In the age of the European witch hunts, Scandinavia consisted of two major political entities: the kingdom of Denmark, or Denmark–Norway as it is often known, with its dependencies Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands; and the kingdom of Sweden, or Sweden–Finland. Norway was an independent kingdom, but in the fourteenth century had entered into a union with the Danish crown. Sweden, which then included much of what is now Finland, had expanded its territories through conquest, and also had possessions in Germany and the Baltic countries. In territorial terms, the two empires were very much conglomerate states, and, even though they were fairly centralized, there was still a strong element of local participation in government. In both Denmark and Sweden, the administration of justice had been brought under central control relatively early, but laymen – peasants in the countryside, townsfolk in the cities – exercised considerable influence. In terms of religion, both were again very similar, although Sweden has rightly been called one of the most confessionalized Protestant states in Europe.

Beginnings in the Middle Ages

Several of the necessary conditions for the persecution of witches were already in place in the Middle Ages.¹ There was a very long-standing belief that malicious people existed who could do harm to humans and animals by magic, and who held gatherings which they reached by flying through the air. When the Swedish historian and the last Roman Catholic titular archbishop Olaus Magnus announced in the mid-sixteenth century that witches liked to gather on the Baltic island of Blå Jungfrun (lit. blue virgin), also known as Blåkulla, the idea was anything but new; indeed, back in the thirteenth century the oldest of all Sweden’s provincial laws, Äldre Västgötalagen, had set down that it was a gross insult to say that a woman had ridden on a hurdle with her hair down at dawn or the turn of the seasons. Neither was it original to think that witches were a sect ruled by the Devil, but there was no such thing as a definitive description of a sabbat or witches’ Sabbath – it changed constantly, and even at the height of the witch hunts it was rare for trial testimony to include all the standard details.²

Medieval laws defined magic chiefly in terms of maleficium. True, at an early stage Norway legislated against the sort of magic that was thought to result from
straightforward paganism, while the Swedish provincial laws also prohibited superstition (although later national laws omitted it altogether), yet the true scope of the persecution in the Middle Ages is impossible to determine. There are reports in various sources of witches being killed, and the option was certainly there in the legislation. In 1080, for example, Pope Gregory VII warned King Harald of Denmark against accusing women of having conjured up storms or cursing livestock. It is noticeable that the few known medieval cases concerned consorting with the Devil, diabolism, and love magic, and not what we now think of as the more traditional *maleficium*, which is still believed to have dominated the legal agenda during the Middle Ages.\(^3\)

**Patterns of witch hunting in Scandinavia**

Allegations of *maleficium*, however, were to dominate the sixteenth-century witch trials, often regarded as the precursor of the wave of Scandinavian persecution that peaked in the seventeenth century. During the sixteenth century, there are glimpses of the legal practices that would pave the way for more widespread persecution – torture and ordeal by water. At the same time, more elaborate conceptions of witchcraft are also found, with witches making pacts with the Devil and participating in sabbats. Yet there were also cases that concerned more innocent superstitions.

The records of more than 400 Scandinavian witchcraft trials survive from the sixteenth century. In Denmark, there were a number of sensational trials that touched aristocratic circles and even members of the royal family. Most famous of all were the events of 1589–90, when King James VI of Scotland, who was meant to fetch home his bride from Copenhagen, was prevented from making the crossing for several weeks by a succession of fierce storms, which were believed to be the result of witchcraft. In other words, it is possible to find support for the view that the witch hunts and witchcraft legislation were both politically driven. During the seventeenth century, Scandinavian royalty continued to figure surprisingly large in the stories of witchcraft. The sources for the sixteenth century are so fragmentary, however, that they hardly permit a quantitative study of the nature and scope of the witch trials.\(^4\)

**Denmark**

The witch trials in Denmark were clearly connected to the introduction of new legislative measures, even though there had been signs of increased activity in the law courts before then.\(^5\) The majority of the known Danish witchcraft trials took place over the course of a few years, between 1617 and 1625. In 1617, in a conscious echo of the disciplinary programme of the Reformation a century earlier, King Christian IV issued a decree that included provisions against witchcraft, among them the rule that cunning people should be exiled and that those who entered into pacts with the Devil were to be burned. The decree of 1617 was later incorporated in a slightly modified form into the National Code of 1683, by which point the number of witchcraft trials in Denmark had dwindled to almost nothing.

