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BOARD GAMES, DANCING, AND LOST SHOES

Ideas about witches' gatherings in the Finnmark witchcraft trials

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This chapter analyses ideas related to witches' gatherings in the northernmost part of Europe. In the district of Finnmark, in the far north of Norway, severe witchcraft trials took place between 1600 and 1692, with distinct panics in 1620–21, 1651–52, and 1662–63.[1] Altogether 135 persons were accused, of whom 91 were executed. As for gender, 82 per cent of the accused persons were women.[2] These executions comprised one-third of all known witchcraft executions in Norway.[3] The court records show that ideas relating to the learned European doctrine of demonology were prevalent during the trials, and, in particular, that demonological notions about witches' gatherings made their way into Finnmark courtrooms. In a wider context, therefore, this chapter deals with cultural transference of ideas. A study of local sources can offer insights into the general processes by which ideas were transferred.

The outline of my chapter is threefold. Firstly, I will present the concept of witches' meetings as expressed in the confessions of the accused during the first panic, in 1620–21. Secondly, I will do the same for the last witchcraft panic, in 1662–63. Thirdly, I will contextualize these two concepts, drawing attention to similar ideas in other European countries and thus to the question of transference of ideas. Thus, my point of departure will be the documentary Finnmark court records, and from these I move towards the question of how these ideas came to Finnmark.

I

Several notions about witches' gatherings are found during the first witchcraft panic in the region, in 1620–21. In this series of linked witchcraft trials, 12 women were executed. They were accused of having raised a storm the day

before Christmas Eve in 1617, when ten boats were shipwrecked and 40 men drowned just outside Vardø and the neighbouring fishing village Kiberg.[4] During this panic, the notion of a meeting at Lyderhorn, a well-known witch mountain near Bergen, on the west coast of Norway, came to the fore. Lyderhorn had been mentioned in a famous early case from Bergen, where Anne Pedersdatter, the wife of a prominent minister, Absalon Pederssøn Beyer, was sentenced to death for witchcraft on 7 April 1590. Anne Pedersdatter confessed that she had taken part in witches' meetings on Lyderhorn three Christmas Eves in succession, as well as further meetings on the mountain Fløyen near Bergen. Anne was said to have used her maid Eline as a riding horse to travel to the witches' meetings.[5] Anne Pedersdatter's case became widely known within the Norwegian judicial system; it may have been from her case that accused persons in Finnmark had heard of Lyderhorn, which was about 1,500 kilometres from Finnmark. Lyderhorn was mentioned in the confessions of Kirsten Sørensdatter, Siri Knudsdatter, Mari Jørgensdatter, Kari Olufsdatter, and Ragnhilde Olufsdatter.[6] Kirsten Sørensdatter, who was originally Danish, had lived some years in Bergen before she came to Finnmark, and would probably have heard about the case of Anne Pedersdatter there. However, Kirsten was not the first confessing woman, and it is more likely that the idea of Lyderhorn as a witch mountain was already known in Finnmark folklore by 1620.

The 1620–21 confessions also contain the notion of being gathered in the air. This was mentioned by Marrite Olufsdatter, Gøri Olsdatter, and Guri Olufsdatter. Marrite Olufsdatter said that one year, on St John's Eve, she and other witches were gathered in the air above high rocks and mountains, and the next year they were assembled at Christmas time in the same way.[7] St John's Eve, 24 June, the day of Midsummer, was known in Norway through a calendric device made of wood, called *primstav*.[8] There was a connection in many places between St John's Eve and performance of witchcraft, as Laura Paterson has also argued for Scotland.[9] Gatherings on mountains and hills are also widespread all over Europe, and the destinations of flying witches varied, as pointed out by Julian Goodare.[10] However, meetings in the air are uncommon in a North European context.

During this panic, witches also told of meeting at a field with a noteworthy name, *Ballvollen* as it would be given in modern Norwegian, on the island of Vardø. The meaning of the word is a ley or field, where ballgames are played. The name, written by the Danish scribe as *Balduolden* or *balduolden*, is sometimes capitalized, sometimes not, so it was not always interpreted as a proper name. It was initially mentioned by Mari Jørgensdatter, Marrite Olufsdatter, Guri Olufsdatter, Anne Lauritsdatter, and Kirsten Sørensdatter, in a group of interrogations in which the District Governor himself, the Scotsman John Cunningham, took part.[11] They all described *Ballvollen* as a place where they danced and drank, with the Devil in their midst. Mari Jørgensdatter confessed that she entered into a pact with the Devil and got the Devil's mark on her left hand, that she and

eleven other witches participated at the gathering at *Ballvollen*, where they drank, and afterwards they went to a gathering at Lyderhorn, where they danced and drank. Marrite Olufsdatter confessed to having learned witchcraft from Kirsten Sørensdatter, and that she, in the likeness of a dog, took Kirsten to a witches' meeting at *Ballvollen*.

Guri Olufsdatter also confessed that she learned witchcraft from Kirsten Sørensdatter. Guri promised to serve the Evil One and called her devil Cax, and on Christmas Eve she attended witches' meetings on both Lyderhorn and *Ballvollen*. Anne Lauritsdatter confessed that Satan first came to her when she was working in the peat pits and told her to come with him, but she refused. He next came to her on a Christmas Eve, hairy and with horns; this time she went with him and forty other witches to Vardø, and they drank on *Ballvollen*. She said that Kirsten Sørensdatter was their "*mester och Admiral*" (master and admiral), leading them with pipe and drums, and she was in the likeness of a raven, while the other women were in the likeness of wolves. This same expression had been used during the North Berwick trials in Scotland, where Euphame MacCalzean in 1591 was accused of having attended a witches' meeting at which Robert Greirsoun was "youre admerall and maister man."[12] As we shall see, the Scottish connection may have been significant. The expression "*mester och Admiral*," when used about Kirsten Sørensdatter, underlined her position as a leader, even if she was a woman. Else Knudsdatter, in the likeness of a falcon, served them beer on *Ballvollen*. The image of a falcon serving beer demonstrates the implausibility of this story, even in contemporary terms.

