



V. Reading Notes and Book Reviews

Emma Wilby. 2019. *Invoking the Akelarre. Voices of the Accused in the Basque Witch-Craze, 1609-1614*. Brighton, Chicago, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 480 p.

Reviewed by Ileana Benga

The Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, Romania

Ileana Benga is senior researcher at "The Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy" Institute in Cluj-Napoca, România (since 1997), adjunct associate professor at the Ethnology Department, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University (teaching traditional rituals since 2013). She is co-founder, together with Bogdan Neagota, associate professor at Babeş-Bolyai University, of Orma Sodalitas Anthropologica (based 2003, founded 2015) which shelters an important ethnological collective archive (begun in 1997 by Bogdan Neagota and Ileana Benga, enriched with many collaborations). Dr. Benga's fieldwork experience spans three decades and mirrors expertise in the narrative transmission of the patterns of thought, ceremonial and ritual expressions of oral tradition, ethnological taxonomies and cultural transmission in the short and long diachrony.

Correspondence: ileanabenga@gmail.com

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No witch has been put to death after 1614 by the Inquisition in the Basque Country; no witch has been burnt at the stake in the entire Spanish Empire,¹ after that date, famously due to the "instrucciones" or "criterios de obligado cumplimiento" issued by the Supreme Court of the Inquisition, following Alonso de Salazar y Frías's recommendations and giving a solid base for future jurisprudence on the matter of witchcraft.² Emma Wilby's research is shedding light on one of the most outstanding records of Europe's witchcraft prosecutions, which are the Basque (1609-14), bringing to life both the local witch-craze, in a long trail of academic writing dominated by the momentous work of Gustav Henningsen,³ and the eventual perspective on co-authoring the testimonials during the confession-making process, a genuinely post-1990 orientation.⁴ All along the analysis, the focus is on "the voices of the accused," retrieved, from historical concealment within various layers of demonological stereotypies, with considerable methodological astuteness.

In the first chapter, *The Basque World*, we are presented with a comprehensive scrutiny of what makes the local distinctiveness, of yore as well as of recent: genetic and linguistic isolation⁵ combined with rather harsh natural conditions, whence the prolonged solitude of villages of women, men seafaring apart. In witchcraft trial emergence (1609-14) terms,

this setting translates in the activation of two separate judicial mechanisms, in the two legal systems seizing hold of the Basque country: the French Parlement and the Spanish Inquisition, the first sending prosecutors Pierre de Lancre and Jean d'Espaignet (July-November 1609), the latter commissioning inquisitors Alonso Becerra Holguín, Juan de Valle Alvarado and Alonso de Salazar Frías from the local jurisdiction of the Logroño Tribunal (January 1609 – autumn 1614). The three provinces laying in France (Soule/Zuberoa, Basse-Navarre/Nafarroa Behera, Labourd/Lapurdi) lost between 50-80 people to witchcraft execution in the several month stint; the four provinces of Spain (Navarre/Nafarroa, Guipúzcoa, Álava/Araba and Vizcaya/Bizkaia) condemned all their eleven suspects at the *auto da fé* in Logroño in 1610. Notes on how the most dramatic sentences, read out publicly – lengthy folios read throughout long hours –, resulted in pamphlets and broadside ballads, printed and distributed with "tabloid" fervour, as the author puts it; then, on the exceptionally high social status and law protection (inheritance – primogeniture, dissolution of marriages, recognition of illegitimate child, court appeal, nun liturgical altar access) of Basque women,⁶ as compared to the rest of Europe of the time; and finally, notes on the high level of child involvement (children claiming to be abducted to the sabbath/*akelarre* in *Euskara*), in a Basque



land where child testimony was acknowledged legal, all these elements ultimately indicate an unprecedented acceleration to the mere forms of collective hysteria in the six-year witch-craze, and add to the anthropologist's focal attention. Eventually the Edict of Grace (1611) brought in the longer term the needed conciliation, with thousands of people availing themselves of the alleged possibility of obtaining forgiveness of the Inquisition through confession, and with growing levels of elite scepticism about witchcraft.⁷

For the purposes of this condensed review, what best interests us, folklore scholars coming from the other end of Europe, are those lines in the voices of the accused which carry knowledge about *what the interrogated believed in*: be it Christian or para-Christian ethnographic material. For the part of the interrogators, their convictions and beliefs have been thoroughly analysed throughout decades of research of the numerous, still very active, witch-trial schools, and are aptly recognised in the target book, primarily within Chapter Two, *The Gleeful Executioners*, but actually as a red thread running throughout, helping to weave the stories of the accused which Emma Wilby intends to unbury. In this context, Chapter Three, *The Witches' Voice*, deals with explaining the intervening mediations which must be accounted for, when in search for the real persons with their real imaginaries and solidarities; among them, the lack of *lingua franca*, with imminent distortions due to the translated nature of the testimonies from Basque/*Euskara*, further complicated by the editorial distortions brought by the interrogators to the narratives, in their written reports to the Supreme Court; their individual abilities to generate confessional detail, their intimate struggle to understand or to demonstrate fictitiousness in the purported acts of witchcraft (Salazar). Last but not least, the chapter fosters a very up-to-date inquiry into the psychology of false confessions, falling into four distinctive categories: misrepresentation, conscious fiction, false memory, and visionary experience (lived or dreamt), each illustrating processes as association and unconscious mentation within testimonial material excerpted

from the trials.