At the same time, there were aspects to the Danish system of justice which worked against the holding of witchcraft trials. In 1547, after a series of sensational witchcraft cases, it was decreed that witches’ testimony was not valid as evidence in court, and that torture was not permitted to extort a confession in order to obtain a
conviction. The pattern known from so many other countries, with so-called chain trials in which people were tried on the basis of convicted witches’ testimony, and then were tortured to confess and provide the names of further suspects, was thus unknown in Denmark. Torture was resorted to regularly in order to secure a confession, but only after conviction. Those found guilty could be asked about their accomplices, but neither the courts nor the authorities made any effort to pursue those who were then named. The result of the introduction of aggressive witchcraft legislation was not witch hunts, but rather a string of isolated witchcraft cases, sparked by accusations made by private individuals, as was called for by the strict accusatory system of the day. Another important limiting effect dated from 1576, when it became obligatory to refer all witchcraft convictions in the courts of first instance to the landsding, the regional high courts or appellate courts.

Few court records survive from Denmark’s lower and high courts for this period. For the seventeenth century, however, the records for Jutland do survive, where a total of 494 trials were held between 1609 and 1687, more than half of them in the first eight years following the decree of 1617. Up to 1650, there was a steady stream of trials, albeit at a low level after 1625. There was then a slight rise in the 1680s, which can largely be attributed to the activity of a single witch hunter, the nobleman Jørgen Arenfeldt, who terrorized a number of innocent people on his estates, but witchcraft trials ceased altogether not long after.

Almost half of those condemned to death in the lower courts had their sentences confirmed by the regional high court. In the lower courts, nine out of ten accused were sentenced to death, which one can assume did little to discourage further accusations. Denmark gives a contradictory impression, with both trial-limiting and trial-generating factors so plainly at work. Perhaps the main thing was not that the trial system was strictly accusatory, but that legal praxis was so brutal that it prompted a popular reaction. The Jutland trials were only a fraction of all the witch trials in Denmark, of course; the total number of witches executed is estimated to have been about four hundred. Cunning people, who appeared before the courts in surprisingly small numbers, given that magic was anathema to the Church and the legislation of the day, were sentenced to banishment. The clergy tended to hold to the older, providential tradition in their handling of malicious witchcraft, and so did little to accuse individual witches, while the populace at large, whose involvement was required if charges were to be brought, rarely lifted a finger against the cunning people in their communities, whose services they likely needed.

Danish witchcraft trials, if Jutland is anything to go by, would appear to have concerned maleficient witchcraft to the exclusion of all else. Quite apart from the restraining hand of the law, which made it much harder to bring allegations of diabolism, Denmark seems to have had little in the way of a well-developed or widely accepted notion of the sabbat, even though the idea that witches were organized into a collective was known, as is apparent from such confessions as were extorted.

The last witch to be burned in Denmark was executed in 1693. The belief in the reality of witchcraft lived on long after that, however – it even led to a lynching in 1722. The provisions against witchcraft in the 1683 National Code were formally nullified in 1866.
**Norway**

Apart from one case of love magic dating from 1325 in the city of Bergen, all the known witch trials in Norway fell into the period of 1540 to 1750. Legal developments in the early modern era mirrored those in Denmark. Admittedly, after the decree of 1617 there was no witch hunt, but the number of witchcraft cases in the courts rose steadily from that date. Most of the trials took place between 1620 and 1665, and the total number of known individuals brought to court was some 780. Of those, more than 300 were condemned to death, of which 90 per cent of the sentences that were actually carried out fell into the period between 1601 and 1670. Court proceedings were accusatorial rather than inquisitorial, yet on many occasions the individual accusers from the local farming community did not appear, and instead it was the bailiffs who had to prosecute the case. In violation of the Danish decree, there were several cases where defendants were tortured before conviction rather than after. Otherwise, as in Denmark, the standards of proof were so low that it was possible to convict on the flimsiest of evidence, including unsworn statements and hearsay. Starting in the late sixteenth century, the administration of justice in Norway became increasingly decentralized, paradoxically just as a system of senior courts was introduced, with the result that local courts found themselves hearing serious criminal cases such as witchcraft for the first time. However, in the new system it was not obligatory to refer on all serious criminal cases, as was the case in Denmark and Sweden.