Kirsten Sørensdatter herself confessed to have learned witchcraft and entered into a pact with the Devil (see Figure 13.1). However, "she was not here on Balduolden last Christmas Eve; nor has she been on Lyderhorn since that summer when she sailed south, and there had been a whole bevy of them."[13] She said that she hardly recognized anyone. Moreover, she confessed that Marrite Olufsdatter had fetched her from Bergen and brought her to *Ballvollen* in Vardø. Herself, she was in the likeness of a bitch, and Marrite Olufsdatter in the likeness of a dog. The difference between a male dog and a female bitch may have been significant. At the gathering, they danced and frolicked and drank. Else Knudsdatter served them, and her daughter, Mette, was present in the shape of a grey cat.[14]

Lisebet Nilsdatter from Omgang confessed that she took part in casting a spell on Hendrich in Ganguigen and those who were with him in the boat. There was a whole crowd of them gathered on an islet off Omgang, some in the shape of goats, others as cats. "And she also confessed that two years ago, in July 1619, they gathered here on Wolden in Omgangh, drinking and dancing […] Many of them were in the shapes of wolves or creatures she did not know."[15]

A few months later, *Ballvollen* appeared in a trial in a different location. The initial witches had all been tried at Vardøhus, the residence of the District Governor, in the far east of Finnmark. But on 25 August, Mette Thorgjerdsdatter

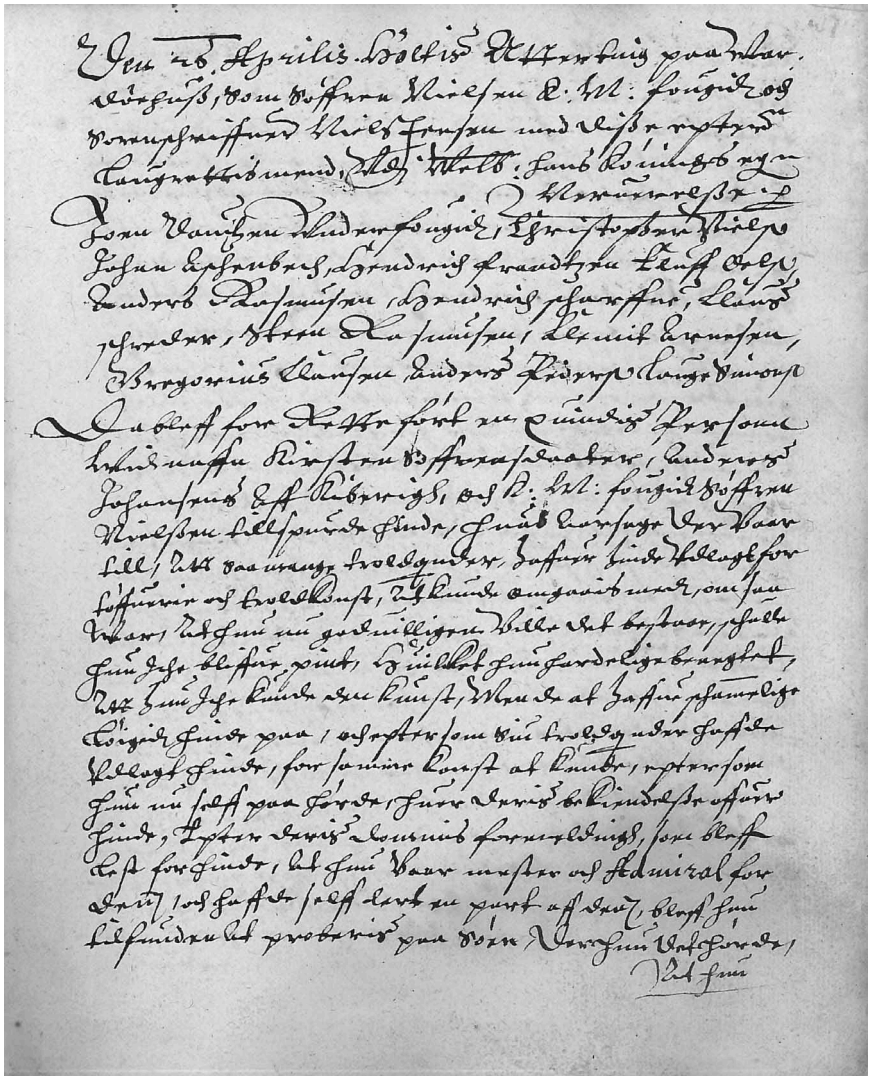

FIGURE 13.1 First page of the court records of the trial of Kirsten Sørensdatter (1621), © Regional State Archives of Tromsø, The Archives of Finnmark District Magistrate, no. 6, fo. 27r.

was called to the court at Gåsnes in West Finnmark. Mette was the daughter of Else Knudsdatter and, as we have seen, had been denounced by Kirsten Sørensdatter for having taken part in the witches' meeting at *Ballvollen*. Bastian Hess, royal bailiff of West Finnmark, asked her

> whether she, too, was on Balduolden in Vardøen last winter, as Kirsten said in her denunciation. She denied it fiercely; she knew nothing of the

> craft. Then he asked the lay jury and the local people present if there was anybody who knew anything about her, whether she has harmed anybody or willed harm to anybody, whereupon they all answered they had heard nothing about her but what is honorable, as far as this matter was concerned. So the case was adjourned till the spring session pending further questioning.[16]

This example shows several important points. It was the judicial official, Bastian Hess, who first asked about *Ballvollen*; he placed the motif in the discussion. He knew about *Ballvollen* because he had read the confession of Kirsten Sørensdatter given at Vardøhus in April 1621. Hess was acquainted with this because the magistrate Niels Jensen, who worked in both East and West Finnmark, brought the court record containing the confession of Kirsten Sørensdatter from Vardø to Gåsnes. Thus this idea about witchcraft was first introduced in Vardø, then orally retold during Kirsten Sørensdatter's confession and recorded by the scribe, and finally brought in this written form to West Finnmark, where the bailiff picked it up. He introduced *Ballvollen* before he brought in any harm done to her neighbours, which indicates that the motif of *Ballvollen* was the most important and dangerous. The fact that this denunciation from Vardøhus in East Finnmark in April 1621 was acted upon in West Finnmark, four months later, is a sign that denunciations, even of persons who lived far away, were followed up seriously as soon as information in written form through court records reached the western part of the district. The name *Ballvollen* thus spread beyond Vardø island and its vicinity. This case does not appear again in the sources, indicating that Mette escaped from further proceedings.

Further, there is the notion of a witches' meeting place in the small fishing village of Omgang, located on the coast midway between Vardø and Gåsnes. The witches' meeting place in Omgang is called *Wollen* (pronounced Vollen), which in Norwegian means a field or a ley. This name appears in the confession of Lisebet Nilsdatter, who was tried in Omgang.[17] The name *Wollen* is identical with the second part of the name *Ballvollen*. Possibly the field in Omgang echoes the name *Ballvollen* as a meeting place for witches in nearby Vardø. After 1621, the name *Ballvollen* appeared once in 1625, after which it was never heard of again in Finnmark witchcraft trials. Later on, the idea of witch mountains seems to take over, corresponding with similar ideas in other Nordic witchcraft trial records.[18]

Ballvollen is thus described by these women as a witches' gathering place where dancing and drinking took place, a gathering with mostly female participants. Two men are said to have participated, one of them acting as scribe for the gathering.[19] This was at a witches' merry meeting on *Ballvollen* on Christmas Eve. It is in Kirsten Sørensdatter's confession that the scribe, in the shape of a wolf, is mentioned, but this element is not prominent in her narrative. The descriptions of the witches' gatherings are positive, and the experiences are exciting. The women are served

drinks and enjoy themselves. Some of the gathering places are fields located just outside the fishing village, be that *Ballvollen* on the island of Vardø or *Wollen* in Omgang. The name of this field is used only in connection with witchcraft and only in the courtroom, denoting a recognizable place in Vardø or in Omgang where witches meet. The name has the function to localize, make recognizable, a witches' meeting place.[20] It denotes a unique physical location. However, *Ballvollen* has never been used as a place-name in Finnmark, nor is it mentioned on any contemporary local maps.[21] The name occurs only in confessions describing witches' meetings. These confessions describe *Ballvollen* as a place on the island of Vardø, on the outskirts of the settlement in Vardø village (see Figure 13.2). This type of place, a field just on the margin of the settlement in the village, is easy to reach, and at the same time it is outside the village itself. Activities there could be hidden at night. A witches' meeting at such a place will have been easy for the villagers to imagine.

