

Raisa Maria Toivo: What Did a Witch-Hunter in Finland Know About Demonology?

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The rural district judge Nils Psilander is one of the most famous characters in the history of witchcraft in early modern Finland, and is also important in international witchcraft history.<sup>1</sup> In 1666–1670 in Åland, he presided over Finland's only European-style serial witch-hunt. Finland was then ruled by Sweden, and this was the first panic-type witch-hunt in the Swedish realms. Suspects, under torture or the threat of torture, admitted that they had met the Devil at a witches' sabbat in Blåkulla, the Scandinavian folkloric witch mountain. The events in Åland are generally taken to have been the result of Psilander's personal interest or character. In addition to academic works about him, Psilander has also attracted attention from novelists and popularizers of history exploring the psychology of evil, false responsibility, false fear, greed, and ambition. Academic presentations have attributed the escalation and the eventual end of the trials to Psilander's academic knowledge of demonology.<sup>2</sup> This chapter examines what Psilander actually knew about demonology, and traces how his knowledge influenced the course of the trials in Åland.

Psilander wrote meticulous diaries of his court sessions, both for his own use and for the use of the Court of Appeal, which supervised the work of the district judges and always reviewed sentences. These records display Psilander's learned ambition. Unlike other judges, he cited not only the Rural Law of Christopher the Bavarian and the various stipulations and decrees that had been added to the Rural Law since its publication in the 1450s, but also international legal literature. This may be why he is famous: whenever an author needs an example of the spread of Continental demonological theories to the peripheries of Europe, Psilander is brought up.<sup>3</sup> Psilander is regarded as a curiosity in a

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<sup>2</sup> Antero Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen Seura, 1969); Leena Lander, *Lankeaa pitkä varjo* (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1986). Leena Virtanen also lays the guilt at the door of the local lord of the manor, Major Berg, and Kjellinus, the vicar of Sund: Leena Virtanen, *Noitanaisen älä anna elää* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> His story became known to the English-speaking world through Antero Heikkinen and Timo Kervinen, "Finland: The Male Domination," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 319–328. This was later summarized by Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1995), 193.

Finnish or Swedish context, but a curiosity who nevertheless displays important features of Continental demonological witchcraft theory and witch hunts.<sup>4</sup> What, therefore, can the evidence tell us about Psilander's demonological knowledge and how he used it?

I

Åland was a prosperous, Swedish-speaking island community, between Turku and Stockholm. The archipelago was important to Swedish military and governmental communications. From the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, Åland was governed as part of the province of Turku and Pori and was under the jurisdiction of the Turku Court of Appeal, which strengthened its connection with mainland Finland.

The chain of events leading to a witchcraft panic began, early in 1666, with the theft of some hay in the village of Enkarby, parish of Finnström. An elderly woman named Karin Persdotter claimed to be able to identify the thief through a special blessing given to her by God. She stood on the road to the church and saw kittens moving around her feet. When listing everyone who went to church on that road, the kittens would disappear when she pronounced the name of the thief. When the report of Karin's claims reached Judge Psilander, he thought it must be magic, witchcraft, or some other forbidden art. Consequently, Karin was summoned to the court to explain. The interrogation began with the stolen hay, but moved quickly on to magic. As Psilander pointed out, in accordance with demonological theory but without special reference to it, this art could not be merely superstition; it must include a pact with the Devil.

Karin's testimony soon began to involve a Continental-style witches' sabbat, or at least a Swedish folklore-style Blåkulla gathering. The court was convinced that Karin had an open pact and alliance with Satan himself. Karin eventually confessed that the Devil had scolded her for her poverty, and threatened that her poverty would persist for the rest of her life unless she agreed to enter his service and pay taxes to him. Karin was sentenced

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<sup>4</sup> On the exceptionality of the Åland trials in the Finnish or Swedish context, see Raisa Maria Toivo, "Male Witches and Masculinity in Early Modern Finnish Witchcraft Trials," in *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marianna Muravyeva and Raisa Maria Toivo (London: Routledge, 2013), 137–152, at p. 139; Raisa Maria Toivo, "Gender, Sex and Cultures of Trouble in Witchcraft Studies," in *Writing Witch Hunt Histories: Challenging the Paradigm*, ed. Marko Nenonen and Raisa Maria Toivo (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 87–108, esp. pp. 90–91.

to be burned at the stake after decapitation for her “union and alliance with Satan so that she could tell whether something was stolen somewhere and who had stolen it.”<sup>5</sup>

All capital sentences were automatically reviewed by the Court of Appeal. Usually, this resulted in leniency; capital sentences for witchcraft were most often commuted to fines, birching, or, at worst, banishment. This time, however, the Court of Appeal refused to grant Karin clemency. Instead, the Court ordered that Karin should be carefully questioned about anyone else who had been party to witchcraft, so that other sinners could also be brought before the court and sentenced in turn.<sup>6</sup>

This “careful questioning” apparently included – or was taken to include – permission to use torture. Torture was normally strictly forbidden in court procedure. Physical torture was almost never directly referenced in the court records; instead, veiled and encoded expressions for it were used.<sup>7</sup> However, Finnish witches worded their confessions with a mockery, rhetorical skill, and energy that few people enduring torture would engage in. Evidently everyone was aware that torture did not produce reliable confessions. It was also time-consuming and laborious, and in general witchcraft was not considered worth the trouble in Finland. Perhaps because death sentences were rarely carried out, people confessed more readily – like Karin, who originally confessed before the application of torture. Consequently, torture served little purpose in extracting confessions, and caring for the victims injured by it would have been a strain for the communities afterwards. This time, however, both the local court and the Court of Appeal settled on execution, the finding of accomplices, and, after Karin’s original confession, the application of torture for this purpose. This pattern was to be reproduced in the Swedish Blåkulla trials in Göta and Dalarna, and it also mirrored the custom in Denmark: people confessed first and were tortured afterwards for the sake of saving their souls.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Provincial archives in Turku (hereafter TMA), Åland court records, Emckarby, 5 April 1666; Reinhold Hausen, *Bidrag till Finlands historia* (Helsinki: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1894), 2:155–367, at pp. 255–265.