Broken down by region, the number of charges brought in the south-east peaked in the years following the decree of 1617. In this sense, Norway closely mirrored the Danish pattern. However, later there were widespread witch hunts in the north of the country. Of 131 individuals tried in the province of Finnmark in the far north, no fewer than 92 were executed, and major cases came in spates – as in 1620–1, 1651–3, and 1662–3 – interspersed with a number of more isolated examples. In proportion to the size of its population, Finnmark was one of the hardest hit areas in the whole of Europe. Among those accused were not only Norwegian peasants and fisherfolk, but also a number of Sami. As in northern Sweden, which also saw a late wave of trials, so in Finnmark children played a role as witnesses.

Witchcraft cases in Norway were considerably more varied than those in Denmark. Minor magic was more prominent, though the majority of cases that went to court still concerned maleficent witchcraft. They were also far more likely to include accounts of sabbats – elaborate accounts at that – with the special places where the witches were said to gather actually named, including Blåkulla, Domen, Dovre, and Lyderhorn. It is also worth noting that witches were said to conjure shipwrecks and drown crews, and thus were not thought the cause of only individual misfortunes.

In Norway, the last execution for witchcraft was in 1695. The later seventeenth century had seen the start of royal absolutism and the centralization and professionalization of the judicial system, which reduced the scope for local initiatives on the part of the bailiffs. The changes to the judicial system meant that trained lawyers controlled all stages of the trial process. A mere 18 cases of witchcraft are known from the eighteenth century.
Sweden

Sweden’s oldest recorded witchcraft trial was held in the town of Arboga in 1471.\footnote{14} By the end of the sixteenth century, the number of cases brought before the courts seems have been on the rise. Whether this continued into the first half of the seventeenth century is unclear, however. In the 1610s, 1630s, and 1650s, there were local tendencies towards increased persecution, but the high-water mark would be reached much later, in the second half of the seventeenth century, when it overlapped with the later persecutions in Finland and northern Norway.

As in Denmark, so in Sweden there was a clear chronological coincidence between the many witchcraft trials in the latter half of the seventeenth century and new legislation. Sweden’s medieval national laws, which by then were distinctly anachronistic, were supplemented in 1665 by a royal decree (reissued in 1687) that dealt explicitly with non-harmful magic and consorting with the Devil. The decree signalled the authorities’ concern about witchcraft only a few years before the outbreak of the great witch hunt. Two major sets of trials ran simultaneously. In the ‘Blåkulla trials’ in northern Sweden (1668–1676), the main charge was that defendants had used their supernatural powers to abduct children for the sabbat. Meanwhile, at the far end of the country in the south-eastern county of Bohuslän, there was a series of witchcraft trials between 1669 and 1672. Bohuslän had only been wrested from Denmark’s control in 1658, and the cases were tried according to Danish law, with several departures from standard practice strongly reminiscent of Norwegian praxis, with the regular use of ordeals by water.

There has been no attempt to establish a national chronology of those accused and executed for witchcraft in Sweden. The main events are clear enough, however, as is the number of victims. In those few years of mass persecution, some 300 people were executed. Excepting the rash of cases in Bohuslän and the Blåkulla trials, no more than 100 individuals were executed for witchcraft in the two centuries between 1550 and 1750, giving a maximum of 400 executions. However, a far greater number were sentenced to other punishments, including banishment, flogging, fines, or imprisonment on a diet of bread and water. While Denmark, in comparison, was perhaps the Scandinavian country with the greatest number of executions for witchcraft, it was the witch trials in Sweden that answered for the largest number of people accused and convicted, if only because of the great witch hunt of 1668–76 and then the prolonged tail-off in the eighteenth century.

The answer as to which was the largest witch hunt in Europe is between the Blåkulla trials and the Basque witch trials in the early seventeenth century (which also involved children) and a handful of other persecutions. The best part of a thousand adults were accused of witchcraft in the spasm that wracked northern Sweden, with several thousand children involved in the process. In the course of only one week in the parish of Torsåker in Ångermanland, 72 people were executed in 1675, in the largest mass execution for witchcraft known in Scandinavia. The great witch hunt, which started in the province of Dalarna in 1668, may well have been preceded by a popular religious revival. The stories told about the sabbat were clearly interwoven with visionary tales of heaven and hell. The witch trials then spread to most of the northern provinces, and by 1675 had reached central Sweden, including Stockholm. In addition to the regular courts, special witchcraft commissions were appointed...
to steer proceedings. However, the temporary delegation of central power that the witchcraft commissions represented turned out to be a serious mistake, for it meant that decisive roles in the administration of justice were left to members of lower courts. Year after year, the appointed commissioners signally failed to control the rising hysteria about witchcraft. On the contrary, the attention the commissioners drew to the situation merely increased the general sense of panic, rather than allaying it.

