drinking] horn plated with brass, as was used in old times; a sword from a swordfish covered in thorns on both sides; large pieces, as big as hat crowns, of rock crystal... French, Polish, Danish and Turkish saddles, embroidered, sewn and crocheted in gold and silver.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁹ "Sedan gingo wi uti trädgården, som är belägen wäster om slättet, at förnöja oss af natursens rika håfwor, som Flora prächtigt utbredde på thenna härliga orten. Thet är wäl wist at konsten intet hade efterlåtit, af all sin sammanletade erfarenhet, doch öfwerwandt naturen sielfwa konsten så wida, at then samma upwäkte en stor förundran uti åskådarens sinnen. Wi stadnade litet wid ingången och betractade the långa aléer, som med sina linie rätta gånger förmådde så mycket, at wi intet oförseendes gingo wilse ibland träden. Der wore trän af åtskilliga slag, som med sine lurfwiga och mörka skuggar betäckte jorden med en så behagelig skymning om hetesta middagen, at solen intet utan möda kunde skiuta några stråhlar här och ther emellan the stora bladen nid på the skiöna lillior och narsissor, som til färgen blå, gula, och hwita skiftade en föränderlig reflexion uppå the gröna små fälten uti ögonen." Dintler and Odenius, "Turistfärd Uppsala," 30.

⁶⁶⁰ "Här uppå kommo wi uti then första rustkammaren som ligger uti nordwäst. Häri finnes allehanda rariteter som värde äro at anmärckas. Ibland annat, som man tå i hast kunde anteckna, war et hwalffiskben, så stort som et théebord; en bössa, som kunde skiuta 50 skått, utan at man behöfde ladda; Abraham Pärsons kiäp, 8 quarter lång, tiock som en spansk rö af skilpad så nätt giord, at man intet kunde skiönia någon sammanfogning; et enhörnings horn 10 quarter långt; et wälkoms horn beslagit med

In addition to providing examples of the type of objects that could be found in a *Wunderkammer*, the excerpt gives a sense of how gardens were experienced in the early modern period. The author's comments reveal that the garden was not only admired from a distance, but also engaged with by walking along the allées and by observing the interaction between flowers and trees. Erik de Jong has suggested that "walking the garden" was a valuable component in the overall experience when visiting an estate.⁶⁶¹ While formal gardens are often described as best observed from afar, for instance from a window in the castle or residence, the more tactile approach of walking, and thereby smelling, touching, and hearing a garden is a notion that would benefit from further investigation.

On the topic of garden design, I will end with two quotes from the twenty-first century. Both excerpts give an indication of the challenges but also the promising direction in which research in this area is developing. Discussing the fact that gardens evolve over time, which is a unique feature of this artform, garden historian Vanessa Bezemer Sellers reflects that "the vocabulary to denote style and form in garden art, borrowed from art history, is relatively limited and does not entirely fit the ephemeral nature of the ever-changing garden."⁶⁶² Seller's call for a re-invented terminology is, I suggest, a reflection of the growth of this field of study. The fact that gardens are never

mässing, såssom thet af the gambla är wordet brukadt; et swärd af en swärdfisk som war fult med taggar på bägge sidor; stora stycken, som hatkullar af berg cristal... fransöske, pålske, danske och turkiske sadlar, borderade [sic], sydde och wirkade med guld och silfwer." 1 *quarter* equals approximately 15 cm. Dintler and Odenius, "Turistfärd Uppsala," 33, 41n. On *Wunderkammers* located in private armouries, see Snickare, "Goavddis," 75.

⁶⁶¹ Jong, "Felix qui potuit."

⁶⁶² Sellers, *Courtly Gardens*, 263.

finished in the same way as a painting is completed has also prompted Erik de Jong to reflect on garden design in relation to art historical discourse: “This emphasis on action, or process, is quite contrary to the way gardens have traditionally been evaluated, using style and period as their most distinctive elements. The nineteenth-century art-historical concept of national styles has moreover influenced garden history’s use of the concept of ‘influence’ in a given period as a measure of cultural superiority.”⁶⁶³

Jong’s affirmation resonates with the central theme of my thesis and thereby becomes an appropriate way to conclude my dissertation. The field of art history will be enriched by a more flexible and open approach to geographic boundaries, to the chronology of artistic epochs, and to less recognized areas of artistic expression, such as garden design.

