Women's History Revisited: Historiographical Reflections on Women and Gender in a Global Context
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Women at Stake. Interpretations of Women's Role in Witchcraft and Witch-Hunts since the early 20th century to the present

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Soon after the witch trials died out in the western world, the wise men of the enlightenment invented a figure of 9 million witches that burned on the stakes. The 9 million witches were supposed to have been old, sick and poor women, suspect because of their deviant age and looks but essentially harmless victims of the horrid and cruel Dark Ages. The numbers have since come down to 100 000 trials and 40 000-50 000 executions between 1450 and 1700 and the social characteristics of the witches, too have become less distinctly deviant. The proportion of women among the accused, however, is still considered notable: traditionally a rough 2/3 in the Western Europe, whereas in the eastern "peripheries" the majority of witches were male. During the last two decades, this picture has been changing, too, and a growing proportion of witches even in the Western Europe has turned out to have been male.[1] Some recent historians have even claimed that the proportion of men among the accused has been deliberately downplayed.[2] Despite the growing number of men who have been found to have been accused in witch-trials in various parts of Europe, the image of a woman-hunt persists in popular feminisms. Academic historians, as well as modern feminist scholars have also produced a variety of answers to the ever-intriguing question why so many of the accused witches were female and – more recently - what this reveals us about the role of women in early modern society. The image of a witch

[1] In the Parlement de Paris, a little more than half of the accused were men. In Normandy, the proportion of males among the accused was even greater. Soman, Alfred: The Parlement of Paris and the Great Witch Hunt (1565-1640). Sixteenth Century Journal vol IX, No2: 1978; Soman 1992; Briggs, Robin: Witches and Neighbors. The social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft Penguin 1998. (orig. HarperCollins 1996), 260; Monter, William: Toads and Eucharists: The Male Witches of Normandy, 1564-1666. French Historical Studies 20 /4. 1997.
[2] Apps, Lara & Gow, Andrew: Male witches in early modern Europe. Manchester University Publications 2003 –a very Anglo-centric criticism which also ignores that witchcraft studies have only recently widened their scope from the crazes and panics of multiple chain trials, which have shaped the picture of witchcraft history, and that it is natural that our interpretations to change in one point as we widen our scope in another.

has been pregnant with meaning throughout the history of women's and feminist studies in the 20th and early 21st centuries and the historiography echoes important themes in the women's and feminist studies in general:

The Early Romantics

In 1921 Margaret Murray presented her well-known theory about an alleged pre-Christian fertility cult, that had once been *"the ancient religion of Western Europe"* and the repression of which by the Christians was supposed to have resulted in the witch-hunts of 16th and 17th century Britain.[3] Murray herself did not emphasise the role of a female deity in the religion she created –referring to an earlier writer she wrote: *"Professor Pearson sees in her the Mother Goddess worshipped chiefly by women. This is very probable, but at the time when the cult is recorded the worship of the male deity appears to have superseded that of the female".*[4] Her followers, however, soon combined Murray's version of the pagan cult with previous images of pagan religions by romantics such as Jules Michelet and ignored the male side of the deity and this was the form in which Murray's theory today is remembered and commented even by many historians. In a very romantic interpretation, with a considerable appeal to feminist neo-pagan groups, witchcraft was then seen as a 'women's religion', an alternative to the masculine and male-dominated forms of Christianity emphasised by the active role which Murray had already ascribed to women as priestesses.[5] As it also placed fertility and its control in a central – even a mystified – part of the issue, it pre-empted the themes that were about to become important in the radical feminist movement of the 1960's and 1970's. The problem is, as everyone nowadays knows, that Murray's thesis cannot be supported with any evidence either from the pamphlet literature she used or from real court material, but it was selectively cut out from her material by discarding considerable part of it on one hand and taking literally some of the imaginative parts of the testimony on the other hand. Her theory was dismissed by scholars right from its publication, and, when compared to sources from the actual trials, proves inconsistent with them. Yet it also gained popularity not only among her friends in the Folklore Society – the importance of which has lately been contested – but also among romantics interested in paganism and witchcraft and – more importantly here – eventually also with the growing women's movement.[6]

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[3] Murray, Margaret: The Witch-Cult in Western Europe. Oxford University Press 1962. orig. 1921 citation p 12; Murray continued to develop her theories in *The God of the Witches* (1931) and *The Divine King in England* (1954).

[4] Murray 1692, 13.