Although these events are deservedly famous, the usual form taken by witchcraft trials in early modern Sweden was actually very different. Most cases concerned minor offences involving non-harmful magic; often they were brought by officials of the Crown, with the clergy particularly active as accusers; and, above all, Sweden stands out for its leniency, for very few trials resulted in a death sentence. In the first half of the seventeenth century, regional high courts were established. In principle, they had to approve all death sentences, including those for witchcraft. Gradually, it became a widespread practice for all types of witchcraft cases to be referred to the high courts. And, crucially, studies of praxis in the Göta High Court shows that the appellate courts very often changed or mitigated sentences.15

Moreover, a great number of these trials – perhaps even the majority – took place in the eighteenth century. Of more than 500 known cases of witchcraft in southern Sweden heard in the Göta High Court between 1635 and 1779, around three-quarters date from the eighteenth century, and involved some 1,100–1,200 individuals.16 Most of these eighteenth-century cases concerned non-harmful magic, while the importance of the other cases steadily diminished.

The broadly conservative codification of Swedish law in 1734, which retained the death penalty for witchcraft, finally saw the introduction of an explicit treatment of superstition that may have helped perpetuate public interest in witchcraft and so contributed to the numerous eighteenth-century trials. The last execution for witchcraft, ostensibly at least for breaking the laws against maleficium, was in 1734. King Gustav III abolished the death penalty for witchcraft in 1779, and in the same year pacts with the Devil were placed on a par with ordinary superstition.

### Finland

As in Sweden, so in Finland, at least when it came to the judicial situation.17 After a distinct drop at the turn of seventeenth century, when the country was the scene of a protracted series of wars, the number of witchcraft cases began to accelerate in the 1630s and peaked in the 1670s and 1680s. The ensuing decrease then extended into the eighteenth century. So far the literature has found nothing equivalent to Sweden’s numerous eighteenth-century cases that centred on superstition, even though by mid-century it seems there were some attempts to pursue magical crimes in the courts. Considering Finland’s position as a fully integrated part of the Swedish kingdom, the absence of witchcraft cases in the eighteenth century is striking. The lack of central records from Åbo High Court (now Turku) makes a close analysis of the exact circumstances in eighteenth-century Finland difficult. The total number of cases in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is estimated to have been about 2,000, of which 150 resulted in death sentences. Of those, approximately half are thought to have been upheld by the Åbo High Court.18
As in Sweden, there was a relatively large proportion of cases that were not centred on maleficent witchcraft, but on superstition. There were a very limited number of Blåkulla trials, and then only in the predominantly Swedish-speaking areas such as Österbotten and the Åland Islands. Yet Finland also differs from Sweden proper in the high proportion of men among the accused – fully two-thirds in the sixteenth century – and in the east of the country this male dominance continued, even though the number of cases was low. In terms of visibility, it was women who played a greater role when the witch trials were at their peak. Until the 1660s, the trials had concerned maleficent witchcraft, in which men were in the majority. From that point onwards, however, women assumed an ever greater role, while the scope of the allegations broadened to include a wider spectrum of witchcraft cases, such as minor magic and consorting with the devil. Allegations of the latter increased as the Blåkulla trials spread from Sweden, with accusations made against some eighty people.

Ever since the publication in 1555 of Olaus Magnus’ *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (A Description of the Northern Peoples), Finland had been thought to be home to a great many warlocks. It is tempting to associate the predominance of men among those accused of witchcraft in Finland with the shamanistic elements of its folklore. Yet apart from Sami communities, shamanism had ceased to be a living tradition back in the Middle Ages, and thus was unlikely to have played much of a role in the witch trials of later years. Of far greater significance were Finland’s witch doctors or seers, who occasionally found themselves before the courts accused of witchcraft, but they do not appear to have featured often as defendants, and their activities can only be glimpsed in the surviving court records. The question of ‘male dominance’ has been insufficiently studied, clearly, but its uniqueness fades somewhat in a comparison with Russia, where it was usual for those accused of witchcraft to be men. Perhaps what we are looking is a belt of proto-shamanism of sorts, stretching from Iceland across northern Norway to Finland and Russia.19