Folklore material is brought to attention with Chapter Four, *Black Winds*, and Chapter Five, *The Bloodletting Bruja*, addressing, respectively, the "crime of maleficium" i.e. harm induced by magical means, to both humans and animals, in two forms: crop-maleficium (ruining crops through powders or liquids distributed by groups of witches flying as themselves or transformed into animals, causing withering, or merely raising the afflicting bad weather) and body-maleficium (causing human sickness, disability or even death by targeting the physical body). Association with folkloric motifs in the former category excerpted from later sources, is hard to prove in the trial documents, but the interrogators' glosses over specific folk spirits as *devils* or *demons* do concord with the narrative dynamics brought forth by witchcraft record from other parts of Europe (witches in both human and animal form cavalcade air to bring destruction as a revenge or merely as a satisfaction to gift the Devil with...). More numerous folkloric intimations are to be found as recurrent "Ritual Themes," of the kind of the procession devoted to crop protection: but, while we are told that virtually all suspects interrogated in the witch-craze would have partaken crop-protecting processions prior to their arrest – chunks of Christian ritual significantly petitioning God and the Saints for crop-protection –, the crime-full trespass would take the form of a reversed crop-damaging party led by the Devil, always processional and always well-organised hierarchically, with cauldrons of pest-inflicting poisons for the crop annulment to symbolically counter-effect ritual sprinkles of holy water in the original Christian ceremonials. The "Pest and Weather Conjurations" subchapter contextualizes the folklore facts within the broader extant West European sources (present from early mediaeval ages all the way down to 20th century Basque region) about directly commanding the storm clouds and the pests, by both priests and lay specialists, in rather private, not public, ritual dramatic events. Adding to that picture the ringing of church bells in order to keep

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storms at bay, with the participation of female agency (nuns) in the early modern period, one can certainly assert that crop-protecting conjurations may have been a familiar event in the lives of all Basque witch trial suspects. Moreover, drawing on material documented by É. Pócs and Carlo Ginzburg (note 30 on Chapter Three), and using finer deduction, Emma Wilby squares the adversarial nature of two modal neighbouring communities, one commissioning the transference (meteorological blows meant to disrupt another village's crop) and one enduring it (losing harvest to magical war), both conjurer (warring for pay) and witch (warring for evil) allegedly using close contact with demons or Devil to meet that end. Folkloric sources of later European origin indicate that crop-protecting technicians cannot be labelled in the sources as neutral magical practitioners, but rather, *witches and warlocks*, which justifies charges of *maleficium*. Lorraine and Basque cases are being discussed to address societal tensions which might express in the trials, with the veritable template of adversarial crop conjuration: *helping our people through dismissing others*, be the *other* considered in social, occupational, geographic or ideological meanings and contexts.

If crop-maleficium is attested evenly across the Basque provinces, body-maleficium is mainly a matter of the Spanish records of the trials, with sore accent on infanticidal vampirism. Stripped to the historical core, the author points at multiple interpersonal tensions leading up to scapegoating in the tragic event of the loss of a child – and there were many of them dying before time, making the belief in infanticidal witches and demons be a cultural response to the high child mortality rate of the pre-modern era. Wisely contemporary in her analysis, Wilby highlights the high incidence of the genetic condition of rhesus negativity in the Basque population (resulting in anaemic conditions, haemolytic disease, miscarriage, stillbirth, death soon after birth or in early infancy): 29% of the Basque population, as compared to the 11-18% of the rest of the European population, 5% in the Indian, and less than 1% in the Chinese population. Ultimately,

the condition did afflict fertility in the region, in devastating ways. Due attention is paid to the local afflictions of bewitchment and possession in Zugarramurdi, part of a longer history of tension between the village and the monastery of San Sebastian, whose monks were skilled practitioners of diagnostic and treatment of body-maleficium, settled as they were on one of the main routes of the Camino de Santiago. They were famous to both pilgrims and local villagers for their magic-affliction specialism and unwitching services, as well as for the medical bloodletting professionalism, throughout the best part of the interval between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries.

The common procedural “mutual features” of the two variants of maleficium – crop and body – in the Basque trial records are addressed in Chapter Six, *Powders and Poisons*, and in Chapter Seven, *Man's Grease*, with both French Basque and Spanish Basque witches not only scattering, but actually preparing the poisonous *waters, ointments and powders*, in domestic contexts and, importantly, at the *akelarre*. The details – magical-pharmaceutical processing of toads, human and animal corpses, limbs, roots, rocks etc. – stand as the most detailed European account on the matter, aimed at harming people and livestock altogether.