In addition, an aerial meeting place is mentioned, above the rocks, on the Eve of St John (23 June). A particular day of the year for witches' meetings mentioned in these trials is Christmas Eve; this was the day when the heavy storm was raised in 1617 to shipwreck the ten boats outside Vardø and Kiberg, and also a time when the Devil paid a visit. The fact that many were assembled at *Ballvollen* is underlined by the mentioning of 40 participants and "a whole bevy of them."[22] Common demonological notions like shape-shifting, flying through the air, the Devil's mark, and the Devil's tying the tongue of witches are frequent in the confessions in Finnmark during the 1620–21 panic.

II

As the decades pass by, we see a change in the emphasis and distribution of notions about witches' gatherings. While the court records of the 1620s briefly mentioned witches flying to mountains within and beyond Finnmark, this feature became much more pronounced later on. Later witches could fly to witch mountains in Norway, but they could also go to internationally known locations like *Hekkelfjell* (Hekla in Iceland), or the Blocksberg in Germany. Shape-shifting was still prominent during these gatherings. Among the well-known witch mountains in Norway were Dovre, and Domen in Finnmark outside Vardø.[23]

Dovre is a mountain in a wide mountainous area in central Norway. The witchcraft confessions from Finnmark mention it in the 1650s and 1660s. Its first mention is in the case of Karen Jonsdatter, on 9 February 1654. Karen Jonsdatter, from the fishing village of Andenes in Nordland county, confessed that she had learned witchcraft from her stepmother,

> named Marrite Oluffzdatter, who was burnt for such deeds. Her said mother once placed a jug in the fire, with a mixture of milk and water in it, telling her that when froth started to form she should drink some of it, which she

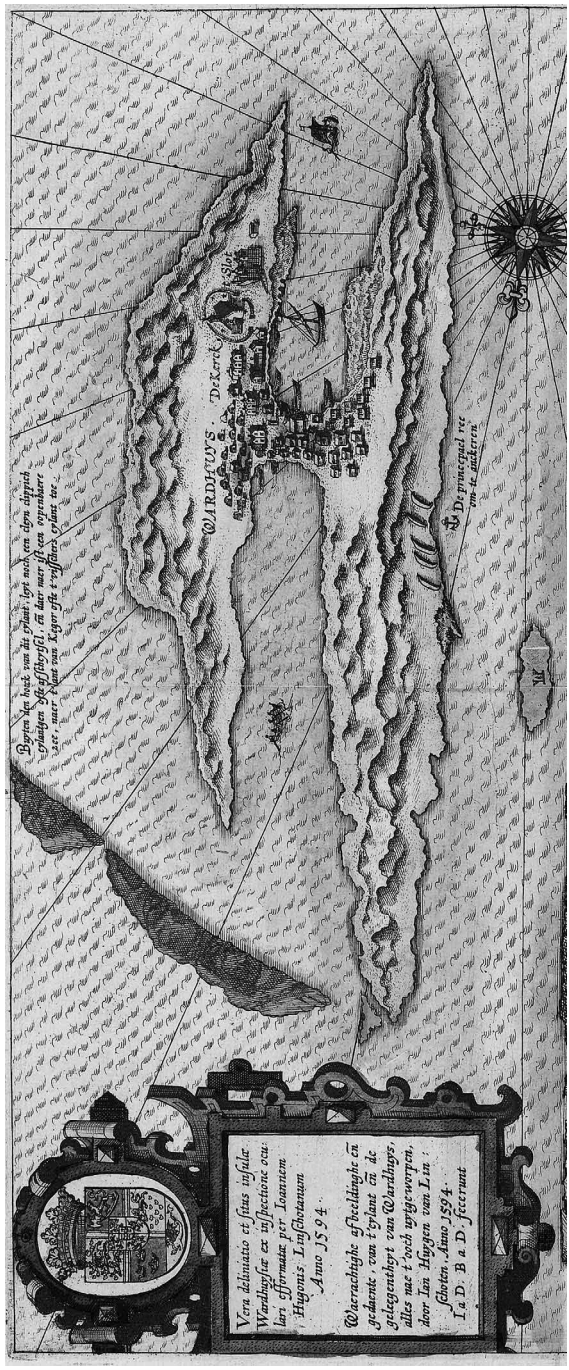

FIGURE 13.2 Detail from a map of Vardø by J. H. van Linschoten (1594), printed in 1601 (© alamy.com, ID P743C4).

> did, using a new bucket, licking some of it. But when her mother came in, she [the mother] was wrathful because she [Karen] hadn't licked up all the froth. The mother said that had she done so, her cow would have borne a black bull-calf; instead she had borne a white heifer-calf. Afterwards, the mother cut off the calf's paws and rode away on it. The following day, her mother had two broom sticks, giving her one of them, saying, If yours is unwieldy we will use this one together; which was what happened. And so she had to go with her, riding the broom to Dare[24] Mountain, where her mother stood invoking the Devil for a long time before he deigned to appear. Then they played cards with him, and the said mother won, both over him and over herself, while she, having lost, had to promise him her services, and he bid her call him Plister.[25]

In this passage, the mountain Dovre is the end-point of the flight and the place where the two women met the Devil. In the Finnmark sources, we also find the idea that Dovre was a middle station on a witches' flight to Hekla in Iceland. This is mentioned in the trial of Marette Rasmusdatter, who came from Sunnmøre, further south on the coast of Norway. She was denounced by Karen Jonsdatter and brought before the court at Vardøhus on 5 April 1654, and confessed that she had learned witchcraft from a woman named Sigrje at Steinsland.[26]

> She [Sigrje] came to her when she was lying in bed, and gave it [powers of witchcraft] to her in a piece of butter and bread, whereupon she instantly became so deranged that she was sure she was in Hell. Her apostle was called Leur, and Sigrje bade her call for him, and he was always in the likeness of a dog and followed her wherever she went. Likewise, she confessed that once she went with Sigrje, riding on the dog, to Heckell Mountain, but her head could not bear riding so high up in the air, so she fell off on Daafre Mountain and lay there the entire time until Sigrje came back again, and then she went back home with her.[27]

Karen Jonsdatter and Marette Rasmusdatter were brought before the court the same year, 1654, both at Vardøhus, two months apart. They apparently knew each other, as Marette was denounced by Karen. Both of them were travelling women, coming from areas of Norway further to the south. They mention Dovre in their confessions in different contexts, but it seems to be implied that for both of them, this mountain is known as a witch mountain and used in a story about witches' flights.