<sup>6</sup> Sveriges Riks Arkiv, Stockholm (hereafter SRA), Åbo hovrätt till Kongl Majjt vol 4. Rotulus Opå de Criminalie saker 1666, 28 May, item 23; Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:155–367; TMA: Åland court records (Emckarby, 5 April 1666).

<sup>7</sup> Per Sörlin, *Trolldoms och Vidskepelseprocesserna i Göta hovrätt, 1635–1754* (Umeå: Umeå University, 1993), 55; Björn Åstrand, *Tortyr och pinlig förhör – våld och tvång i äldre Svensk rätt* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2000), 116–118; Liv Helene Willumsen, *Witches of the North: Scotland and Finnmark* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 297.

<sup>8</sup> Sörlin, *Trolldoms och Vidskepelseprocesserna*; Louise Nyholm Kallestrup, *Agents of Witchcraft in Early Modern Italy and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 56 passim; Louise Nyholm Kallestrup, “‘He Promised Her So Many Things:’ Witches, Sabbats, and Devils in Early Modern Denmark,” Chapter 12 above in the present volume.

The women whom Karin denounced, however, were tortured from the beginning of their interrogations. Later in the autumn, Maria Nilsson from Finström was brought to court together with a group of other women named by Karin Persdotter. Maria was made to confess that a pact with the Devil had made her able to cure illnesses with magic.<sup>9</sup> The other women, too, pleaded guilty to having entered a pact with the Devil in Blåkulla. The first time they had been to Blåkulla, Satan had struck or bitten a mark on their shoulders or sides, and told them that their bodies and souls now belonged to him. As a sign of their subjugation, the women paid Satan annual taxes in butter, which were collected at the Blåkulla gathering.<sup>10</sup>

The stories of what happened in Blåkulla, written down by Psilander from the ingredients provided by probably all parties to the interrogations, seem to have been a mixture of demonological theory and Swedish folklore. The word used for the meeting was not a sabbat but Blåkulla, reflecting the Swedish folk tradition and also the German term "Blocksberg," used in Ludovic Dunte's book *Decisiones Mille et Sex Casuum Conscientiae* for the witches' gathering.<sup>11</sup> As the remarks on paying taxes at Blåkulla suggest, it was as much a business meeting as a village festival; nevertheless, only women engaged in it. Seven women were sentenced to death. On the Continent, the reimagining of the sabbat as a village festival and the introduction of more folk tradition also introduced male suspects. However, in Finland and Åland the sabbat was already a culturally mixed concept, and male witches often appeared in other types of witchcraft trials. In the Åland cases the demonological aspect seems to have focused on women and excluded male suspects.<sup>12</sup> A few more women were interrogated after the first group of accused women, but they were not convicted.

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<sup>9</sup> SRA, Åbo hovrätt till Kongl Majjt vol 4. Rotulus Opå de Criminalie saker 1666, 25 October, item 43.

<sup>10</sup> SRA, Åbo hovrätt till Kongl Majjt vol 4. Rotulus Opå de Criminalie saker 1667, 6 February.

<sup>11</sup> Ludovic Dunte, *Decisiones Mille et Sex Casuum Conscientiae, E Diversis Theologorum [...]* (Reval, 1648), 312–313. The passage on Blocksberg is "Capit X De Lege Dei, Quaest XXXVIII The, auffm Blocksberge/und sonsten/ibique comessari choreas agere?" (Chapter 10 On God's Law question 38, If witches are really transported to far away places to gather and dance – like Blockberg/and such). All translations are mine and aim to give an understandable content rather than exact wording or style. The alternation between Latin and German is from Dunte's edition."

<sup>12</sup> On the Swedish mixed tradition, see Per Sörlin, "Child Witches and the Construction of the Witches' Sabbath: The Swedish Blåkulla Story," in *Demons, Spirits, Witches: Witchcraft Mythologies and Persecutions*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pócs (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008), 99–124; Per Anders Östling, *Blåkulla, magi och trulldomsprocesser: En folkloristisk studie av folkligatrosföreställningar och av troldomsprocesserna inom Svea Hovrätts jurisdiction, 1597–1720* (Uppsala: Universitet, 2002), and the Finnish version, Jari Eilola, *Rajapinnoilla: Sallitun ja kielletyn määrittelemisen 1600-luvun jälkipuoliskon noituus- ja taikuutapauksissa* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003), summarized in "'There be yer figure, but where might yer soul be?' Conceptions Concerning Witches and Blåkulla in Sweden and Finland," *Mirator* (August 2002), [www.glossa.fi/mirator/pdf/witches.pdf](http://www.glossa.fi/mirator/pdf/witches.pdf) (accessed 3 January 2020). On the

This chain of trials was highly unusual in Finland and in the whole of Sweden. It was the first witchcraft case to deal extensively with the witches' sabbat, as well as other features that Continental demonologists had been interested in. Most other Finnish trials did not even mention the Devil, but only described unlawful and forbidden acts. In Åland, however, the women told stories not only of a pact, but of personal meetings with Satan and the mark placed upon them. In a later phase of the trials, as we shall see, the women even produced a salve, with which they said they could fly – something not mentioned in any other witchcraft case in Finland. Other Finnish witches sometimes flew on the backs of animals, a couple of times on a broomstick, and sometimes merely being “taken along through the air.”<sup>13</sup> In addition, the snowball effect of denunciations and new trials was a new feature in these trials. The precondition of the snowballing was the witches' sabbat, which enabled suspects to be questioned about accomplices.