⁶⁶³ Jong, “Plants and Gardeners,” 40.

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INDEX

A, Å, Ä

Academie Naturæ Curiosorum	144
Adelswärd, Gösta	208, 230, 249, 251
Ahrland, Åsa	43, 189, 192, 210, 234, 236, 255, 263
Åkerö Manor	187
Aldrovandi, Ulisse	74, 151
Ållonö Castle	182
Alpers, Svetlana	31, 32, 65
Andersson, Bo	26, 42
Andersson, Sven-Ingvar	278
Andersson, Thorbjörn	245–7, 251
Anet, Château d'	208
Anfält, Tomas	93, 110, 117, 138–9, 162
Anundsson, Olof	155
Arents, Claerken/Clartjen	132
Årsta Castle	183-184
Ast, Balthasar van der	57
Åstrand, Folke	122, 126
Aucher, Marthe	235
Augustus	123
Aureller, Johan the Younger	11, 70-3, 105
Aveelen, Johannes van den	89, 169, 172, 277–8, 280
Axel-Nilsson, Göran	212

B

Bäck, Abraham	136, 139
Bacon, Francis	193–4
Balen, Henrick van	69
Banck, Lars	9
Barthes, Roland	33
Bartholin, Thomas	94, 144
Batestein Castle	224
Bauhin, Caspar	108-11, 146, 149, 161
Bauhin, Johannes	111, 113
Beatelund Manor	283-4
Bedoire, Fredric	181, 256, 278, 284
Bell, Daniel	259
Below, Johannes	104
Bengtson, Bengt-Olof “Bob”	252, 278-9

Bengtsson, Rune	16, 200-1
Benzelius, Erik the Younger	162
Berefelt, Gunnar	8, 41, 73, 167
Berendz, Johan	48, 144
Bergenhielm (de Besche), Anna	44-6
Bergenhielm, Johan	45
Bergström, Ingvar	30, 41, 56
<i>Besche, see De Besche</i>	
Besler, Basilius	112
Bialostocki, Jan	4, 6, 7
Bielke, Hogenskild	190
Bilberg, Johannes	157
Birckholtz, Hieronymus von	155
Biskops-Arnö Manor	182-3
Björk, Monika	110, 117, 120
Björklund, Patrik	261
Blandow, Michel	206
Blankaart, Steven	144
Block, Agneta	74, 79, 151-2
Bohleman, Henrich	104
Bokwettsgillet	116, 122, 136, 140, 162-3
Bolinus, Andreas	27, 28
Bologna Botanical Garden	95
Bonet, Théophile	144
Boor, Johan	46, 50
Borch, Ole	142
Borromeo, Federico	70
Bosschaert, Ambrosius the Elder	56
Bosschaert, Ambrosius the Younger	56
Bosschaert, Johannes	56
<i>Botanical Garden, see Bologna</i>	
<i>Botanical Garden, see Leiden</i>	
<i>Botanical Garden, see Oxford</i>	
<i>Botanical Garden, see Pisa</i>	
<i>Botanical Garden, see Uppsala</i>	
Braem, Corfütz	287-8
Brahe, Nils the Younger	266
Brahe, Per the Elder	189, 191-2, 202
Brandt, Nicolai Johansen	275
Brenner, Elias	85-9, 144, 238

Brenner, Sophia Elisabet	83-6, 200-1
Breyne, Jacob	111, 113
Brienen, Rebecca Parker	90-1
Broen, Johan	9
Bromelius, Olof	116
Brueghel, Jan the Elder	57-8, 69
Brusati, Celeste	57-8, 131
Bry, Johann Theodor de	111, 113
Burchward, Johann	123
Buren Castle	210, 224
Bureus, Johannes	20, 155
Burman, Johannes	142
Burman, Olof	155
Burser, Joachim	17, 108-10
Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de	12
C	
Cabo Corso	153
Camphuysen, Govert	11, 12
Carlevaris, Luca	8
Carr, William	22
Cavalli-Björkman, Görel	41, 57-8, 117, 123-4, 136
Celsius, Anders	116
Celsius, Magnus	106
Celsius, Olof the Elder	116
Chantilly, Château de	270
Charles II, King of England (r. 1660-†)	91, 235, 242
Charleval Palace	223
Claesz, Pieter	239
Clagny, Château de	270
Clewberg, Nicolaus (Nils)	115
Clusius, Carolus	12, 95, 111
<i>Codex Argenteus (Silver Bible)</i>	20-1, 170
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, Marquess of Torcy	246-7
Colerus, Johannes	190-1
Collegium Curiosum	136
Cöln, Anders (Johansson) von	77
Cöln, David (Andersson) von	30, 41, 76-82, 87, 238, 267
Cöln, Johan (Johansson) von	77