[5] The most important one of these neo-pagans has been Gerald B. Gardner: Witchcraft Today 1954), which follows Murray and to which Murray even wrote a preface and earlier Charles G. Leland's Aradia. (e.g. Leland et al, Aradia, or the gospel of the withes 1998.) On this development in general see Hutton, Ronald: Modern Pagan Witchcraft. In: Ankarloo & Clark (eds.) Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. Athlone 1999, esp pp. 26-33. On the Encyclopedia Britannica and the importance of the folklore society to Murray's widespread appeal e.g. Behringer, Wolfgang: Witchcraft Studies in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. In: Barry, Jonathan & Hester, Marianne & Roberts, Gareth: Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe. Studies in Culture and Belief. Past & Present Publications 1998. (Orig 1996), 66–67. Historians who have written about Murray's 'pagan' cult as a women's religion include E.g. Barry, 1998 (orig. 1996), 36; Briggs 1998 (orig. 1996), 37 calls the deity of Murray's cult as Diana, although Murray wrote of Deans or Diana in the etymology and only called the god of the cult by the name she thought Christians gave it: the Devil. Murray 1962, 12, 28–76.

[6] The refutation can be read from any standard book on early modern witchcraft with a reasonably general view. On Murray's popular appeal e.g. Hutton 1999 or Oates, Caroline &Wood, Juliette: A Coven of Scholars, Margaret Murray and her Working Methods. FLS Book 1998.

The Patriarchal Structure and The Women's Holocaust

The complexity of the witch's image made it possible for the same image to carry multiple meanings. The witch came to represent both strong, active women and the victims of misogyny. The witches' dual role as both initiative and determinate actors and the victims of (male) Christian repression, already ascribed to them by the mid 1950's, was bound to attract the feminist movement. The violence ascribed to the witch-hunts by the enlightenment historians – emphasizing torture and the stakes, which nevertheless occurred considerably more rarely in real historical evidence – seemed to mirror domestic violence and violence against women in general in the 1970's society.[7] In the line of some other interpretations, the persecution of witches was compared to other persecutions in history and then attached to what the 1670's popular feminisms felt to be women's lot in society, the witch-hunt became a Women's Holocaust, a persecution of women in an patriarchal society. The idea got its most famous systematic presentation in Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* in 1978.[8] The witch herself was a model for strong, manifestly independent woman with whom modern women should identify, the Hag, or as Daly herself put it, "*an example of strength, courage and wisdom.*"[9] Hag was the woman who deliberately left the requirements of patriarchy unfulfilled, refused to be meek and compliant. The witch-hunt as one example of the ongoing patriarchal violence against all women and the way to punish those who did not conform: *"...the intent was to purify society of the existence and of the potential existence of such [be-ing] women."*[10] Considering both the radical feminist background of Daly and the overtly sexual nature of the most easily available source materials, the Malleus Maleficarum – and the popularisations made on the basis of it – it is unsurprising that the interpretation of witchcraft here was one of sexual repression and control rather than a matter of economic or cultural in any other way.

Another early line of interpretation, more focused than that of the radical feminists', but probably equally anachronistic, looked at the matter from a very different angle, echoing women's health issues in claiming that the witch-hunts were an attempt to root out women's popular knowledge about healing and especially midwifery. This interpretation of the witch-hunt was compiled in Barbra Echrenreich's and Deirdre English' pamphlet *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*.[11] It claimed that the witch-hunts, although part of the general oppression of women, were an attempt to root out women's popular knowledge about healing and especially midwifery. Approaching the subject from a rather more Marxist/socialist feminist point of view it connected this not only to the female sexuality and women's control over their bodies, but also to the status of nursing professions. The idea suited perfectly both the women's movement's interest in domestic violence and women's reproductive rights and the public parole, rising with the civil rights movement

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[7] Andréa, Lovell & Walkouts 1997, 234–235, *"violence against women"*; Hutton 1999, 61 esp. on American feminist modern witches but the same applies for the contemporary American popular feminisms in general.
[8] Daly, Mary: Gin/Ecology. The Metaethics of Radical Feminism. Beacon Press 1978. Daly was not the first one to put the idea into writing, many of the early expressions of these views were popular works of non-academic writers.
[9] Daly 1978, 14-16.
[10] Daly 1978, 183.
[11] Echrenreich, Barbara & English, Deirdre: Witches, Midwives and Nurses. A History of Women Healers. Brooklyn, New York 1973.

and growing awareness of the global, of women who were doubly or triply oppressed because of their race or ethnicity, their poverty and ultimately their sex.