**Iceland**

In Iceland, as in the other Nordic countries, there were examples of medieval witchcraft trials.20 As early as 1343, a nun was found guilty of having entered into a pact with the Devil. It was only towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, that witchcraft trials were held in any number. Thus in 1580 a woman was convicted of having kept a milk-thieving imp. The vast majority of trials came after 1630, the year in which the 1617 decree had finally been introduced in Iceland. Like Denmark, the Devil featured rarely, and most accusations instead concerned *maleficium*. Torture was not used in Iceland. Between 1593 and 1720, there were 134 known trials which involved 186 people, of whom 166 were men. A total of 22 were condemned to death and burned, including one woman. Plainly, in Iceland witchcraft was a male crime. The term usually found in the Icelandic court records was not ‘witches’, but rather ‘cunning people’, a group that in Iceland was predominately male. This dominance may have dated back to the medieval Norwegian laws against the almost pagan rituals in which men played a prominent role. In terms of geographical distribution, cases tended to be limited to the places where Iceland’s few officials and clerics were to be found, and this despite it being usual to take holy orders in Denmark—the clergy’s
distance from their homeland seems to have left them less inhibited about involvement in witchcraft trials.

**Witch hunts in Scandinavia – some reflections**

Witch hunts in northern Europe varied considerably in intensity and chronology. Broadly speaking, the persecution in Denmark and its dependencies was pursued with greater brutality. To an extent, these patterns coincided with today’s national borders. A closer look, however, reveals that national differences were often in fact regional ones, which meant that the nature of the witch trials could vary at least as much within a given country.

Paradoxically, continental Denmark, with its endless *maleficium* cases, exhibited in one sense a more archaic form of persecution than the lands of the Scandinavian peninsula proper, where the crime of witchcraft acquired a much more distinct ideological colouration. The Blåkulla trials in Sweden were so widespread that they were the acknowledged focus of diabolic witchcraft. Yet their sheer scale should not obscure the fact that, at the same time, there were also other accounts of witches’ gatherings circulating in Scandinavia. In Norway, there was definite notion that witches gathered to inflict *maleficium* collectively, meaning that the charges against more than one individual could be justified without having to mention the Devil and without providing detailed descriptions of the sabbat.

The role of minor magic in the long run of Scandinavian witch hunts deserves particular emphasis, because this ‘harmless’ brand of sorcery was in fact in ideological terms the primary target of the state’s and the Church’s centuries-old battle against superstition. In the eighteenth century, the persecution of magic in Sweden would gradually acquire the same character as the Inquisition in southern Europe. At the same time, the Scandinavian trials of the late medieval period should not be overlooked; spanning both diabolism and minor magic as they did, they may indicate that, instead of a medieval prologue, they were the product of very real witch hunts, the extent of which is unknown, but not so very different from subsequent events in the early modern period.\(^{21}\)

One way to shed light on the regional differences would be to establish the extent to which local interests were accommodated – one need only think of the bailiffs and priests in Norway and Sweden generally or, briefly, the Swedish witchcraft commissions appointed during the great witch hunt. The hiatus between the 1617 and 1665 decrees may explain some of the differences in the Scandinavian chronology. Norway, however, and particularly Finnmark with its later trials, do not quite fit this picture. Meanwhile, in Denmark and Sweden there were distinct discrepancies between the legislation and its workings. The decree of 1617 concentrated on magic per se and not the *maleficium* that was the focus of subsequent witchcraft trials. And in Sweden, although later developments reflected the harder line on superstition, the initial response was to throw themselves into the great Blåkulla trials.