The third mention of Dovre is in the case of Solve Nilsdatter, who was first brought before the court in the fishing village of Kiberg on 12 January 1663, then moved to Vardøhus and brought before the court there on 29 January 1663, in the middle of the most severe witchcraft panic in Finnmark. Solve Nilsdatter

> gives an account of how they were together on Douffre Mountain[28] on Christmas Night last year. Lirren was with them, and many others. Innumerable persons whom she did not know were there, all of them dancing, and Lirren danced right through her shoe with the Devil. And when she complained that her shoe was gone, the Devil gave her another one. And the wicked Sattan gave them plenty of wine and beer from a bowl. And he was in the likeness of a big, black, long dog. Solwe was in the guise of a small black dog, while Lirren was in the likeness of a black cat.[29]

The three mentions of Dovre are all after 1650. The idea seems to have been established in Finnmark that witches' meetings may take place at this mountain, or that Dovre is on the route to other far-away destinations for witches' meetings. The connection between witches' meetings and witch mountains seems to have been fully established by 1663.

The local witch mountain Domen, situated on the mainland next to the island of Vardø, is first mentioned in the trial of Gundelle Omundsdatter. She was brought before the court at Vardøhus first on 1 December 1651, and again on 24 January 1652. She confessed that she together with three other women had raised a storm and wrecked a ship near Domen the previous year. Thus, the first mention of Domen in the source material is as a place-name rather than as the location of a witches' meeting. Then, in 1662, in the trial of Maren Sigvaldsdatter, who was brought before the court at Vardøhus on 6 November 1662, Domen is mentioned again, and this time as a meeting place for witches. Thus we see that the image of Domen, the local witch mountain in Finnmark, appears rather late in the confessions. Maren Sigvaldsdatter confessed on 6 November 1662 that she together with three other women performed weather magic, the raising of storm, by tying four knots on a rope. Then they went on an overturned barrel from Vadsø as far as Domen,

> where they flew up and perched on the mountain, and there they untied their knots, first, Dorette, then the said Maren, Ragnild and Solwe, who untied the fourth knot, saying, Wind in the name of the Devil. Whereupon they all flew out onto the ship, and Maren was in the likeness of a pigeon, Dorette in that of an eagle, Ragnild in that of a swan and Solwe in that of a crow. She also confessed that Dorette sat down at the rudder, wanting to wrest it off the ship, while Maren and Ragnild sat on deck and Solwe was up in the mast.[30]

For Europe as a whole, the famous witch mountains are the Heuberg, in the Swabian Alps in south Germany, Blocksberg or Brocken, in the Harz Mountains in central Germany, and Blåkulla in Sweden.[31] Blocksberg was also known in the Nordic countries as a meeting place for witches, mentioned in a witchcraft trial from Skåne in Sweden in 1670 under the name "*Blåckzbergh,*" as well as in

Danish cases.[32] In addition, Hekla on Iceland was a famous meeting place, mentioned and illustrated by Olaus Magnus in his history book of the Nordic peoples, published in 1555, as well as in Danish and Norwegian trials.[33] In a confession containing the notion of flight through the air to attend a witches' gathering at a mountain, we see folkloric and learned ideas merge and create a notion of collective witchcraft.

III

We move on to the last Finnmark panic, which took place in 1662–63. During this panic, at least 31 females were accused of witchcraft. Of these, 20 women from Vardø and Vadsø and the surrounding villages were sentenced to death by being burned at the stake and executed from November 1662 until April 1663.[34] Also six small girls were accused of witchcraft, two of them together with their mothers. The cases of the children were passed on to the Court of Appeal, where they all were acquitted.[35]

One of the accused women was Margrette Jonsdatter. She was a married woman living in Vardø and was several times brought before the court accused of witchcraft, but denied the charge. After having been subjected to the water ordeal on 9 March 1663, when she floated, on 10 March she gave a confession including the Devil's pact, testing of her art on a sheep, and the promise to serve her personal god Zacharias.

> She also confesses that two years ago on the eve of St Hans's [i.e. St John's], and also the year before that, she went to Dommen together with the following witches […] on the said Dommen, they danced and drank beer and wine, and they also played board games, each one with her own god, and the aforementioned wicked Satan played his fiddle for them, and the said Giertrud served them beer and wine in pewter cups, and they were there for an hour or an hour and a half.[36]

In this confession, and in the Finnmark witchcraft records throughout, the words "god" or "gods," not capitalized, are used about the personal demons given to the persons who entered into a pact with the Devil. Also the words "*apostel*" or "*Apostel,"* in English meaning apostle, are used similarly. This might be unexpected for a demonological confession, but has to do with the way particular notions are expressed in the Finnmark cases; "god" was not only used in the singular to denote the Christian God.

The Devil played various instruments. Often this was a fiddle (in the sources written "*Fioel*"), sometimes described as a red fiddle. In the confessions, different types of fiddles are mentioned, all of them known as traditional music instruments in Norway. There was also mention in the records of a "*langeleik."* A *langeleik* is a Norwegian stringed instrument resembling the Appalachian dulcimer, except that

it is played flat on the ground, not upright. The *langeleik* has one melody string and eight drone strings. One confession mentioning the *langeleik* also says that the Devil also played on a *lur*, a long natural blowing horn made of wrapped birch bark. It has no finger holes and is played by embouchure.[37]

An additional detail about Margrette's participation is given by Ragnilde Endresdatter, who "maintains she knows that it is true that Margrette Jonsdatter lost a shoe from her right foot when she was dancing with Gammel-Erik" (Old Eric, a colloquial Norwegian name for Satan) on Domen, and that he gave her a new shoe. This seems to be a motif from the widespread Cinderella story, classified in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* as follows: "Heroine's three-fold flight from ball" and "Slipper test. Identification by fitting of slipper."[38] Even if Thompson's classification only partly fits the motif narrated by Ragnilde, it is clear that the idea of Margrette losing her shoe comes from folk belief. Thus again we see the bricolage of folkloric and demonological notions.

Margrette's confession includes personal demons, in addition to the Devil. It was a common idea in Finnmark that a woman who entered into a Devil's pact received a personal demon. We find similar notions in Denmark, Sweden, and England; the demons are in addition to "apostle" called "Kåmpan," "dreng" (a servant boy), or "familiar."[39] The gathering on Domen is a pleasant meeting with music, dancing, and drinking. When a "pewter jug" is mentioned, it may be a sign that these meetings have an aura of sophistication.[40] Other confessions mention "pewter cups" or "silver cups." Several details, like the pewter cup, Satan playing a particular type of fiddle, and the losing of a shoe while dancing, point to an elaborated narrative, probably orally transmitted. Worship of the Devil is subdued; the Devil is mainly an entertainer. There is no sex and no cannibalism. Shape-shifting at the gathering itself is not mentioned, but it occurs in other parts of Margrette's confession.