Neither one of the early feminist interpretations fit the historical evidence or the disciplinary rules of history, but that never was their purpose anyway – the interpretations should not be used as history. Usually the charges include magic in the women's sphere of life, not crossing the gender-borders, not really what Daly would have called disobeying the patriarchal rules. Magic took place in the household: brewing and churning, or in the care of children and cattle, pregnancy, nursing, sickness and health or in things like fishing and uncovering thieves. Of course, the charges did not necessarily reflect the whole dynamics of the trials. A violation of gender roles – or some other cultural rules – might have taken place before the trial and influence the thoughts of people but still remain unmentioned in the court. When witches have in a few studies, my own included, been followed years after and before the trials, little of the kind has been found. Carol Karlsen's claim that especially women who had inherited land were vulnerable to charges of witchcraft.[12] Women usually took on sole responsibility for farming land only in exceptional situations, when there was no male member of the family to do it. The problem is that in a few countries in Europe, continuously at war, e.g. Sweden, that happened too often to be connected to witchcraft accusations – and the accused are not the same women.[13] It is often concluded, that the accused often were aggressive women and men claiming loudly their rights – like Daly's Hags – and some more. However, although one could assume that men were permitted more aggressive behavior than women, the connection is broken because firstly, the accused almost just as often were no more aggressive than the rest of their communities, and secondly, aggression was still a lot more common than witchcraft accusations. Aa far as the midwife-theory was conserned, academic historians have also long since discovered that the proportion of folk healers among the accused is far from adequate and the proportion of midwives even further from adequate to justify such an interpretation,[14] the theory has drawn support from learned treatises from *Malleus Maleficarum* to those of the 16th and 17th centuries. *Malleus*, indeed, condemns the midwife-witch as doing the most harm to the Catholic Faith, and continues to be used by the advocates of the theory despite the now commonly known fact that it is not in many respects representative of the ideas and views of its time. Other theological treatises, however, do share some of its trends, showing women as the weaker vessel. Many treatises on witchcraft condemn benevolent magic as the Devil's way to interfere with God's intention and to lure people away from God.

So the early feminist interpretations do not hold with the evidence. The same has to be said for most of the non-feminist and academic historians' interpretations of the time, too,

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[12] Karlsen, Carol F.: The Devil in the Shape of a Woman. Witchcraft in Colonial New England Vintage, 1989, ensimmäinen pianos New York Norton 1987, 102–104.

[13] Perlestam, Magnus: "Ogifta Kristin Brukar – har intet folck sig till hielp". Änkor, hustrur och pigor som gårdsförvaltare. Teoksessa Österberg, (toim.): Jämmerdal och fröijdesal. Kvinnor i stormaktstidens Sverige. Atlantis 1997.

[14] Larner, Christina: Witchcraft and Religion. The Politics of Popular Belief. Oxford Blackwell 1984, 150–152; Harley, David: Historians as Demonologists: The Myth of the Mid-wife-witch. Social History of Medicine. The Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine 3/1990, 101; Nenonen, Marko: Noituus, Taikuus ja noitavainot Ala-Satakunnan, Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Viipurin Karjalan maaseudulla 1620-1700. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 165. SHS Helsinki 1992, 322–326, see however 59-62, 80, 157-158 on folk hearlers other than midwives Briggs, Robin: Witches and Neighbors. The social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft Penguin 1998. (orig.1996), 77-78 see however 71–72, 127, 185 on a considerable amount of folk healers.

although for a different reason. The feminist theorists used history to create a mirror for women to work with while creating themselves new identities and a new society. In a very structuralist way, the women of the past were compared to women of the 1970's and found alike, and the Women of both societies were compared to the Men and found equally oppressed.