Psilander was not the only learned man to be interested in witches. There were also churchmen, to whom knowledge of witchcraft theories was spread through episcopal letters of advice and visitation, and whose duty it was to look after their flock and bring matters to the secular court if they could not be dealt with by admonition in church. The vicar of Ulvila, Gabriel Archtopolitanus, personally took witchcraft cases to court in the 1670s and 1680s; among these cases, at least two included a story of Blåkulla. However, neither of them ended in convictions.<sup>14</sup> Authorities in Ostrobothnia also showed some interest in Blåkulla stories, although their personal activity in court trials varied, and in some cases the local vicar worked to put a stop to the rumours or prosecution.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the time, such interest in witches did not extend to flying witches or the sabbat. What interested people, authorities, and especially neighbours, were the more mundane forms of witchcraft and magic: those that attacked wealth and health, one's own or that of one's neighbours or enemies. Although learned men in Finland and Sweden –

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Continental tradition, see Rita Voltmer, “Witch-Finders, Witch-Hunters or Kings of the Sabbath? The Prominent Role of Men in the Mass Persecutions of the Rhine-Meuse Area (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries),” in *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alison Rowlands (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 74–99; Peter Heuser, “Die kurkölnischen Hexenprozesse des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in geschlechtergeschichtlicher Perspektive,” in *Geschlecht, Magie und Hexenverfolgung*, ed. Ingrid Ahrendt-Schulte et al. (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2002).  
<sup>13</sup> Eilola, *Rajapinoilla*, 126 passim; Raisa Maria Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Society: Finland and the Wider European Experience* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 60–65, 71.

<sup>14</sup> Toivo, 42 passim.

<sup>15</sup> Marko Nenonen, *Noituus, taikuus ja noitavainot: Ala-Satakunnan, Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Viipurin Karjalan maaseudulla vuosina, 1620–1700* (Helsinki: Historiallisia tutkimuksia, 1992), 304–305. The case in Eilola, “‘There be yer figure’,” is an example of the vicars' calming efforts, although neither Nenonen nor Eilola make this point.

like everywhere else – thought that all (unlawful) magic was the result of an alliance with the Devil, the court records rarely mentioned pacts or sabbats.<sup>16</sup> Psilander was not unique in his interest in witchcraft, but he was certainly rare in the *kind* of witchcraft he was interested in.

## II

Who then was Psilander, this initiator of unique trials in mid-seventeenth-century Finland? Nils Psilander was a member of the learned estate, well connected and up to date with all the gossip, entertainment, and academic novelties. He was born to the dean of Sunnerbo parish, Petrus Nicolai Psilander, and his wife Gunilla Pauline Páveldotter, some time in the 1620s. They lived in the wealthy vicarage of Virestad. Petrus had had a successful career himself, having studied in Wittenberg and served as a vice-rector of Växjö school. The family's three sons all studied at a university, according to the expectations set by their father's career. While his two brothers went for theology, Nils chose law, and entered the University of Tartu in 1637, only five years after it had been established. He spent more than ten years at the university, and, although he never graduated, that was as much as – or more than – was expected of many middle-ranking officials at the time.<sup>17</sup>

Psilander's choice of university may have been significant. He did not choose any of the old-established German universities, like Wittenberg, which his father had attended. German universities were still appreciated in Sweden, but their stock diminished as Sweden itself rose in political and military power and the Swedish universities were gradually established. Sweden aspired to present itself as the leader of all Protestants in the religious wars in Germany; thus Swedes had to avoid taking sides in the competition between the various German Protestant denominations and universities.<sup>18</sup> Of the Swedish universities available when Psilander started his studies, Uppsala emphasised theology and a view of Sweden as the leader of northern European Protestants; it was nationalistic

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<sup>16</sup> Nenonen, *Noituus*, 300.

<sup>17</sup> Yrjö Kotivuori, *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852: "Samuel Psilander"* (2005), [www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=3091](http://www.helsinki.fi/ylioppilasmatrikkeli/henkilo.php?id=3091) (accessed 3 January 2020). Gustaf Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor VI* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1931), 69; Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 208, refers to several orations and dissertations from Tartu University that mention Psilander – even a couple that he defended before 1648.

<sup>18</sup> Pentti Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1998), 94–103.

and Gothic. The newly founded university at Tartu was – if only because of its own geographical situation in Estonia – more interested in the trends in scholarship of the Southern Baltic and northern Continental Europe. Tartu made a particular effort to produce civil officials, clerks, and lawyers for the expanding central and middling government of the realm.<sup>19</sup> Many of Tartu's teaching staff came from German areas. Psilander's main tutor was Professor Laurentius Ludenius, a German who had studied the law of the Holy Roman Empire. The young Psilander thus happened to study at a university which was more open to new currents and foreign influence and more pragmatic than the alma maters of many of his countrymen.

There is some evidence to suggest that after his quitting university, Psilander worked among the secretarial staff of Crown Prince Charles Gustav (later King Charles X Gustav) in Sweden. When he married Elsa Törnros Hansson in 1655, he was appointed the district judge of Åland. The area was central to the Swedish realm and its administration, postal routes, and military power, and the post could have been lucrative for a civil official like Psilander. Nils Psilander would work in Åland until his death in 1682.<sup>20</sup>

Psilander was appointed to his office as a judge at a point when office-holding and the legal culture were changing in the country. Until recently, almost all of the district judges had hired lay deputies to do the actual work. Psilander, however, settled in Åland and took personal charge of his office. This has often been considered to make him exceptional as a civil officer, and perhaps as a character.<sup>21</sup> However, in reality he was not so unusual. In 1653, Court of Appeal assessors or officials had been appointed to all the district judicial offices in Finland (with the exceptions of Åland and Ostrobothnia). These new judges were ordered to preside personally over at least one round of sessions per year – there being usually three yearly rounds in the rural areas of Sweden. They obeyed the order in varying degrees; some did not quite meet the standard, while others, like

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<sup>19</sup> Helmut Piirimäe, *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu I: 1632–1798* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat ja Valgus, 1982).

<sup>20</sup> [www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Von\\_Psilander\\_nr\\_146](http://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Von_Psilander_nr_146) (accessed 3 January 2020); Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade*, 69. Elgenstierna claims that Psilander was appointed judge in 1658. Yrjö Blomsted, *Laamannin- ja kihlakunnantuomarinvirkojen läänittäminen ja hoito Suomessa 1500–1600-luvuilla (1523–1680)* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1958), 280–281, is more likely to be correct. On conditions in Åland, see e.g. Lena Törnblom, *Kastelholm, en nyckel till Sverige: ett slottsläns politiska och militära betydelse åren, 1470–1523* (Helsinki: Finska historiska samfundet, 1996). On its administrative or postal centrality, see Marko Nenonen, "Juokse sinä humma," in *Maata, jäätä, kulkijoita: Tiet, liikenne ja yhteiskunta ennen vuotta 1860*, ed. Tapani Mauranen (Helsinki: Tielaitos ja Edita, 1999), 143–367, esp. pp. 179–185.