In Margrette's description of a witches' gathering, elements from demonology and popular beliefs seem to be combined. Details vary in different confessions, like pewter jug and pewter cups, as well as different names of the instruments the Devil is playing at the witches' meetings. Four decades have passed since the first mentioning of witches' gatherings in the Finnmark courtrooms, and the narrative has found content and form adjusted to the local culture, while preserving the core elements of demonology.

A very different description of a witches' gathering is given by 12-year-old Maren Olsdatter, who was accused of witchcraft in January 1663, denounced by another girl.[41] The Devil asked her to serve him, but she kept her silence and refused to answer. He asked her once more to serve him, for then he would give her money. Then she replied, "Yes," and agreed to offer him her services. Her first description of a witches' gathering is remarkable, as it took place in hell:

> The Devil then told her that she should accompany him to Hell. She submitted to his demand and accompanied him to Hell, and she says that the

> route was very long, and when she got to Hell, she saw a very large lake in which a fire was burning, and the water was boiling, and the lake was full of people lying in the water, many of them flat on their faces, boiling. Now, the Devil had an iron pipe out of which he blew flames, saying that she would be allowed to do so too. The Devil also had a leg of ham which he dipped into the said water, bringing it up again at once, and now it was cooked. The said girl narrates that this lake was in a valley, and it was surrounded by a great darkness, and the people burning in the water, women and men alike, howled like cats, and then she saw the women [who have been] summoned [here to court], who had gone with her to Hell, the bell ringer's Sigrj from Kjberg in the likeness of a crow, a woman from Madkorffue by the name of Jngeborg, wearing crutches and in the likeness of a dove, Lirren from Waarøen, in the likeness of a long-tailed duck, Solwe from Andersby, in the likeness of an auk, Gurrj from Eckerøen, in the likeness of a fledgling cormorant. As for herself, she was in the likeness of a crow. When they had stayed in Hell for a while, they all went their separate ways home.[42]

This image of hell is clearly influenced by church preaching, emphasizing punishments that will strike people who follow the wrong master. Some of the core notions of demonology are present: the participation of the Devil, shape-shifting, serving of food. In these gloomy surroundings, the Devil acts as a playful figure, and Devil worship is not prominent. Shape-shifting to different types of seabirds parallels the likenesses described when flying to mountains. The detail with the boiling of the ham is Maren's personal touch; other confessions during this panic mention the trip to hell, but not the ham.[43] The confession about the visit to hell is a narrative. In my own research on witchcraft trials, I have now for two decades emphasized court records as narratives, especially confessions, and performed analyses of courtroom discourse from a narratological angle, listening out for diverse voices.[44] Maren also confessed to participation at a witches' gathering at Domen, a confession where narrative structures are prominent:

> But somewhat later, on the eve of St Hans [i.e. St John] day last year, these aforementioned women came to her and took her with them to Dommen. And there was the Devil with a red fiddle which he played for them, dancing with them. Solwe held his hand, the bell ringer's Sigrj held Solwe's hand, Lirren held Sigri's hand, little Maren held Liren's hand, Guren held this small child's hand and Jngeborg from Madkorff held Guren's hand. And when they finished dancing, the Devil produced a small silver bowl and let them drink beer from it, saying that when they had served him, they would be remunerated with that very water which burned and boiled in Hell. And when they had made their arrangements

> and finished dancing with the Devil, each went back to her home led by the Evil One.[45]

Here the joyous sisterhood of dancing together is underlined, and details are plenty. The Devil is not only playing a fiddle, but a red fiddle, the names of all the dancing women are mentioned, the Devil produces not only a bowl, but a silver bowl, thus adding a certain refinement to the scene. Serving the Devil is mentioned, as well as his promise of a special reward afterwards. The particular day of St John is mentioned. This story is like a story of a pleasant feast. Maren is not taken to the meeting by an adult, but participates in the same way as one of the adult women.

Maren's confession was taken seriously at first, and she denounced several other adult women and children, one of whom was executed. However, she later persisted stubbornly in denouncing a woman with a child after all the adults had withdrawn their own denunciations. This led the officials to doubt the truth of Maren's confession.[46] In Jari Eilola's chapter in this volume, children's stories in Swedish Blåkulla trials are discussed. These children, aged 5–15 years old, are witnesses, and in their testimonies telling how they were taken to Blåkulla and what they saw there, mixing fantasy and real life. The witches' sabbat is the frame story, and their stories were believed by the judiciary to be consistent and credible.[47] In the case of Maren Olsdatter, her voice is rendered more ambivalent in the records than the voices of the Swedish children.

IV

The introduction of demonological notions in Finnmark in 1620 may have had several causes. In 1617, the Danish-Norwegian king Christian IV issued a decree wherein the "true witches" were connected with the Devil.[48] In addition, the portrayal of the Devil in religious literature by Danish theologians might have had an influence.[49] Travelling persons who were able to influence trials through their judicial positions might have played an important role in transmitting particular witchcraft ideas. Specific notions emerging during the panic of 1620–21 may well have been introduced by the Scotsman John Cunningham, who became district governor at Vardøhus in 1619.[50] The personal factor, the nexus of articulation, plays an important role when it comes to cultural transference within transnational history.[51] Such transferences may be complex, with many interwoven elements, including written correspondence on various levels.[52] Ideas about witchcraft were transferred by persons moving from one place to another, and with the possibility to introduce new ideas in the local communities whereto they moved, which is a central point within the research field of *histoire croisée*.[53]

To illustrate the sources of the Finnmark notions about witches' meetings, I will first take the notion of the meeting place for witches' gatherings called

Ballvollen or "ball field." Even if the idea of witches' meetings at a dancing field, a *Tanzplatz*, was well known in Germany,[54] there was only one country in Europe where the witches met at a "ball field," and this was Scotland, a country famous at the time for its ball games. The Scottish term was Ball Ley.[55] It is important here to notice that the meaning of "ball" in Scotland and Norway was a ball for playing games, not a party.[56] The similarity of sounds and the similarity of meaning in two countries indicates a connection brought to Finnmark by its Scottish District Governor, John Cunningham. He came from Fife in Scotland and had been in the service of the Danish king since 1603, so he knew Danish.[57] Several factors point to his role as crucial in order to bring demonological ideas to Finnmark, not least his participation in interrogation, where due to his knowledge of Danish, direct transfer of ideas about witchcraft could take place orally in the courtroom.[58] During Cunningham's time in office, 41 persons were executed for witchcraft in Finnmark.[59]

In addition to the notion of *Ballvollen*, the ideas of meeting on Lyderhorn and meeting in the air were mentioned during the 1620–21 panic, but not developed in detail. During the gatherings, they dance and drink. Only women are mentioned as participants, not children. No men were accused during this panic. There is no Devil worship. There is no sex with the Devil, nor are cannibalism or infanticide mentioned. The element of shape-shifting, in particular into birds, is prominent, as is the flight through the air to reach distant witch mountains.