Conan, Michel	208, 210, 217, 220, 226, 228-30, 232-5, 242, 264
Conradt, Bartholdt	73
Cook, Harold	35, 64, 74, 143, 145, 166
Cornut, Jacques Philippe	112, 154
Coyet, Peter Julius	110
Crakauw, Brechtgien "Birgitta" von	25
Cronstedt, Jacob	45
Cronstedt (de Besche), Margareta Beata	44-5
Curio, Henrik	103

D

Dahl, Michael	8
Dahlbergh, Erik (Jönsson)	iii, vi, 12, 14, 37-8, 77, 104, 167-85, 212-3, 229, 265, 279
Danckerts, Hendrick	91
Dannemora mine (<i>Dannemora gruvor</i>)	42
Dardel, Erik	266
Dardel, Fritz von	281
Daston, Lorraine	119, 121, 130, 166-7
Daurerska <i>malmgården</i>	256
de Besche, Daniel	47
de Besche, Georg the Elder	1, 32, 41-5, 47-8, 52, 60, 66-7, 69, 74-6, 240
Della Porta, Giambattista	198
Dézallier d'Argenville, Antoine Joseph	221
Dillenius, Johann Jakob	146
Dostman, Marcus	104
Drakenhielm, Magnus Wilhelm	265
Drottningholm Palace	xxv, 8, 12, 182, 246, 251, 269-71, 273, 275, 284
Du Pérac, Étienne	208-9
Düben, Anders the Elder	26
Durell (Durelius), Magnus Nilsson	25
Dürer, Albrecht	26
<i>Dutch East India Company, see Vereenigde</i>	

E

Eckhout, Albert	91
Ehrensteen, Catharina	28-9, 82

Ehrenstrahl, Anna Maria	123-4
Ehrenstrahl, David Klöcker	8, 11-12, 77-8, 124, 238-40
Eichhorn, Christopher	122
Ekeblad, Johan	217
Ekholmen Castle	266
Ellehag, Claes	12, 16
Ellenius, Allan	10, 14, 18, 22, 138, 156, 170
Elsholtz, Johan Sigismundo	202
Elzevir family	103
Erici, Isaac	190-1, 199, 202
Ericson Castle	182
Eriksson, Bo	190
Eriksson, Gunnar	17, 24, 35, 93-7, 102-4, 108, 110, 114-7, 122, 136-9, 143, 145, 155, 158, 189, 216, 257
Eriksson, Nils	18
Estham, Inger	133
Everdingen, Allart van	29

F

Falun mine (<i>Falu koppargruva</i>)	171
Ferdinand III, Holy Roman emperor (r. 1637-†)	131
Fiholm Castle	282
Findlen, Paula	130
Flegel, Georg	56
Florence Charter	260
Fontainebleau Palace	210
Forsius, Sigfridus	155
Forsmark Manor	1, 3, 8, 42-52, 66, 73-6, 92, 106-7, 171, 173, 240, 252
Foster, Hal	33
Frederick Henry, Stadtholder (r. 1625-†)	91, 224, 282
Frederick III, King of Denmark (r. 1648-†)	91
Fredrik I, King of Sweden (r. 1720-†)	78
Frick, Johan	18, 167, 172
Fries, Elias	110, 143
Fries, Robert	263-5
Fries, Theodor (Thore) Magnus	93, 97, 110, 115, 117, 155, 216
Fuchs, Leonhart	111, 121
Füllmaurer, Heinrich	111