<sup>21</sup> Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 20; Virtanen, *Noitanaisen*.

Nicolaus Lietzen, the judge of the districts of Ala-Satakunta and Vehmaa and the Court of Appeal assessor in Turku, presided over all of the sessions in their districts. The new judges from the Court of Appeal had more legal education, greater interest, and were more controllable than the previous lay judges, making the legal process more uniform throughout the country.<sup>22</sup> In this context, Psilander no longer appears unique but instead typical of a new generation of district judges.

### III

What then did this well-read man know about witchcraft or demonology? In the court records that Psilander kept, he noted what he had read by citations to literature. Studying these citations shows at least part of what he knew about demonological theory. Although his studies had been influenced by German scholarship, most of the authorities he used on law were naturally Swedish. Those that appear most often in Psilander's court records in general – except for the Rural Law itself – were *Synopsis Juris* (Stockholm, 1648), a collection on the interpretation of Swedish law by the German-educated Johannes Loccenius, and *Decisiones Mille et Sex Casuum Conscientia* (Reval, 1648), a theological compilation by the German pastor Ludovic Dunte.

Overall, Psilander cited Loccenius' work most frequently in his court records, but he cited only Dunte in the witchcraft trials.<sup>23</sup> However, both works discussed witchcraft, so they could both have influenced him. The short passage on judging witchcraft in Loccenius' work was a classification of crimes according to the Decalogue. It started from the perspective that all magic derives from a pact with the Devil and therefore must be punished. This, indeed, seems to have been Psilander's view, too, when he started to investigate Karin's methods of identifying thieves. However, there had in fact been different ordinances and statutes in Sweden forbidding all kinds of magic, including the apparently benevolent or non-harmful forms, since Gustav Vasa's time in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the 1660s these were gaining increasing consideration in Swedish

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<sup>22</sup> Blomsted, *Laamannin- ja kihlakunnantuomarinvirkojen*, 299–306, 344–353; Mauno Jokipii, *Porin Kreivikunta* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1953), 143.

<sup>23</sup> Referred to in Finström and Emckarby 5 January 1666, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:264 and Kastelholm 11 March 1667, Hausen, 315.



courtrooms.<sup>24</sup> Psilander was not unusual here; what was unusual was his desire to hear about the pact itself. Loccenius also put forward the idea that some witches prayed to the Devil on purpose and some because they were duped.<sup>25</sup> Dante's compilation included a longer passage discussing witches flying to the sabbat, including the use of a salve to enable flying. Dante discussed the difference between people who actually had a pact with the Devil and the people who believed that they were visiting the sabbat either because they were duped by the Devil or because they were ill.<sup>26</sup>

Psilander seems to have followed a train of thought similar to Loccenius or Dante, yet he discarded the opportunities for leniency they might have afforded when he discussed Karin's and her mother's travel "to the mountain," noting that "one could carefully take note that this was not (as she wanted to claim) a mere tormenting illusion by Satan, but a pact made with him to gain these arts."<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, no references to literature were made at these points in Psilander's record text.

Some scholars have argued that Psilander's views seem to have coincided more with those of the German legal scholar Benedict Carpzov. At least later in the 1670s Psilander referred to Carpzov's *Praetice novae imperialis saxoniae rerum criminalium* (Wittenberg, 1635), *Jurisprudencia Ecclesia* (Hanover, 1649) and *Jurisprudencia foresis romano-saxonica* (Frankfurt, 1638). Carpzov did not think that it mattered whether the sabbat was real or delusional; even the delusion was a sign of a pact. Psilander, from the early trials onwards, searched for the Devil's mark – a feature in Carpzov but otherwise rare in Finland. Nevertheless, actual references to Carpzov's works in Psilander's court records appear only after the witchcraft trials had ended.<sup>28</sup> Since it was obvious from the Finnish witchcraft trials in general that knowledge about what happened in witchcraft trials spread widely as stories, songs, and other forms of literate and oral entertainment, it is impossible to say definitively that any single feature of Psilander's trials implies that he had read any individual book unless he named it specifically.

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<sup>24</sup> The different statutes are clarified in Nenonen, *Noituus*, 258–264, 268–272.

<sup>25</sup> Loccenius, *Synopsis juris* (1653), e.g. p. 287 (I have here used a later edition of *Synopsis juris*, originally published in 1648). See also Heikki Pihlajamäki, "Executorum divinarum et suarum legume: Criminal Law and the Lutheran Reformation," in *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*, ed. Virpi Mäkinen (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 171–203.

<sup>26</sup> Ludovic Dante, *Decisiones Mille et Sex Casuum Conscientiae, E Diversis Theologorum [...]* (Reval, 1648), 312–313. For the passage on Blocksberg, see reference note 11 above. Also on Satanic deception see the whole end part of "Caput IV De Angelis Bonis et Malis" (Chapter 4 On Good and Bad Angels).

<sup>27</sup> Finström and Emckarby, 4 April 1666, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:258.

<sup>28</sup> Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 209–214.

Psilander's records on the Blåkulla cases also include a number of other references, altogether to nine different authors, at nine points in the text. There were two references to *Decisioners mille* by Dante, as already mentioned. Another two notes cited the work of a German pastor, Michel Freude's *Gewissens-Fragen von Processen wieder die Hexen* (Güstrow, 1667), which Psilander apparently acquired fresh from the press in the middle of the trials.<sup>29</sup> Freude was a preacher, but the work was a collection of sample court cases. Freude has been considered a fanatical witch-hunter, but signs of the early Enlightenment and scepticism are visible in his work. The other notes that appeared more than once were references to *Heptas Casuum Conscientiae Miscellorum* by Georgius König (Altdorf, 1655)<sup>30</sup> and Bernhard Waldschmidt's compilation *Pythonissa Endorea, das ist: Acht und zwanzig Hexen und Gespenstpredigten, gehommen aussder Histori von der Zauberinn zu Endor* (Frankfurt, 1660).<sup>31</sup> The former contains theological advice. The latter is, as the title states, a collection of sermons and stories, rather than a philosophical or theoretical exposition. These were cited twice within the same court record at the very end of the trials. The court diaries also mention Arnold Mengerling, *Erothema Catechetica* (Altenburg, 1638 or 1646), and Andreas Kesler, *Theologia Casuum Conscientiae hodierno cum primis temporibus accommodatum* (Wittenberg, 1651 or 1658). Finally, at the end of the trials, Psilander cited Martin Delrio's work *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* and Friedrich Spee's *Cautio Criminalis*.<sup>32</sup> While these two works are well known among historians of demonology and witchcraft, Psilander did not use their general message; I will discuss this point later on.