The later witchcraft narratives, as we hear them in the records of the 1660s, have been changed and developed in the local oral sphere ever since they were introduced by the interrogators in the 1620s.[60] In the 1660s we see much more detailed imagery of witches' gatherings. The two district governors who succeeded Cunningham were both keen witch-hunters.[61] In the 1620–21 panic, the witches' meeting place in Finnmark is denoted as the field *Ballvollen* on Vardø island. In addition, the witch mountain Lyderhorn outside Bergen is mentioned. The other national and international locations for witches' meetings appear during the 1650s and 1660s. The dominant location of witches' gatherings during the panic of 1662–63 is the mountain Domen outside Vardø. The time of the year is St John's Eve. The activities at the gatherings are dancing and drinking. The witches usually arrive in the likenesses of seabirds. The personal demons of the witches take part as well. The Devil is a festive figure who contributes to the gathering by playing music and serving the participants beer and wine. There is nothing negative in the descriptions, only attractive activities. Adults and children dance hand in hand, all females.

The narrative structures in the descriptions of the witches' gatherings are much more prominent in the 1660s than the 1620s; there are more colouring details, the narratives open and close more clearly, there are more features of orality. It seems that the decades have added to the complexity and the liveliness of the stories. Some aspects of the stories continue to bear the stamp of propriety: joy and sisterhood rather than sexual intercourse with the Devil and other

such perversities. Narratives containing demonological concepts probably spread rapidly by word of mouth among the peasants during the intervening time period, giving the Finnmark witches' gathering a distinct character that was recognized in local culture.

The accounts related to witches' gatherings in the Finnmark witchcraft confessions are simplified in many ways compared with the full range of Continental accounts. The question is, however, how fruitful it is to speak about a "full range" of demonological notions. The examples from Finnmark show that the imagery of witches' meetings as it comes to the fore in confessions is mediated and adjusted to the local community. The stories are formed within a wider framework of a notion of worshipping the Devil at a gathering, but the stories as they are told in the confessions are simple and suitable for oral transmission. Ideas that started at an intellectual level, among interrogators, have been adjusted to suit an oral transfer among common people. Even if there are many shades in the Finnmark narratives, they have a certain wholesome quality in common. We do not hear about sexual orgies or paying homage to the Devil in perverse ways. We do not hear about cannibalism or making witchcraft ointment out of body parts. The prominent features are dancing and drinking, joy and sisterhood, the decent behaviour of the participants, the shape-shifting, the flights, the playfulness of the Devil – and even playing board games with their demons.[62]

The detail about playing cards with the Devil is found two places in the records. The first place is in the trial of Karen Jonsdatter in 1654, when Karen and her stepmother on the mountain of Dovre played cards with him, and the said mother won, "and she, having lost, had to promise him her services."[63] The second time we hear about playing cards with the Evil One, is in the trial of the young girl Siri Christophersdatter in 1655, when she and her friend Mari Tamisdatter called upon the Devil:

> The Evil One appeared at once, this time, too, in the likeness of a large oddlooking black man with claws, and they had to play cards with him, and the stake was to serve him, and they lost. However, he promised to procure them whatever they might need.[64]

In both cases, playing cards has to do with entering the Devil's service; the losing one has to enter his service. These two occurrences related to playing cards with the Devil take place with only one year's interval, and the accused persons apparently knew each other. It is a short-lived idea, and never occurs later. This is a good example of retelling of particular details within a short space of time and within a small circle of implied persons.

Another colourful detail in the Finnmark confessions is the episode in the dance with the Devil when Margrette Jonsdatter loses a shoe and gets a new one from the Evil One. This detail occurs in confessions by Solve Nilsdatter on

29 January 1663 and by Ragnilde Endresdatter on 10 March 1663.[65] In Solve's confession, the dance took place at the mountain Dovre in central Norway, while according to Ragnilde it had been at the local witch mountain Domen. This shows how a story passed on and retold orally gets an individual touch without losing the main content. Telling and retelling makes inventions and minor changes possible, as well as spicing up the stories in subjective ways.

What do the Finnmark sources tell us? In his important survey "Sabbath Stories: Towards a New History of Witches' Assemblies," Willem de Blécourt refers to historians' treatment of the sabbat story; from the start the "sabbath story was compartmentalized, broken up into its constitutive elements, such as devil worship, dancing, cannibalism, and flight."[66] Later historians continued this compartmentalizing process, thus decontextualizing the stories and losing the links between the different elements. Thus the interplay between intellectual and "popular" witchcraft discourse has not obtained the attention it deserves. I agree with de Blécourt that this type of discussion is wanted, and here the Finnmark sources may contribute in a fruitful way. An important point is how the intellectual demonological notions enter into more regional and local stories. De Blécourt's final remarks about the flexibility of the sabbat imagery seem to fit the Finnmark material: "Sabbath imagery provided a frame story where various fragments could be inserted, such as flights, apostasy, feasting, dancing, copulating, and whatever else caught the fancy of the prosecutors."[67] When looking at the Finnmark sources, I would add that elements could also be inserted into the narrative of witches' gatherings by the accused persons themselves, probably from their knowledge of folkloric motifs.

In the same way as we see the core elements of a witches' sabbat personalized and retold in varied confessions during the Finnmark panics, we have other versions of the sabbat told and retold elsewhere in the north of Europe, such as the Åland version, the Blåkulla version, or the North Berwick version – all variations over a theme and documented in court records. For Nordic and Scottish witches' gatherings, the similarities with Finnmark are plentiful. Laura Paterson, in her interesting article about the witches' sabbat in Scotland, has underlined that "the witches were responding to the interrogator's questions based on their own knowledge and beliefs."[68] Paterson mentions the influence of popular belief, such as, among others, the importance of Quarter Days, the magical importance of specific temporal boundaries, the localization of places for witches' meetings in the outskirts of nearby settlements, and representations of boundaries with the other world "located within a few miles of the witches' homes."[69] The pact with the Devil is entered into on an individual basis before the witches' gathering. These elements are all similar in the Finnmark and Scottish confessions. Compared to German witches' gatherings, similarities with the Finnmark material are present, and so are differences. In particular, the elements of sex with the Devil and cannibalism are not found in Finnmark.

What we find, in the narratives of the Finnmark witches, are impressions of moving swiftly through air, above sea, over fields, impressions of being

entertained by their chosen master, impressions of transcending the limitations of a harsh environment. The descriptions are all individualized; there is no repetition of entire phrases. Fantastic elements and realism are both present. In addition, they have been merged with popular beliefs known and shared among the inhabitants of the Finnmark fishing villages, beliefs woven into the learned notions to form colourful and personalized stories told before the judicial authorities as part of a witchcraft confession.