G

Galen (of Pergamon)	94
Galison, Peter	119, 121, 166-7
Gardie, Christina Catharina De la	70
Gardie, Jakob De la	xxii
Gardie, Magnus Gabriel De la	xxii, 21, 70-2, 105, 171, 207, 217, 220, 233, 257-8, 262-4, 266-7
Geer, Louis De the Elder	265-6
Geijer, Gregorius	220
Gemmingen, Johann Konrad von	112
Gheyn, Jacques de II	56, 174
Gibson, Sylvia	198
Goldgar, Anne	99
Gölgel, Johann Georg	168
Grim, Herman	7, 142-51
Groen, Jan van der	74, 199
Grundel, Jacob	45
Grundel (de Besche), Margareta Beata	44
Grusiecki, Tomasz	6
Gue, Médard	215, 232
Gustav (I) Vasa, King of Sweden (r. 1623-†)	10
Gustav II Adolf, King of Sweden (r. 1611-†)	10-11, 15, 17, 20, 83, 213, 266
Gyldenstolpe (Ehrensteen), Margareta	28
Gyldenstolpe, Nils	82-3, 89, 275
Gyllenborg, Carl	139, 157
Gyllenborg, Jacob (the Elder)	xxii
Gyllenborg, Jacob (the Younger)	157
Gyllenhielm, Carl Carlsson	83
Gyllenstierna, Carl	264

H

Hahr, August	27, 41, 64, 78
Haij, Henrik	183
Hammarström, Johan Stensson	45-6, 49-50
Hannibal, Martin	26-7
Hårleman, Johan	xxii, 182, 268, 274-5, 277-80
Hartmann, Wolfgang	229
Harvey, William	94
Hauser, Arnold	29, 32

Heda, Willem Claesz.	239
Hedvig Eleonora, Queen of Sweden	xxii, 182, 233, 264-5, 269
Heem, Jan Davidsz de	72, 78
Henri IV, King of France (r. 1589-†)	132, 208
Hermann, Paul	104, 113, 118, 149-50
Hernández de Toledo, Francisco	112, 146
Hernodius, Jacobus	115
Hesseliuss, Gustaf	9
Het Loo Palace	196
Hinners (Henriksson), Linda	xxv, 199, 269
Hjort, Daniel	155
Hjorth, Ragnar	284
Ho, Angela	130
Hobhouse, Penelope	199, 208, 220, 230, 249-50
Hochstrasser, Julie	33, 78, 90
Hoffwenius, Petrus	106
Höjentorp Castle	263
Holtzbom, Anders	115, 149, 157, 165
Honig, Elizabeth Alice	37, 58, 74-5, 124, 129
Honselaarsdijk Palace	210, 223-4, 226, 228, 282
Hoogstraten, Samuel van	131
Hopper, Florence	220, 224, 228, 230-1, 234
Horleman, Christian	232, 268, 274
Horne, Johannes van	94
Hörningsholm Castle	247
Hornsberg Manor	256
Humlegården Garden	214, 215, 219, 232, 236, 238
Hunt, John Dixon	39, 93, 228
Hysing, Hans	8

I

International Council on Monuments & Sites (ICOMOS)	260
--	-----

J

Jakobsdal Castle, see Ulriksdal Castle

Jakobsson, Anna	216, 263
Jakobsson, Olof	155
Johan Casimir, Count Palatine of Kleeburg	266
Johan Maurits	91