Although each reference appeared only once or twice, the references stand out because they differ from the normal pattern. References to witchcraft literature mark the points in the chain of trials when Psilander felt insecure or in doubt of the right course of action.

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<sup>29</sup> Mentioned in Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:311 and Finström 22 May 1671, Hausen, 364.

<sup>30</sup> Georg König, *Heptas Casuum Conscientiae Miscellorum* (Nuremberg: Noribergae Endteri, 1655) (Seven miscellaneous cases of conscience).

<sup>31</sup> Bernhard Waldschmidt, *Pythonissa Endorea, das ist: Acht und zwanzig Hexen und Gespenstpredigten, gehommen aussder Histori von der Zauberinn zu Endor* (Frankfurt: Johann-Wilhelm Ammon and Wilhelm Serlin, printed by Hieronymus Polich, 1660) (The Witch of Endor, that is: twenty-eight sermons on witches and ghosts, taken from the history of the Witch of Endor). Waldschmidt and König are both mentioned by Psilander in Finström 22 May 1671, at two different places in the text, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:363, 364.

<sup>32</sup> Mengerling and Kesker mentioned in Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:314, 316; Martin Delrio and *Cautio Criminalis* in Finström 22 May 1671, Hausen, 364; "Doctor" Augustinus in Finström and Emckarby 5 April 1666, Hausen, 265.

Not all Psilander's references were to theoretical literature. The greatest number (six) of references in the Blåkulla cases were to the Bible (Exodus 22:18, Leviticus 20 [the last verses], and Deuteronomy 18:11–12).<sup>33</sup> Almost all of these references were made in the final sentencing after each investigation of the first women to justify the death sentence. The next most frequent reference (appearing five times) was the *Högmålsbalken* or “Felony Section” of the Rural Law. Only one of these referred to §13<sup>34</sup> and was connected to a death sentence – and then it was not the immediate grounds for the sentence, being mentioned slightly before the sentence, which was then justified referring to Exodus 22:18.<sup>35</sup> There was also one reference to a law that was not valid in Sweden, the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* of the Holy Roman Empire, showing that Psilander placed his action in the Baltic Sea archipelago into a European context.

Psilander's remaining four references to Swedish law were particularly significant. These cited *Högmålsbalken* §15,<sup>36</sup> arguing for a sentence of fines for witchcraft or magical deeds.<sup>37</sup> This points to the general difficulty of handing out death sentences for witchcraft purely based on secular law; that law prescribed the death penalty only when witchcraft had been used to commit murder. Mosaic Law had been introduced in 1608 to supplement the medieval Rural Laws and to replace the sixteenth-century Church laws which were considered too Catholic by King Charles IX. The Mosaic Law was, however, unpopular among most judges and they rarely used it in cases of witchcraft or adultery.<sup>38</sup> The judges preferred fines to death sentences – except Psilander, who from the beginning seems to have been sure of his case and the just remedy for the evil that threatened his district.

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<sup>33</sup> Bible references: TMA Åland court records Finström and Emckarby, 24 August 1666, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:280; Sund 13–14 December 1666, Hausen, 289; Sund 20 December 1666, Hausen, 295; Kastelholm 11 March 1667, Hausen, 306; Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, 315, 317; Lemland 20–21 January 1668, Hausen, 330.

<sup>34</sup> §13 stipulated a death sentence for someone who had threatened to kill or harm by witchcraft and who could not exculpate himself with a compurgation oath with twelve other men when such harm had actually occurred: *Suomen kielen muistomerkkejä 2, 1: Kristoffer kuninkaan maanlaki: Tukholman codex B 96*, ed. E. N. Setälä and M. Nyholm (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1905; also available at [http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/lait/martti.ml\\_rdf.xml](http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/lait/martti.ml_rdf.xml)) and D. C. J. Schlyter, *Konung Christoffers landslag* (Lund, 1869).

<sup>35</sup> TMA Åland court records, Lemland 20–21 January 1668; Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:330.

<sup>36</sup> §15 stipulated a death sentence for killing by witchcraft, and a 40-mark fine for other kinds of harmful witchcraft: *Suomen kielen muistomerkkejä 2, 1*, and Schlyter, *Konung Christoffers landslag*.

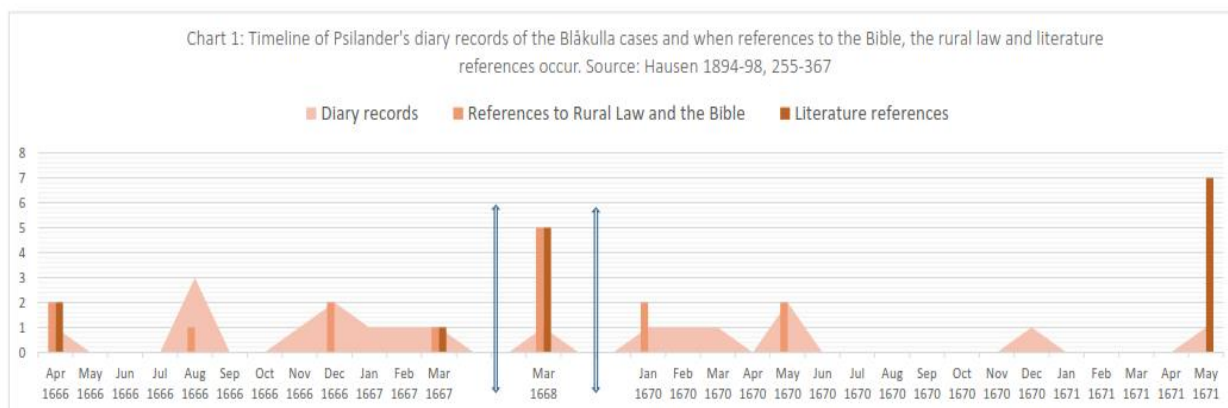
<sup>37</sup> TMA Åland court records, Finström and Emckarby 5 January 1666, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:264; Jomala 11 March 1666, Hausen, 317; Lemland 3 May 1670, Hausen, 347, to §15. This also includes a note on the yearly royal ordinances on prayer days – special Sundays for thanksgiving and prayer in church, “kongliga placate om storeböndags brott, eeder (art 20), and sabbatzbrot (arts 4 and 16);” Finström 16 May 1670, Hausen, 355.