However, when considering the court records from the Nordic countries compared to the main elements in Willem de Blécourt's paper, several differences come to the fore. He does not mention the Finnmark trials in Norway nor the Danish or Swedish witchcraft trials, nor the Åland trials in what is now Finland. He focuses on questionnaires used by the interrogators, which were not used in northern Europe at all. He says that shape-shifting is "extremely rare" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century descriptions, a statement which does not match the evidence from the Nordic countries.[70]

The question of transference of ideas is an important one to try to answer. As I see it, demonological ideas were introduced to the peasants in Finnmark by judicial officials during interrogation in witchcraft trials and by the Church's preaching. Learned ideas were introduced by learned people. Leading questions probably influenced the answers given by the accused, often after massive pressure and torture – and, indeed, the outcome of their trial. Thus, we are talking about enforced narratives, with content that could be foretold, a factor pointed to in studies of court records methodologically very close to my analysis.[71] However, the accused peasants also brought their own folkloric notions into the courtroom, and we see these notions appearing in the confessions, as when Margrette Jonsdatter lost her shoe in the dance. All the examples of witches' gatherings that have been discussed above show this combination of learned and folkloric notions. Accused persons gave answers that included learned elements as expected by the interrogators, but they added some of their own material in the colourful confession-narratives.

As decades went by, some of the learned ideas obtained a foothold in the villages, and an assimilation took place. Stories about the Devil were retold in the local communities, and these ideas made their way into oral culture. Per Sörlin has argued that the encounter between learned and popular culture in the villages during the period of witchcraft persecution was a continuous process, and I share this view.[72] As the examples from the Finnmark confessions have shown, the stories of witches' gatherings were retold with individual variations during the interrogation, and the features of orality are marked. Still, the core is a demonological notion. Moreover, the interrogators had a practical, trial-focused reason to ask about the witches' meetings. During the panics they could use accounts of these meetings to obtain names of accomplices through denunciations.

The notion of witches' gatherings was crucial for the development of witchcraft trials in Finnmark. The sudden increase in the number of trials in 1620–21,

and the panics appearing during the next 43 years, could only take place once the idea of many people gathered around the Evil One had been introduced. In the mild version of the gatherings that we see in Finnmark, the witches confessed to playing board games and dancing instead of infant sacrifice or cannibalism. Nevertheless, the confessions of large number of participants at the gatherings had a tremendous impact on the population of Finnmark, causing intense waves of executions.

Notes

1 Liv Helene Willumsen, "The Historical Dimension: From Court Records to Exhibition Texts," in *Steilneset Memorial: Art, Architecture, History*, ed. Reidun Laura Andreassen and Liv Helene Willumsen (Stamsund: Orkana, 2014), 31–48, at p. 33.
2 Liv Helene Willumsen, *Witches of the North: Scotland and Finnmark* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 246–247.
3 Hans Eyvind Næss, *Trolldomsprosessene i Norge på 1500–1600-tallet: En retts- og sosialhistorisk undersøkelse* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1982), 32.
4 Liv Helene Willumsen, *Steilneset: Memorial to the Victims of the Finnmark Witchcraft Trials* (Oslo: Norwegian Public Roads Administration, National Tourist Routes/Varanger Museum IKS, 2010), 22–23.
5 Nils Gilje, *Heksen og humanisten: Anne Pedersdatter og Absalon Pederssøn Beyer* (Oslo: Fagbokforlaget, 2010); Olaf Sollied, "Anna Pedersdatters Dom," *Bergens historiske forenings skrifter* 36 (1930): 5–28; Absalon Pederssøn Beyer, *Dagbok og Oration om Mester Geble: Tekstbind* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963).
6 Liv Helene Willumsen, *The Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark, Northern Norway* (Bergen: Skald, 2010), 27–31.
7 Hans H. Lilienskiold, *Troldom oc anden Ugudelighed*, manuscript in the Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen, Thott's collection, 950, 2. Text-critical edition of the manuscript: Hans H. Lilienskiold, *Trolldom og ugudelighet i 1600-tallets Finnmark*, in *Ravnetrykk* 18, ed. Rune Hagen and Per Einar Sparboe (Tromsø: Universitetsbiblioteket i Tromsø, 1998), 86.
8 Yardstick-like *primstaver* were the primary calendars of Scandinavia for centuries. We know today around 650 *primstaver* in Norway: Brynjulf Alver, *Dag og merke: folkeleg tidsrekning og merkedagstradisjon* (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1970/1981).
9 Laura Paterson, "The Witches' Sabbath in Scotland," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 142 (2012): 371–412, at p. 382.
10 Julian Goodare, "Flying Witches in Scotland," in *Scottish Witches and Witch-Hunters*, ed. Julian Goodare (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 159–176, at pp. 166–167. See also Julian Goodare, "Witches' Flight in Scottish Demonology," Chapter 7 above in the present volume.
11 The trial records are: Mari Jørgensdatter, National Archives of Norway, District Accounts Vardøhus 1621–22, box 3; Royal Library, Copenhagen; Lilienskiold, Speculum Boreale, Thott, fos. 47v–48r; Lilienskiold, *Trolldom og ugudelighet*, 82–83; Marrite Olufsdatter, National Archives of Norway, District Accounts Vardøhus 1621–22, box 3, Royal Library, Copenhagen; Lilienskiold, Speculum Boreale, Thott, fos. 48v–49r; Lilienskiold, *Trolldom og ugudelighet*, 86–87; Guri Olufsdatter, National Archives of Norway, District Accounts Vardøhus 1621–22, box 3; Royal Library, Copenhagen; Lilienskiold, Speculum Boreale, Thott, fo. 41r–v; Lilienskiold, *Trolldom og ugudelighet*, 88–89; Anne Lauritsdatter, National Archives of Norway, District Accounts Vardøhus 1621–22, box 3; Lilienskiold, *Trolldom og ugudelighet*, 90–92. For further discussion see Arne Kruse and Liv Helene Willumsen, "Ordet Ballvollen knytt til transnasjonal overføring av idéar," *Historisk tidsskrift* (Norway) 93 (2014): 407–423, at p. 409.