More than by the structuralist equation of all women regardless social, racial, economic, cultural or any other possible differences – disturbing as such an equation is – a historian is intrigued by the anachronism of the comparison. It was intentional, however. History was used to create a mirror for women to work with while creating themselves new identities and a new society: In a point of Gyn/Ecology Daly wrote of a women's seminar group *"our realization of what had been done to our foresisters and consequently to us all"*, and in another point, *"For women who are on the journey of radical be-ing, the lives of the witches, of the Great Hags of our hidden history are deeply intertwined with our own process --- the point is that they should be governed by the Witch within – the Hag within."*[15] Similar identification with the witches of the past can be found in popular feminist literature, fiction and even several kinds of popular organizations, as Diane Purkiss as pointed out.[16] At this point, several forms of modern witchcraft, Wiccans for example, became expressly feminist and used the same imagery. For e.g. Starhawk –who has been influential in the 1980's modern witchcraft *"to be a witch is to identify with nine million victims of bigotry and hatred..."* For her, too, the anachronism was intentional and conscious, as her beginning words *"According to our legends"* – show.[17] The growing women's movement needed justification and by exposing how women had always been and still were oppressed by patriarchy, it sought to engender change.

The Rationalist Stance and the Common Sense

Academic historians started to make detailed statistical inquiries into witch-trials in the early 1970's, too, finding that the majority of the accused, as well as a large portion (from 2/3 to 4/5) of the accusers and witnesses were indeed women. This needed explanation, although, for a while the political feminist interpretations actually functioned as a deterrent for the academic historians. A considerable proportion of the pages of academic historians was indeed used to disclaim the 1970's feminist views. For long, at least until the mid 1990's the history of witchcraft was characterised by a determinate refusal of distinct feminist theory – common sense employed with caution was enough for a historian.[18] Following Prof. Christina Larner's lead, academic historians rejected the radical feminists' claim about men's women-hunt, claiming instead that the accusations had more to do with women's relations among themselves. For some time the difficulties in relationships

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[15] Daly 1978, 15 (latter quotation) and 196 (former quotation).
[16] Purkiss, Diane: The Witch in History. Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations. Routledge, London and New York 1996.
[17] Starhawk (Miriam Simos): The Spiral Dance. Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess. 10th Anniversary Edition with New Introduction and Chapter by Chapter Commentary. Harper 1989 (orig. 1979), 22.
[18] E.g. Sharpe comments on the earlier feminists *"Their interpretation of the connection between gender and witchcraft accusations was, however, all too predictable."* Without considering if it was predictable in the 1970's. Sharpe, James: Instruments of Darkness. Witchcraft in England 1550-1750. Penguin Books 1997. (orig. Hamish Hamilton 1996), 169.

between women needed no further explanation.[19] Gradually historians started to formulate a position claiming that the areas where women were active – the household, caring for the lives of animals and people – were themselves more vulnerable to suspicion than others. The unvoiced implication is that these areas were in some undefined sense uncontrollable and almost mystical. Modern research has, however, made it obvious that men were also involved with magic in their own spheres of action and were accused of it. It has also been stated that women were more vulnerable to witchcraft accusations because they expressed anger verbally instead of physically or because their actions in the close knit rural communities were more often exposed to hostile eyes than men's actions. [20]

Although not as straight misogyny, the academic historians' view trials has interpreted witchcraft trials in the context of the early modern change in the gendered society, which witchcraft historians often see as a deterioration of women's position in society. The birth of the centralized state power, new legal cultures and the Protestant and Catholic Reformations meant, in this view, the control of sexuality in the form of prosecuting chastity crimes, infanticide and witchcraft, the crimes of, as it is said in this interpretation, women. Whereas for men, the early modern development might have meant new possibilities in military and bureaucratic occupations, for women the reformations and the new control left only a place at home. This is a simplified view, of course, and the military career might not have seemed so alluring to those conscripted or to their families, who simply could not afford women staying at home.[21] The focus on the repressive influence of the central state, has also been criticised in many works, emphasising that any central government it needs the support of the populace to be able to gain any power, and that the support of the populace cannot be gained by repression and suppression only. There has to be a popular interest, too. The possibilities of economic activities created by the new monetary economy and the beginnings of an industrialization benefited women, too, and they necessarily needed the safe social order created by the central government's control. Therefore, even if witchcraft persecution was part of the central states' control programs it would not be fair to state that they were exclusively a sign of the worsening of women's possibilities.