<sup>38</sup> Nenonen, *Noituus*, 273–275. On adultery, see Seppo Aalto, *Kirkko ja kruunu siveellisyyden vartijoina. Seksuaalirikollisuus, esivalta ja yhteisö Porvoon kihlakunnassa, 1621–1700* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1996).

#### IV

How did Psilander use his demonological literature? Citing literature was not common in Swedish and Finnish court records in general, and he must have had a particular reason to do it. Personal vanity and a wish to show off his learning might have motivated him. However, if placed on the timeline of the chain of trials and its high and low points, the literature references seem to mark the points in the legal process when Psilander was unsure of the right course of action and of the truth he was seeking to prove.

Figure 1. Timeline of Nils Psilander's diary, recording the Blåkulla cases and when references to the Bible, the rural law, and other literature occur (© Raisa Maria Toivo)



The literature references were by no means regular, nor were they evenly distributed through the trial records. There were regular court sessions three times a year in Åland, but not all of them included witchcraft interrogations. Instead, some of the witchcraft investigations were conducted during “extraordinary sessions,” held especially for the handling of a pressing issue. This is why there were three court record diaries on the Blåkulla cases in August 1666 and none between March 1667 and March 1668 or between March 1668 and January 1670. Literature references, the darkest column on Chart 1, all appeared in three different clusters: in the beginning of the trials chain from April 1666 and March 1667, in a second cluster in spring 1668, and in a last one in May 1671.

The cluster of references in April 1666, to Dante and St Augustine, served simply to state that all magic was witchcraft and required a pact with the Devil. Psilander used Dante basically to point out that his views on the magic and witchcraft were not without support – which was important because, in 1666, Blåkulla trials were yet unknown, and magic trials only beginning in Finland and Sweden. At this point, Psilander seems to have been sure of his case. Even the reference to Dante on March 1667 was to the same effect. The situation was about to change in the next court records, however.

The second cluster of literature references appeared in March 1668, when the trials were resumed after a year-long pause. Whereas the first year of the trial chain had been vigorous and had quickly led to the questioning, torture, and sentencing of six women, the second phase of the trials was slower.

According to Antero Heikkinen, this was not so much because confessions obtained under torture began to seem unreliable; this point was widely known in Sweden, and Psilander's favourite sources, such as Dante, pointed it out too. Instead, Heikkinen attributed the change to the fact that it was at this point that Psilander seems to have acquired a copy of Michael Freude's newly published *Gewissens-Fragen von Processen wieder die Hexen* (Güstrov, 1667).

Heikkinen argued that Freude warned that the Devil could mislead judges so that they would convict the innocent.<sup>39</sup> The warnings were, however, much more apparent in Freude's second edition, in 1671, which would not have reached Psilander in time to influence the cases in Åland. Indeed, caution is not what Psilander's diary entries drew from Freude, but rather the opposite. This suggests that there was something else that had suggested caution and a need for further theoretical enquiry before Psilander resorted to Freude and other literature for support.

The March 1668 citations came at the point when the trials were being resumed after a long pause. The previous phase had ended early in 1667 with the last of the interrogations of the women denounced by Karin: Ingeborg Olofsdotter. These women had all, under torture or the threat of torture, confessed to having made a pact with the

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<sup>39</sup> Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 204–243.

Devil. They had – after first offering stories of benevolent magic and prayer<sup>40</sup> – also told convincingly similar stories of how they had met the Devil, dressed as a sailor, and committed themselves to him by paying taxes in butter. They had used a salve, provided by the Devil, to enable them to fly to the sabbat at Blåkulla and also to withstand torture. Accordingly, they had been sentenced to death and, like Karin's, their sentences had been confirmed by the Court of Appeal.<sup>41</sup>

But in February 1667 it had transpired that the salve had not been given to the women by the Devil at all, but by the prison guard at Kastelholm Castle, where the women had been imprisoned. They had been allowed to move from the cells to the warmth of the guard's private quarters and to converse freely with each other and the guard and his wife. The women had talked and planned their confessions there. When pressed to produce evidence of their own guilt, they had borrowed some shoe polish from the prison guard. It is doubtful if they had known they were going to be executed; most people in Finland had seen witchcraft trials that ended in fines, and the Court of Appeal's habit of commuting death sentences to banishment or fines. Be that as it may, there had been good reason to try to avoid torture by all means. Anna Bengtsdotter had tried to take back her initial confession after the death sentences became imminent, but, since she had initially confessed, she had been swiftly sentenced to lose her head. The revelation of the shoe polish had cast doubt on the other confessions as well, but, since the sentences had already been confirmed, the local executioner had proceeded with the decapitation of the seven women tried previously.<sup>42</sup>

The interrogations had then been halted for a year, but, since further women had been imprisoned, the trials had to continue, and they resumed in March 1668. The shoe polish episode encouraged greater caution in interrogation, and the court was slower to resort to torture. Something tangible was needed to back up the prosecution. It was then that Psilander and the lay jurors in his court found a mark on the body of Ingeborg

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<sup>40</sup> In the women's testimonies, non-demonological magic stories are far more prevalent than demonology. Magic stories are not relevant here, but I have explored the Åland women's stories of magic in Raisa Maria Toivo, *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 42–50, esp. p. 45.