The relationship between the legislation and the witch trials emphasizes the wider state-building process then underway. Against that, it is usually said that the crises of the early modern era, like the allegations of witchcraft themselves, sprang from everyday conflicts and tensions that were local in origin. The sudden surge in the number of witch trials in Denmark thus seems to antedate the decree of 1617.
coming into force, and may instead have been linked to the period of high prices that had resulted in a decline in the once lucrative cattle trade, for example. Of all the Norwegian regions, meanwhile, Finnmark was where people were exposed to the greatest extremes of climate, hardship, privation, and danger. The outbreak of witch craze in Swedish Bohuslän followed a decline in the all-important herring fisheries. With regard to the witch hunts in northern Sweden, it is known that Dalarna, where the witch hunts began, was far from the peripheral province it would later become, but rather lay on an ancient and still busy route between Sweden and Norway. New findings have also shown that the main form of agriculture in much of northern Sweden – transhumant dairy farming and cattle breeding, in which women played the dominant role – saw a significant upturn at this point, and indeed may have been first introduced only very recently, after 1550. Added to that was a noticeable surplus of women because of Sweden’s interminable wars. It was perhaps not a coincidence that the children who gave evidence in court referred time and again to the ostentation and flamboyance of the women who gathered at Blåkulla – signs of social inequality that seem to have touched a nerve in the more egalitarian and less feudal north of the country, with its lived culture that all but embodied the theory of limited good. At the same time, it is obvious that the capitalist elements in the rural economy were dependent on the Swedish government’s expansive war economy, thus bringing the state into the picture again. And Finnmark and Bohuslän were areas where the political rivalry between Denmark and Sweden was most marked.

In the wider Nordic context, one must necessarily draw attention to the men who were accused of witchcraft, particularly in cases of minor magic and maleficium. For all the talk of male dominance, of course, was only really true of Iceland. In Finland, a significant number of women were caught up in the most dynamic – and late – phase of the witch hunts. A wider comparison is revealing, for in Sweden in the same period an increasing number of men, not women, were accused; paradoxically, as a result of the legislation that singled out superstition as a crime.

Finally, it was Sweden’s chronology that stands out. In all the Nordic countries, the witch hunts were all but over by the final years of the seventeenth century. Unlike other countries, however, in Sweden a large number of cases of minor magic continued to appear before the courts, and, while there were no more executions, they still complicate any discussion of the decriminalization of witchcraft. In Sweden, the coercive state, to borrow Charles Tilly’s term, worked hand in glove with the Church in its exercise of social control, and was sufficiently conservative to remain true to an ideological system long after it first emerged in the seventeenth century.

In the nineteenth century, cases of magical crime still appeared sporadically before the courts. The Blåkulla narrative took on new importance with a religious revival in Dalarna, which meant that early twentieth-century folklorists were able to interview people who claimed to have attended sabbats in their youth. In Swedish folklore, the old belief in witches lived on. The memory of actual witch hunts has been passed down in an oral tradition that still gives force to a range of familiar customs. Yet this ritualization was originally cemented in the early nineteenth century, when many people still believed that witches flew off to sabbats. This makes it difficult to argue that the whole business originated in childish pranks. There is a very old, and much criticized, belief about the origins of the witches’ sabbats that they were a response to an ancient fertility cult. It seems, however, that Sweden was the living
proof of the British Egyptologist Margaret Murray’s thesis, even though it was not the sabbat that was ritualized as much as the journey to it, the witches’ ride. There is even an example from 1773 from the hundred of Lister, in Blekinge in southern Sweden, of people who were put on trial for witchcraft because they had pretended to be flying witches. At the very last, the stories of the witches’ eldritch world found a basis in reality.

Notes


6 Johansen, *Da Djevelen var ude*, 242–282 lists 676 individuals and cases.


8 For a comparative study of the Danish pattern with few cases heard, see Louise Nyholm Kallestrup, *Agents of Witchcraft in Early Modern Italy and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).


10 The total number of trials is estimated to have been about 1,400, with about a quarter of all defendants executed. Over the years, the figures have been revised somewhat; see Gunnar W. Knutsen, “Norwegian Witchcraft Trials: A Reassessment,” *Continuity & Change* 18.2 (2003): 185–200.

11 For example, see Ragnhild Botheim, *Trolldomsprossene i Bergenhus len 1566–1700* (Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen, 1999), 59.


16 Sörlin, Wicked Arts, 20.
18 Nenonen, “Finland,” 373 and 376; Heikkinen and Kervinen, “Finland,” 321, give the figures as 710 trials and 115 death sentences.
21 Sörlin, Wicked Arts, 3.
23 Sörlin, Wicked Arts, 119 f.
25 Fredrik Skott, Påskkäringar: Från trolldomstro till barnupptåg (Gothenburg: Dialekt-, ortnams- och folkminnesarkivet i Göteborg, 2013), passim, esp. 7–79.

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