Johnsen, Johan	ii, vi, 1-3, 5, 8, 12, 30, 32, 34, 41-56, 59-64, 66-68, 70, 73-7, 82, 92, 100, 106-07, 125, 127, 144, 163, 173, 240
Jong, Erik de	38-9, 74, 79, 96, 152, 169, 187-9, 196 199, 221, 230, 263-4, 274, 290-1
Jongh, Eddy de	30-1, 41
Jonsson, Erik	220
Jonsson, Håkan	278-80
Jonsson, Leif	14, 167, 182
Jonstoj, Tove	251
Jordanes	19
Juel, Hans Oscar	136, 216
K	
Kagg, Leonard	162
Kägleholm Castle	266
Kalm, Per	153
Kalmar Nyckel	154
Karl X Gustav, King of Sweden (r. 1654-†)	11, 168
Karl XI, King of Sweden (r. 1660-†)	11, 83, 152, 155-7, 168, 279
Karl XII, King of Sweden (r. 1697-†)	10-11, 78, 83-4, 168
Karlberg Castle	83, 182, 266
Karling, Sten	93, 105, 130, 175, 182-3, 187, 190, 193, 196, 201, 207-8, 210-2, 214, 216-8, 220, 224, 228-30, 232-5, 242, 244, 246-7, 249-51, 256-8, 262-3, 265-7, 275, 282
Karmansbo Manor	187
Katarina, Princess of Sweden	266
Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta	4-6, 28-9, 32, 42-3, 65-6, 142, 248
Kellander, Daniel	115
Kengis Mill	156
Klopper, Johan	11
Körningh, Johan Ferdinand	155
Krafft, David von	8
Kristina, Queen of Sweden (r. 1632-54)	11, 20-1, 94-5, 207, 213-7, 219, 229, 272
Kroměříž Palace	17
Krook, Hans	114, 136-9, 155

Kungsträdgården Garden	210–5, 218–20, 232–3, 238, 251, 274, 282
L	
La Martinière, Pierre Martin de	155–6
La Motraye, Aubry de	155–6
Läckö Castle	70, 73, 105, 247
Lagerstedt, Torsten	189, 192, 198
Lairesse, Gerard de	57
Landin, Paulina	271
Larsson, Lars Olof; art historian	4-5, 16, 43, 267-8
Larsson, Lars-Olof; historian	11, 25, 153
Larsson, Olle	260, 262
Lauremberg, Peter	198
Lauremberg, Wilhelm the Younger	198
Lausen-Higgins, Johanna	79
Le Nôtre, André	208-9, 221, 228-9
Le Nôtre, Jean	208
Le Nôtre, Pierre	208
Le Pautre, Jean	172, 183
Leiden Botanical Garden	95, 113, 149, 174
Leijonbergh, Johan	264-5
Leufsta Manor	171
Leve, Johan	206
Leyster, Judith	129
Lindahl, Göran	210, 213-7, 220, 223, 229-30, 232-6, 248, 257, 263, 270-2, 284
Linde, Erik Larsson von der	16-7, 200
Linder (Lindestolpe), Johan	111, 116
Lindeström, Per	153
Lindroth, Sten	9, 16, 18, 22, 25, 93–5, 102, 115, 117–8, 122, 136, 138, 142, 159, 162
Linnaeus (von Linné), Carl	xxii, 36, 93, 135–40, 142, 145, 167
Lithén (Litheim), Johan	184, 201
Lobelius, Mathias	111
Locher, Hendrich	210
Lohrman, Gustaf	104
Loit, Aleksander	11, 13
Lonicerus, Adam	116
Looström, Ludvig	60

Losman, Arne	10, 15, 188-9, 206, 263, 266, 274
Loughman, John	130, 132-3
Louis XIII, King of France (r. 1610-†)	208
Louis XIV, King of France (r. 1643-†)	208
Louvre Palace	132, 209
Ludenius, Jacob	115
Lundquist, Kjell	82-3, 86, 181, 236, 249, 251, 255, 260, 271, 274-5, 277, 279-281
Luxembourg Palace and Gardens	223
Lydius, Jacobus	19
M	
Magalotti, Lorenzo	22, 24
Magnus, Johannes	20
Magnus, Olaus	20, 155
Magnusson, Börje	14, 16, 18, 21, 37-8, 93, 117, 122, 124, 167, 170-5, 178, 181-3, 212
Makalös Castle	213-4
Malmvik Manor	16, 200-1
Månsson, Arvid	203
Marcgraf, Georg	112
Margócsy, Daniel	35-6, 104, 109, 119, 146
Maria Eleonora, Queen of Sweden	213-4, 229
Marot, Jean (I)	172
Marrel, Jacob	56
Martin, Petter	162
Martinsson, Karin	xxv, 17, 35, 56, 81-2, 93-4, 96-8, 102-6, 108, 110-1, 113-5, 117, 119- 20, 122, 127, 136-9, 158, 160, 165, 236, 263
Mary II, Queen of England (Stuart) (r. 1689-†)	231
Matthioli, Pietro Andrea	12, 111, 116
Medelplana Church	73
Merian, Maria Sibylla	74, 129, 133
Merian, Matthäus the Elder	14, 113, 171
Merian, Matthäus the Younger	14, 171
Merriam, Susan	58, 69-70, 72, 130
Meyer, Albrecht	111
Mijtens, Martin	172, 182
Mijtens, Martin the Elder	9, 172