<sup>41</sup> Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 225–231; SRA, Åbo Hovrätt till Konglig Majjt vol 4, Rotulus opå de Criminalie saker 1666: 28 May, item 23; 25 October item 42; Åbo Hovrätt till Konglig Majjt vol 4, Rotulus opå de Criminalie saker 1667, 6 February 2010 Oct. and 17 Dec.

<sup>42</sup> The shoe polish episode was revealed in Castelholm, 7 February 1667, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:301–303. Anna was sentenced in Castelholm 11 March 1667: Hausen, 303–306.

Olofsdotter, which was taken as a proof of her witchcraft. Ingeborg, however, claimed that it was only a bruise she had received after tripping in the cowshed the day before. The jury thought it did not look like a recent bruise, and Psilander wrote: "Therefore there is even more reason to let (as Michael Freude tells in his *Processe wider die hexen*, chap. 14) the provost stick a nail hard enough in the mark without her noticing." It was on Freude's authority that Psilander decided not to trust the woman's explanation, to prick her and, as she still did not confess, to proceed to torture to confirm the results of the pricking.<sup>43</sup> So, although Freude emphasized (especially in the second edition) that there were natural explanations for many of the elements of witchcraft accusations and that torture was liable to produce wrong evidence, what Psilander read in Freude's work was a way of ensuring that the Devil's mark was true. Thereafter, despite all the well-known problems with torture, it was available for discovering the truth when everything else failed.<sup>44</sup>

Although Freude's work reassured Psilander for the duration of the investigation, the assurance was far from complete. Ingeborg Olofsdotter refused to confess even under torture. She said she had only prayed to God, Jesus, and the Virgin Mary, for the good of her cattle and to heal injured people. During the trials, Psilander countered these claims with the religious authority of Arnold Mengerling and Andreas Kesler: it was blasphemy and superstition. Freude, too, gave possible natural explanations of the imaginative characteristics of witchcraft theory, such as flying and meeting the Devil. Likewise, Freude elaborated on the possibility that denunciations might be motivated by envy and competition between neighbours, and that a considerable portion of witchcraft was not "real," in the sense that witchcraft and magic generally did not work. To a great extent, Freude thought that witchcraft was a deceptive illusion created by the Devil. Nevertheless, he also thought that such illusions were the result of belief in the Devil and his power. Turning away from God and towards the Devil was the punishable sin and crime, rather than any actual harm done.<sup>45</sup> Psilander may have read this, and it seems to have worked well with his ideas of condemning what the accused women sought to represent as

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<sup>43</sup> TMA, Åland court records, Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:311.

<sup>44</sup> Katrin Moeller, "Freude, Michael," in *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, ed. Richard M. Golden (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006) 2:393–395; Katrin Moeller, "Alltagsmagie und Hexereidiskurs: Kommunikation über mecklenburgische Hexenverfolgung am Beispiel der Schriften Michael Freudes," in *Realität und Mythos: Hexenverfolgung und Rezeptionsgeschichte*, ed. Katrin Moeller and Burghart Schmidt (Hamburg: DOBU Verlag, 2003), 102–120, esp. pp. 111–116.

<sup>45</sup> Freude 1667; see also Moeller as in the previous reference note.

protective and healing magic for cattle and people, but it was not this part of Freude's work that he cited to argue for that opinion.<sup>46</sup> Psilander cited Freude in connection to guidelines for examining the Devil's mark.<sup>47</sup> It was the mark, as a piece of tangible evidence among elusive words of confession and denial, which also produced the immediate references to König, Waldschmidt, and, eventually Delrio and *Cautio Criminalis*.

Nevertheless, there was a problem, since Ingeborg refused to confess. After the shoe polish episode, more evidence than just the ambiguous mark was desirable. Theoretical authors solved the problem for Psilander. The last assurance came again from Dante's authority: although the woman under interrogation confessed only to prayers and their beneficial effect, her unorthodox use of prayers was magical and "for the damnable consolation which comes from it such acts are counted as witchcraft. Deut. 18:11, Cf. Decis cas conc. Ludov. Dunte p. 306 § 2."<sup>48</sup>

At the end of the trial, the record is nevertheless still not quite satisfied. Psilander wrote:

And the jury did not know what else to do but to sentence Ingeborg to death; but their wish to mitigate the sentence is, with due deference, submitted to the Court of Appeal's merciful censure and arbitration, since everything is so dark and muddy, and no categorical confession was to be gained from Ingeborg that she had given herself to an open pact with the devil (according to Nemesis Carolina art. 109)<sup>49</sup>

Heikkinen sees in this note a real reference to the wishes of the jury to be more careful, as opposed to Psilander's still burning interest.<sup>50</sup> The wording is, however, common in the court records, since all decisions had to be made by the jury and the judge unanimously. Wording on this almost always speaks of the jury or the court, not of the judge alone. If it is

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<sup>46</sup> E.g. Ingeborg on TMA, Åland court records, Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:306–318, or Lisbeta on Sund 27 August 1666 and Sund 13–14 December 1666, Hausen, 280–293.

<sup>47</sup> TMA, Åland court records, Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:311; Finström and Emckarby 22 May 1671, Hausen, 364.

<sup>48</sup> Men för dhen fördömelige fötröstningen som dher til sätties, räknas sådant besvärjande uthtryckeligen för en trulldoms art. Det 18.11. (conf Decis. cas. consc. Ludov. Dunte p. 306 §2. TMA, Åland court records, Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:314–315.

<sup>49</sup> TMA, Åland court records, Jomala 11 March 1668, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:316. The passage in the "Carolina" prescribed death in witchcraft cases.

<sup>50</sup> Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 204–243.



necessary to judge who was more excited and who more cautious, one could also note that the citation of "Carolina," which was given as the basis of the mitigation, referred to the written law code of the Holy Roman Empire by Charles V – *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina*. It is likely to have been the learned judge, not the peasant jury, who was influenced by a foreign law code. Psilander, seeking assurance in demonological literature, could only find more doubt, and therefore remained unsure of his own judgement.