12 National Records of Scotland, JC2/2, fo. 224r; *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's "Demonology" and the North Berwick Witches*, ed. Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 267.
13 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 29.
14 Willumsen, 30.
15 Willumsen, 33.
16 Willumsen, 34.
17 Willumsen, 33.
18 Per Sörlin, *Wicked Arts: Witchcraft and Magic Trials in Southern Sweden, 1635–1754* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 29–33; Henrik Carl Bering Liisberg, *Vesten for sø og østen for hav: Trolddom i København og Edinburgh* (Copenhagen: A. Christiansens forlag Hermann-Petersen, 1909), 37, 41–42.
19 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 30.
20 Kruse and Willumsen, "Ordet Ballvollen," 418.
21 See for instance J. H. van Linschoten's map of Vardø, 1594; Johannes van Keulen's map of Vardø, 1685; Christoffer Hammer's Carta over Vardøen, 1750.
22 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 29.
23 Willumsen, *Witches of the North*, 254.
24 In the original source, Dovre is written *Dare*.
25 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 139–140.
26 Steinsland is situated in the county of Troms, which is the neighbouring county to Finnmark in the south.
27 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 153.
28 In the original sources the spelling is not standardized, so in this case Dovre is written *Douffre*.
29 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 225.
30 Willumsen, 185.
31 Julian Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt* (London: Routledge, 2016), 136.
32 Sörlin, *Wicked Arts*, 29; Liisberg, *Vesten for sø*, 37, 41.
33 Olaus Magnus, *Historia om de nordiska folken* (Malmö: Gidlunds, 1982 [originally published in Latin in 1555; translation first published 1909–25]), Book II, Chapter 2. Hekla is also mentioned by Jacob Grimm in his work *Teutonic Mythology* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1883), 3:923; Liisberg, *Vesten for sø*, 37, 41; Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 153.
34 Willumsen, *Steilneset*, 79–98.
35 Liv Helene Willumsen, *Dømt til ild og bål* (Stamsund: Orkana, 2013), 330.
36 Regional State Archives of Tromsø, the Archive of the Finnmark District Governor, no. 10, fo. 259v.
37 For confessions, where the words *langeleik* and *lur* occur, see Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 224, 244.
38 Stith Thompson, ed., *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 6 vols., 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955–58), no. R221 (5:289) and no. H36.1 (3:374).
39 Ref. Vadstena Landsarkiv, Göta Hovrätt, Advokatfiskalens arkiv, Renoverade dom böcker t.o.m. 1700, Skaraborgs län 1590–1610, E VII AAAA:1, Habo Sokn af Vartofta häred för 1594–1603, fos. 2r, 2v.; Rigsarkivet, København, A232, Danske Kancelli 1572–1660, Sjællandske Tegnelser 1588–1590; Jens Christian V. Johansen, "Denmark," in *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, ed. Richard M. Golden (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 2:265–269, at p. 267; Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 48–81; Liv Helene Willumsen, "Trolldom mot kongens skip i 1589 og transnasjonal overføring av idéer," *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Denmark) 119, no. 2 (2019): 309–343.
40 Regional State Archives of Tromsø, the Archive of the Finnmark District Governor, no. 10, fo. 262r.

41 Willumsen, *Witches of the North*, 283–298; Liv Helene Willumsen, "Children Accused of Witchcraft in 17th Century Finnmark," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 38, no. 1 (2013): 18–41.
42 Regional State Archives of Tromsø, the Archive of the Finnmark District Governor, no. 10, fos. 245v–246r.
43 This motif is related to the legend of the Land of Cockaigne. See Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, trans. Diane Webb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
44 Liv Helene Willumsen, "Witches of the High North," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 3 (1996): 199–221; Liv Helene Willumsen, "Witches in Scotland and Northern Norway: Two Case Studies," in *Images and Imaginations: Perspectives on Britain and Scandinavia*, ed. Peter Graves and Arne Kruse (Edinburgh: Lockharton, 2007), 35–66; Liv Helene Willumsen, "A Narratological Approach to Witchcraft Studies: A Scottish Case," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, no. 6 (2011): 531–560; Liv Helene Willumsen, "Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft Trials in Scotland and Northern Norway" (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2008), 111–149, 165–172, 183–199, 200–245.
45 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 217.
46 See Willumsen, "Children Accused of Witchcraft."
47 Jari Eilola, "Interpreting Children's Blåkulla Stories in Sweden (1675)," Chapter 16 below in the present volume.
48 In Danish/Norwegian, "rette troldfolch" is used for those who have bound themselves to the Devil: "Trolldomsforordningen fra 1617," *Statsarkivet i Stavanger: Dokumentene forteller*, Riksarkivarens skriftserie 18 (Oslo, 2014).
49 Among the authors of these books are Niels Hemmingsen, Jesper Brochmand, and Poul Andersen Medelby, in addition to psalm books by Hans Tommesen and Thomas Kingo. Cf. Liv Helene Willumsen, *Trollkvinne i nord* [Witch in the North] (Tromsø: Høgskolen i Tromsø, 1994), 60–62.
50 Liv Helene Willumsen, "Exporting the Devil Across the North Sea: John Cunningham and the Finnmark Witch-Hunt," in *Scottish Witches and Witch-Hunters*, ed. Julian Goodare (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 49–66; Liv Helene Willumsen, "Relations between 17th-Century Witchcraft Trials in Scotland and Finnmark, Northern Norway," in *Hexenwissen: Zum Transfer von Magie- und Zauberei-Imaginationen in interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, ed. Heinz Sieburg, Rita Voltmer, and Britta Weimann (Trier: Paulinus, 2017), 97–110.
51 B. Yun Casalilla, "Localism, Global History and Transnational History," *Historisk Tidskrift* (Sweden) 127, no. 4 (2007): 657–676, at p. 671.
52 Willumsen, "Trolldom mot kongens skip," 318–343.
53 See Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, "Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope and Perspectives of Comparative History," in *Comparative and Transnational History*, ed. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, (New York: Berghahn, 2009), 1–30, at p. 1; Michael Werner and Bénedicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no 1 (2006): 30–50, at p. 30.
54 For instance, trials against Eva Zeihen, Greth Schossel, and Greth Kettern from Kenn and Kirsch, 1572: Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars Trier, Handschrift 30, fos. 317v and 325v.
55 Willumsen, "Exporting the Devil," 60–62.
56 Nils Hallan, "Balvolden (Baluolden)," *Håløygminne* 14 (1975): 276–287. Etymologically, the meaning "party" related to the word "ball" is not found in Denmark until later: Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) *Ordbog over det danske sprog* [Dictionary of the Danish Language].
57 Willumsen, "Exporting the Devil," 51.
58 Kruse and Willumsen, "Ordet Ballvollen," 407, 417.

59 Willumsen, *Steilneset*, 20–60.
60 Liv Helene Willumsen, "Oral Transference of Ideas about Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century Norway," in *Spoken Word and Social Practice: Orality in Europe (1400–1700)*, ed. Thomas V. Cohen and Lesley K. Twomey, Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 47–83.
61 The governors of Finnmark were John Cunningham 1619–1651, Jørgen Friis 1651–1661, and Christopher Orning 1661–1665.
62 Willumsen, *Witchcraft Trials in Finnmark*, 140, 162.
63 Willumsen, 140.
64 Willumsen, 162–163.
65 Willumsen, 225, 249.
66 Willem de Blécourt, "Sabbath Stories: Towards a New History of Witches' Assemblies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. Brian P. Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 84–100, at p. 90.
67 De Blécourt, 99.
68 Paterson, "Witches' Sabbath," 387.
69 Paterson, 391.
70 De Blécourt, "Sabbath Stories," 85.
71 Gunvor Simonsen, *Law, Representation and Gender in the Danish West Indies* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2017).
72 Per Sörlin, "The Blåkulla Story: Absurdity and Rationality," *Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 52 (1997): 131–152, at p. 149.