Mijtens, Martin the Younger	8-9, 172
Miller (Müller), Jacob	168
Molett-Stiernanckar, Johan	xxii, 232
<i>Molette, Johan Andersson; see Mollet, Jean</i>	
Mollet (Martigny), Claude de	208
Mollet, André	iii, vi, vii, 2, 38–9, 91, 186, 188, 195–6, 198, 206–37, 240–5, 247–51, 262, 264, 266–8, 276, 281–2, 284–5
Mollet, Armand Claude	210
Mollet, Charles	210, 233, 242
Mollet, Claude the Elder	198, 208-9, 233
Mollet, Claude the Younger	209
Mollet, Elizabeth	235
Mollet, Gabriel	210, 233, 235, 242
Mollet, Jacques	208
Mollet, Jacques the Younger	209-10
Mollet, Jean	xxi, xxii, 207, 210, 233-4, 262, 274
Mollet, Noël	209-10
Mollet, Pierre	209-10
Momma-Reenstierna, Abraham	xxii, 156
Momma-Reenstierna, Jakob	xxii, 156
Montias, Johan Michael	130, 132-3
Morison, Robert	113, 127
Moselius, Carl David	41, 56, 122, 124, 229
Müller, Hans Georg	11
Müller-Wille, Staffan	136, 155
Munkelägret Garden	217–9, 276
N	
Negri, Francesco	155–6
Neri, Janice	36, 129, 133
Neville, Kristoffer	9, 18–19, 21, 24, 38, 138, 167–70
New Sweden (<i>Nya Sverige</i>)	153
Niekrasz, Carmen	32, 64–5, 74–5, 130
Nisbeth, Åke	210, 213–4, 220, 229, 232–4, 236
Nobel, Alfred	119
Nobelius, Peter	119
Noldus, Badeloch Vera	7, 9, 17, 47, 104, 171, 189, 192–3, 199, 221, 231, 245–6, 263, 266, 274
Nolin, Catharina	187, 270-1

Noor Castle	34, 41, 82-9, 106, 114, 200, 275, 280
Nordin, Jonas	10, 14, 18, 21, 37-8, 93, 167, 170-2, 174, 229
Norrby, Jonas	43-4, 46-8, 50, 252
Nyberg, Lars	208, 210, 216-7, 220-1, 232, 234, 249, 282

O, Ö

Ogier, Charles	16-7, 26-8
Olai, Ericus	20
Olausson, Magnus	10, 220, 228-9, 249, 257, 270, 274-5
Olin, Martin	4, 8
Örbyhus Castle	182, 282
<i>Ordinari Post-Tijnder</i>	122
Östanå Castle	181, 252, 279-80
Österberg, Carin	122
Österberg, Eva	11, 25, 153
Österbybruk Manor	169
Övedskloster Manor	169
Oxenstierna, Axel	94, 97, 102
Oxenstierna, Bengt	157, 171
Oxford Botanical Garden	113

P

Palazzo Farnese	272
Palazzo Riario (Corsini)	272
Palladio, Andrea	231
Palm, Johan	96
Palmquist, Erich	152
Panofsky, Erwin	30
Park, Katharine	130
Parker, Rozsika	37, 124-5, 131-2
Parrhasius	130
Pauw, Pieter	95, 174
Perelle, Adam	172
Perelle, Nicolas	172
Peringskiöld, Johan	122-3, 155
Permanska <i>malmgården</i>	256
Petersenska Huset	276
Peterson, Otto Fredrik	8

Petiver, James	104
Pielat, Bartholomeo A.	144
Piper, Carl	274-7, 279
Piper, Christina	274-7, 279
Piperska Muren	274-9, 284
Pisa Botanical Garden	95
Piso, Willem	112
Plantin, Christophe	111
Pliny the Elder	130
Plukenet, Leonard	113, 127, 149
Plumier, Charles	112
Pollaiuolo, Antonio	132
Pollock, Griselda	37, 124-5
Prinsenhof Castle	224