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[19] Larner, Christina: Enemies of God. The Witch-hunt in Scotland. Chatto & Windus 198. Others not explaining why women's disagreements should lead to witchraft accusations e.g. Sharpe 1997 tai Nenonen, Marko: Noituus, Taikuus ja noitavainot Ala-Satakunnan, Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Viipurin Karjalan maaseudulla 1620-1700. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 165. SHS Helsinki 1992, although he points to the psychological disturbances between mothers and daughters in a closely inhabited village and the projection of those problems onto a witch. Lagerlöf-Génetay, Birgitta: De svenska häxprocessernas utbrottsskede 1668-1671. Bakrund i Övre Dalarna. Social och ecklesiastik kontext. Stovkholm 1990. Exeptions from the Larner –led view e.g. Hester, Marianne: Lewd Women and Wicked Witches. A Study of the Dynamics of Male Domination. London New York 1992 and Hester, Marianne: Patriarchal Reconstruction and Witch Hunting. In: Barry, Hester & Roberts (eds.): Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe. Studies in Culture and Belief. Cambridge University Press, Past and Present Publications 1998, alkuteos 1996 and the late example of Goodare, Julian. Women and the Witch-Hunt in Scotland. Social History vol 23, issue 3, 10/1998.

[20] Esim. Briggs 1998, 265–271 ja Bechtel 1997, 576. Oja 1994, 48–49 points out that magic and witchraft, too can be divided into male and female, and that both genders used magic in their spheres.

[21] Burke, Peter: Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe. Temple Smith/Harper Torch 1978, 207–243, on the "*reform of popular culture*"; Mäkelä, Anneli: Suvusta perheeseen. Satakunnan ja Karjalan naisen asema 1500-luvulla. Historiallisia tutkimuksia 151. SHS 1989, 190–193; Pylkkänen, Anu: Puoli vuodetta, lukot ja avaimet. Nainen ja maalaistalous oikeuskäytännön valossa 1660-1710. Lakimiesliiton kustannus, Helsinki 1990, 335; Taussi Sjöberg, Marja: Rätten och kvinnorna. Från Släktsmakt till statsmakt i Sverige på 1500 och 1600-talen. Stockholm: Atlantis 1996, 81–168; Roper, Lyndal : The Holy Household 1989. Andersson, Gudrun: Tingets kvinnor och män. Genus som norm och strategi under 1600- och 1700-tal. Studia Historica Uppsaliensia 187. Uppsala 1998.

Until the early 1990's it seems that the explanations share an effort to explain away both the belief in witchcraft and women's part in the resulting accusations: Witches, then, appear as the victims of neighbourhood competition, political power struggles or the assumed corruption of the neighbourly community – these explanations lack –sometimes more or less consciously disclaim – considerations that people then really believed in witchcraft where the 20'th-century historian does not, and that witchcraft had important mental and cultural meanings for them. In one aspect the academic historians were ready to find misogyny: in the church elites' treatises, which were sufficiently far from the historians' own rationalism. Here, too, however, the rationalist historians pointed that the influence of the religion and theology in general and the witchcraft treatises in particular, was conditioned to the other social and economic needs of people.

Post-structuralist feminisms? – Mothers, Housewives and Individuals

The 1990's and early 2000's feminist studies have produced a new interest in women's role in witchcraft. After a rationalist period during the 1980's, when traditional historians and women's history student sought to explain away both the early modern belief in witches and women's role in the resulting accusations, especially feminist student, followed by historians who had been influenced by cultural studies, began to criticise that and emphasise the real belief on one hand and the psychological functionalities on the other: witchcraft became to be treated as a psychological fantasy, the truth of which is ambiguous as it is used to discuss something puzzling.

The focus has reverted to similar themes as in the 1970's – sexuality, maternity and profession – but with different points of view. Feminist studies now treat witch-trials and narratives about witchcraft as material to investigate how women's roles in society and their identities were constructed. Looked at this way, it is not a problem that not all witchcraft was centred on women and femininity, and that at least sometimes a considerable proportion of the accused were actually male: if one is investigating what witchcraft reveals about women's identities and thoughts, one is allowed to concentrate on the material around the women in a way unlike that which seeking an explanation of the witch-hunts would require. These interpretations have focused not on the structural male-female comparison and the oppressive patterns thereof, but on the different experiences, concerns and options of different women: what they thought, felt and did after all – the same turn took place in feminist studies in general.