Ingeborg lost her head after this.<sup>51</sup> However, after her execution, the trials paused again, and were only resumed at the beginning of 1670. The women denounced by the first group of the accused were brought to court. One death sentence was given to Margeta Mårtensdotter – but for traditional witchcraft, causing fatal illnesses, and for blasphemy rather than demonology. Blåkulla was no longer discussed.<sup>52</sup> After this point, men re-appeared as co-accused in the trials.<sup>53</sup> After Margeta Mårtensdotter, no further death sentences were given. More women were interrogated, and confessed to various forms of magic and superstitious curing of illnesses, but were sentenced only to fines according to *Högmålabalken* §15. When sentencing one of the last women, Margeta, Lars Hansson's wife, to 40 mark fines for superstition and witchcraft, Psilander even wrote:

However, considering that this punishment does not similarly prove carefully proportioned against her crime, as she was accused of and partially proven to have done, but not sentenced for more than this, therefore we submit this to the Court of Appeal mercifully to consider, and (to put it more clearly) communicate with the church, as it seems to be their jurisdiction, if the said fines should be made harder after consideration, or admittedly (because she cannot afford to pay even this 40 marks) to change into another punishment according to what the Court of Appeal finds that her crime equals to. However, the jury begs respectfully that, because of her small

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<sup>51</sup> Death sentence was given 11 March 1668; the exact execution date remains unknown.

<sup>52</sup> Norby 20 and 21 January 1670, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:218–330.

<sup>53</sup> Norby 14 March 1670, Hausen *Bidrag*, 2:331–367.

children and considering that her husband would be helpless without her, she would not be banished.<sup>54</sup>

Only in the last judgment was the jury given any responsibility for claiming leniency. Judge Psilander's uncertainty seems to have increased throughout the set of trials. Only fines were now imposed, and many hearings did not lead to any definitive conclusion. In the last court session, in Finström on 22 May 1670, Psilander appears to have lost faith in what he was doing. Again, they had found a Devil's mark, but were unable to bring the accused to confession. They were unable to convict the accused and Psilander finally played down the authority of the mark on which all his previous court cases had relied. Psilander had first attested, with the authority of König and Waldschmidt, that usually everyone had sense and feeling in their bodies and that insensible marks were suspect. But now he recorded that the examined witch claimed that although she could not now remember, the marks of her body could be childhood injuries, natural if not quite normal. And so his court record states:

It was seen that no better or more enlightening explanation could be gained, one way or the other any more than before; the jury also attested it to be vain to examine her further on such things, even less as our superiors will not let us use exquisite torture. Therefore, it was agreed that what was already known should be left to be, submitting themselves, especially as concerns the mark and its significance, under the reminder of Martino Delrio (and "cautione criminali") on Satan's treachery as he puts and takes away marks taken from the applauded König d. 1, page 52, Waldschmidt page 345, and also Freudium in processu wieder die hexen question 14.<sup>55</sup>

The mark had proved, both on the witches' bodies and in theoretical literature, to be as elusive as the words of confession, to be given and recanted. Whereas Psilander had set out to use literature to prove the guilt of the accused women, he ended up using it to justify his

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<sup>54</sup> Finström 16 May 1670, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:347–355.

<sup>55</sup> TMA, Åland court records, Hausen, *Bidrag*, 2:364.

own doubt and, to an extent, even his own failure as a judge who could not reach a verdict.

This was Psilander's only reference to widely known demonologists. However, he did not claim to have read either Delrio or *Cautio Criminalis* himself, but cited them second hand via "König," "Waldschmidt," and Freude, of which he only gave the title of one work, that of Freude. Psilander may have read König and Waldschmidt at some point: at least the references are detailed and point to page numbers ("Heptade casuum page 57" in König and page 72 for *Pythonissa*). However, he may well have copied the page numbers from another source. Freude's importance in the references is clearly the greatest, and Freude does indeed cite both Martin Delrio's *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (1599–1600) and *Cautio Criminalis* – as well as *Pythonissa Endorrea*, and König – referring to the same pages of the two latter and to König in the same slightly distorted version as Psilander: "König d. i/in heptad. Casuum."<sup>56</sup>

## V

Psilander's last passage thus reveals something of the nature of reading and literature in early modern Finland. He inadvertently confused two very different witchcraft authors in his wish to show caution. Martin Delrio's work *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (1599–1600) is hardly famous for cautious warnings. One of its central arguments was that the authorities, at least as far as they were not corrupt, were immune to the deceptions of the Devil.<sup>57</sup> Psilander's citation of Delrio while arguing that the Devil might have deceived his court was not the most apt. However, Psilander also mentioned Friedrich Spee's *Cautio Criminalis*, a work much more suited to such doubts. Psilander seems to have mixed up the two works, and it is doubtful that he had ever seen either of them.<sup>58</sup>

The printed word is seen as one of the characteristics of modernity. Psilander kept in touch with recent publications in his line of work, acquiring Freude's book immediately after it was printed. However, much of his reading was second hand, probably via manuscript notes and the memoranda of his colleagues, of the kind he possibly planned to

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<sup>56</sup> See also Moeller, "Freude, Michael;" Moeller, "Alltagserfahrung"; Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 237. In the König citation, there is "i" in the Swedish version, and "in" in the German.

<sup>57</sup> Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 578.

<sup>58</sup> Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*, 204.

prepare from his own records. Such manuscripts can be found in various archives in Finland from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.<sup>59</sup>

Psilander's use of literature thus shows that important philosophies from Europe, such as demonology, reached Finland not via centres in Sweden (Stockholm, Uppsala, or Lund), but more directly through various influences in the Baltic area. However, this knowledge seems to have been fragmented. Psilander may have read Freude's book in its entirety, but he does not seem to have been interested enough to make any references to anything except the detail of the Devil's mark. The knowledge of demonology, although it may seem broad and well-referenced, was in fact fragmented, perhaps second hand and sought only in need. Still, it is significant that when such need arose, the judges in Finland did have the means to seek the knowledge.

## VI

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<sup>59</sup> Terhi Kiiskinen, ed., *Viisi reformaatioajan lähdeä Suomessa* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2010), 10–27; Tapio Salminen, *Joki ja sen väki: Kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia jääkaudesta 1860-luvulle* (Kokemäki: Kokemäen ja Harjavallan kaupungit ja seurakunnat, 2007), 282–286.

<sup>60</sup> Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 578.

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