Q

Quackelbeen, Willem	12
---------------------	----

R

Raag, Raimo	26, 42
Radetzki, Marian	10
Ragvaldsson, Nils	18-20
Rålamb, Åke	201-2
Rambo (Gunnarsson), Peter	154
Rapp, Bertil	15, 41-2, 44, 47-8, 56, 59-60, 66, 75, 107, 156, 238
Ray, John	104
<i>Reenstierna, see Momma</i>	
Regnard, Jean-François	22, 155
Remington, Vanessa	79, 91, 231, 234
Reventlow, Conrad	275
Revera, Margareta	10, 13, 153
Rheede tot Drakenstein, Hendrik van	113, 144
Richter, Johan (Giovanni)	8
Risingh, Johan	203-5
Roberg, Lars	139
Roberts, Michael	154-5
Roberts, W.	235
Rönnow, Magnus	83
Roos, Franz	11

Roosval, Albin	44, 78, 82, 86, 278, 284
Rose, John	91
Rosenhane, Schering	190, 192-9, 202, 217-9, 237-8, 241, 276
Rosersberg Palace	171, 233-4, 275
Royal Palace <i>Tre Kronor</i>	212-5, 272
Rudbeck (Lohrman), Vendela	117
Rudbeck, Gustaf	117
Rudbeck, Johanna Christina	108, 117-8, 121
Rudbeck, Olof the Elder	iii, vi, xxv, 2, 13, 21-4, 34-6, 56, 81, 87, 92-115, 117-22, 124, 127, 134-42, 144, 146, 148, 155, 157-8, 161, 165-6, 169-70, 172-3, 198, 216, 236-7, 258, 263, 265, 287-8
Rudbeck, Olof the Younger	iii, vi, 24, 48-9, 83-5, 87-9, 93, 107, 113-5, 117-8, 127-8, 135-40, 149, 157-67, 184, 236-7
Rudbeck, Wendela	108, 117-9, 121
Rudbeckius, Johannes	95
Rydboholm Castle	266
Ryman, Svengunnar	17, 35, 56, 81-2, 93-4, 96-8, 102-6, 108, 110-11, 113-5, 117, 119-20, 122, 127, 136, 138-9, 158, 160, 165, 236, 263
S	
Sam, Abraham	133
Sandemar Castle	252, 278-82, 284
Santen, Heere van	256
Scamozzi, Vincenzo	231
Schama, Simon	20
Schefferus, Johannes	287-8
Schellern, Johann Gerhard	155-6
Schenk, Peter the Elder	168-9
Schiebinger, Londa	35
Scholten, Frits	47-8
Schubarth, Tobias	83-4
Seefeldt, Jørgen	110
Segal, Sam	57-8, 239
Sellers, Vanessa Bezemer	223-4, 228, 290

Selling, Gösta	46, 51
Serlio, Sebastiano	231
Sernander, Rutger	93, 96–7, 103, 119, 136, 139
Serres, Olivier de	198, 208
Sherard, William	146
Sidén, Karin	29
Sijmenss, Sijmen	132
Sjöö Castle	182, 252–3
Skenäs Castle	266
Skogh, Lisa	232, 235, 239
Skokloster Castle	xxv, 133, 182, 188, 206, 266, 274, 288
Smid, Henrik	190
Smith, Pamela H.	130
Snickare, Mårten	75, 152, 290
Söderberg, Johan	10
Sorø Academy (<i>Sorø Akademi</i>)	109
Sparreska Palace	256
Speckle, Veit Rudolph	111
Spiegelberg, Johan	86–7
Spole, Anders	104, 157
St James's Palace	210, 235, 242
Stalhoff, Gerhard	104, 218, 232–3
Stavenow, Åke	181, 274–5, 277
Stavsund Manor	175–81
Steenrot, Stefwen	265
Steiger, Reinhold	155
Stenbock, Gustaf Otto	70–2
Stenhuset Manor	265–6
Steninge Castle	275
Stenkell, Brita	77
<i>Stiernanckar; see Molett, Johan</i>	
Stiernhielm, Georg	22, 104
Stijnman, Ad	229
Stoffilson, Stoffil	96, 103–4
Stoichita, Victor	69–70
Stora Wäsby Castle	279–80
Strahlenberg, Philip Johan von	162
Strandberg, Runar	82
Stridbeck, Johann	168
Sturluson, Snorri	21
Stuyvesant, Peter	153