What all these differentiated views still hold in common is a focus on the body and its meaning for the female identities in the form of maternity, work, and sexuality. Psychologically oriented feminist scholars – Lyndal Roper as the most important challenge to traditional social historians – have linked witchcraft to mother-child psychology, where the witch came to represent an anti-mother: the bad mother of the Kleinian model of a child splitting its mother in two: one good and loved, the other bad and hated, yet envied, poisonous and destructive instead of nursing and loving. If an explanation of why a timeless psychological model should have created so destructive consequences is needed, these theories point to the physical and mental consequences of the importance of breastfeeding in the absence of any usable substitutes and the cultural importance of the roles of mothers and housewives after the Reformations.[22] Inextricably interlinked to the

[22] Roper, Lyndal: Oedipus and The Devil. Witchcraft, sexuality and religion in early modern Europe. Routledge 1994; Willis, Deborah: Malevolent Nurture. Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England. Cornell University Press 1995; Roper, Lyndal: The Witch Craze. 2004.

bad mother was an anti-housewife – here, too destroying and stealing what a good housewife should have been able to make. Onto these witches, women projected their own insecurities and anxieties. Anthropologically oriented historians, like Diane Purkiss, have emphasised that there was a link between witchcraft and the analogous boundaries of a woman's body, her household, and the ordered cosmos of the culture, and that the woman's role in upholding that order was crucial. Sexuality was therefore not only crucial to the social order of the early modern control society, the order imposed by the reformations and the centralizing governments, it was the ultimate form of crossing boundaries between nature and culture, chaos and order. [23] The analogue between the woman's body and the society reflects both the early modern rhetoric of social hierarchy in the form of a body, all members of which were vital but which had only one head and the importance of the body-mind continuum in feminisms. Here, too, however, the point of view has changed from the separatist exclusion-view of Daly, who saw women being dismembered from the body politic. In the 1990's view, women guard the boundaries of their bodies, their society and culture: close to the border, perhaps, but firmly inside themselves.[24]

The current academic interest in identities in general, women's identities and women's identities constructed in the imagery of witchcraft may stem from the deconstruction of the previous identities in the rapid changes of social life, global politics, and religious crisis. It is clear that sexuality, maternity and profession - and the body-mind thematic in general – also echo the themes of the 1970's feminisms but also the identity construction of women at the turn of the millennium and current feminisms. The difference between feminist history and traditional social history today may lay in the way post-structuralist individualism is embraced: Traditional social historians did not quite make it to the train of liberal individualism before it started to seem necessary for everyone to emphasize that individual women and men did not in the past – and do not now – have endless possibilities of choice, thought and action but that their lives and identities were bound and limited by the demands of a structure.

The purpose of the feminist interpretations never was to explain the witch hunts. For the 1970's writers, popular and academic, witches and their fates were a mirror to study the more or less eternal feminine identity in. In the past 15 years, the post-structural view has entered the discussion here, too, and the purpose has been to look at the different ways that people then – as well as now, perhaps – construct their identities in different situations, with different resources. Historians now may understand better that it never was the purpose to explain witch hunts – most historians have concluded that presenting a single reason for the sporadic outbursts of a phenomenon that spread over centuries and globes in various different kinds of circumstances may not be plausible at all. A lot of the witchcraft trials do not fit into the models of bad mother, bad housewives and irregular sexuality, but if the meaning in not to explain witchcraft trials but rather to explain early modern motherhood etc, that may be alright. On the other hand, does not the same problematic also touch the issues of motherhood and housewives etc in general: do we not get a very partial and disturbed picture of them if we look at them through witchcraft fantasies only?

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[23] Purkiss, Diane: The Witch in History. Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations. Routledge, London and New York 1996; Eilola, Jari: Rajapinnoilla: Sallitun ja kielletyn määritteleminen 1600-luvun jälkipuoliskon noituus- ja taikuustapauksissa. Bibliotheca historia 81. SKS 2003.
[24] Daly 1978, 186-187 see previous notes.

The multi- and interdisciplinarity of feminist studies has brought the methods of literary critics, psychology and anthropology into the traditional social history of witchcraft trials in a way that seems faster than would perhaps have been the case otherwise. On the other hand, the cultural or linguistic turn that took over in witchcraft studies with the lead of intellectual historians such as Stuart Clark[25] and which led to a multidisciplinary view also in the field of traditional history, has prepared the academic historians to accept feminist studies as one of the multiple disciplines that may legitimately be used to produce meaningful interpretations of history. The once two separate camps of feminists and traditional historians are now mixing fast.

[25] Clark's various articles have been published throughout the 1980's and 1990's, and been collected into Clark, Stuart: Thinking with Demons. The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe. Oxford university Press 1997. Fairly good examples of the mixing trend e.g. Allison Rowlands, Witchraft Narratives in Germany. 2003.