Suneson, Torbjörn	10
Svartsjö Castle	234
Swan, Claudia	12, 32, 35–6, 64–5, 74–5, 95–6, 119– 120, 130, 151, 174, 287
Swederus, Magnus Bernhard	15, 17, 82, 93–4, 96–7, 102–6, 108, 110, 117–8, 122, 136, 158, 192, 257
Sweerts, Emanuel	111–2, 198
Swidde, Willem	169, 172, 181, 253, 271
Sylvén, Nils	181, 278, 284
Sylvius, Johan	8

T

Tabernæmontanus, Jacob	116
Taylor, Paul	56–7, 72
Ter Nieuburch Palace	223
Tessin, Carl Gustaf	268
Tessin, Nicodemus the Elder	175, 268–70, 278–9, 283
Tessin, Nicodemus the Younger	175, 177–8, 181–2, 199, 268–70, 272– 5, 277, 283, 286–7
Tessinska Palace	251, 272–4, 284
Thelott, Anna Maria	iii, vi, 36–7, 121–27, 129–31, 133–4
Thelott, Hans Philip	122
Thelott, Olof	122–3, 157
Thelott, Philip Jacob the Elder	122, 124
Thelott, Philip Jacob the Younger	122, 126
Thum, Christian	11
Tillandz, Elias	104, 116
Todd, Kim	74, 120
<i>Toledo, Francisco Hernández de, see Hernández</i>	
Torpa Castle	70
Tre Kronor (emblem)	211
<i>Tre Kronor (palace), see Royal Palace</i>	
Treaty of Brömsebro	143
Treaty of Nystad	162
Treaty of Roskilde	204
Treaty of Westphalia	17, 20, 204, 206–7
Trotzig, Peter	263
Tuileries Palace	207, 210, 223, 228

U

Ulrika Eleonora the Elder, Queen of Sweden	123
Ulrika Eleonora the Younger, Queen of Sweden	78-9
Ulriksdal Castle	xxii, 56, 77-9, 217, 219, 255, 263, 266
Upmark, Gustaf the Younger	269
Uppsala Botanical Garden	13, 34, 56, 93, 95-7, 102-8, 110, 114, 120, 127, 135-6, 139-40, 142, 148, 198, 216, 236, 263, 287-8
Uppsala Castle	114, 216, 219

V

Vallée, Jean de la	215, 257, 267-8, 282-4
Vallée, Simon de la	268, 282-3
Vallen Castle	25
Vallet, Pierre	111, 132
Vaux-le-Vicomte, Château de	229, 270
Velde, Jan van de IV	229
Venngarn Castle	105, 169, 256-9, 261-2, 267, 283
<i>Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC)</i>	143
Vermeulen, Cornelis	11
Versailles Palace	209, 270
Vignola, Giacomo Besozzi da	231
Vijverhof Country Estate	74, 79
Viksberg mineral baths (<i>Viksbergs gård</i>)	116
<i>VOC, see Vereenigde</i>	
Volcmar, Jahan	97-8, 113
Vorstius, Adolphus	103, 198
Vossius, Isaac	21

W

Waern, Kolbjörn	271
Wallerius, Giöran	46, 50
Weenix, Jan	79
Whitelocke, Bulstrode	216, 232-3
William III, Stadtholder (r. 1670s-†), King of England (r. 1689-†)	231
Wilton House	210
Wimbledon House	210
Winberg, Ola	267
Wiris, Carl	46, 50

Wollin, Nils G.	82, 175, 187, 210-1, 214-5, 217, 230, 232-3, 235-6, 244, 246, 255, 257, 263-5, 270, 274-5, 278
Woodall, Johanna	47-8, 65, 130
Woodbridge, Kenneth	208-9, 230, 244, 249-51
Worm, Ole	94
Worm, Willum	94
Wrangel (von Haugwitz), Anna Margareta	266
Wrangel, Carl Gustaf	15, 188, 206
Z	
Zeuxis	130–1
Zuylesteyn Castle	224