Chapter Eight, *Hidden Healers*, pursues the thread of magic potions being made for sale, outside or in parallel with the legally operating dispensaries, with an accent on the professional dimension of popular medicine. *Popular healers* ranging from empirical healers (midwives) to itinerant salesmen, and religious or folk healers, were of yore, as well as of today, filling the knots of a *medical marketplace* whose networks remain unevenly distributed to this day. Add witch-craze to the picture and we get prosecutors attempting to redefine healing beneficent practices as *maleficia*. Hostility towards the *massive subculture of popular healers*, as termed by Wilby, is a constant frame of thought up to contemporary ethnographies. In the Basque records, witches self-branded as healers attract special prosecutors' attention, while being locally held in high esteem for their curing abilities (with

overlapping temporalities ranging from sabbath encounters to St. John's Day): in the Logroño *auto da fé*, prosecutor de Lancre speaks of flying ointment taking witches into the night like birds, to spread cures with the formula: "*Here and there, here and there*"; and of the curing ointment the Devil uses at the *akelarre* to cure those he had marked and battered. He also describes at length the local variants of the widespread belief that maleficium is best "*de-witched*" by seeking cure from the person who caused it (among them, *hand-washing* water from the enchanter is drunk by the patient). Etymological considerations link the local witch(-craft): *belharguin*, *belharguilego*, from *belhar*/plant, herb and *eguin*/to do, make, to their ability to heal, which is also supported by Euskara collected folktales (19th-20th century) where protagonists learn to heal the bewitched and the sick by *overhearing witches talking at the akelarre*. Ultimately, gender issues distinguish male from female professionals, with women uncertainly hiding behind *healers* and *women who heal* domestically, with men possessing the recognised occupational title of *popular healer*.

The following three Chapters: Nine, *Familiar Demons*, Ten, *Milking the Toad*, and Eleven, *Jeanette's Imagination*, tackle the emergence of a toad as a *witch-familiar* phenomenon of much significant presence in the 1609-1614 prosecutions, as compared to anything before or after that date. We learn that Basque toad familiars wore colourful decorated garments, participated in witches' sabbath, performed their part in *akelarre*-pact rituals, and acted as "avatars" or companions of the Devil; yet, they differed from other animal witch familiars from other parts of Europe, as they never were sent to perpetrate maleficia on their own. Learned magicians in the area must have been made by intertwining Christian, Jewish and Moorish traditional magical practices. However, details about how toads would become witch-familiars are, says skilful anthropologist Emma Wilby, significantly similar – hibernation, feeding, fairy-tale incidence – to toad-for-pet policies of today, set aside their participation at the *akelarre*. In what the latter is concerned, toads at the *akelarre* were adorned with bells, ribbons, and

colourful outfits, were blessed and baptized, to be finally put, alive or dried, in close contact with a patient's body. With Jeannette d'Abadie's account, a Zugarramurdi origin is stated for the toad tales, one important role being assumed by the iconographies of hell which nearby Premonstratensian monastery at Urdax would have helped circulate for both pilgrims travelling the Camino de Santiago, locals, and visiting patients, during their publicly performed rites of exorcism.

With Chapter Twelve, *The Akelarre*, the book tackles the complex problematics of the witch gatherings, termed *akelarre* in Euskara. We already know that the term covered the venue for the planning and execution of maleficium (convening point before setting off to attack children and crops), as well as the range of ritual and festive activities to be undergone in common during the shared experience (feasting, dancing, sexual acts, initiation rites, witches' mass). From a specialist's point of view, the Basque *akelarre* is the "state-of-the-art" accomplishment of the witch-gathering concept, all the more since earlier Basque witch trials (let alone other European records) were far shorter and less sophisticated in ritual developments. Sound attention is paid by the author to the historical aspects of religious turmoil, in the wider spatial and temporal area, which, from an Inquisitorial point of view (created 1478), linked Protestantism to witchcraft, extreme heresies, pending apocalypse, and therefore, with 1526, acknowledged by vote the reality of witches' travels and gatherings at the *akelarre*/sabbath. Beside that, discussion around the "*heretical template*" set at work in the region regards not only *moriscos*, *conversos*, and Jews, but also, some late-flowering sects (as compared to the rest of Europe, where most heretical cults would have subsided by the early 15th century) such as: the obscure endogamic edge-of-society group of *Cagots* (whom a surprisingly high number of Zugarramurdi suspects married), to whom some priests would deny the sacrament, on the grounds of being Albigenians or Cathars; the followers of the Franciscan friar Alonso Mella, by the Vizcayan town of Durango, whom



Caro Baroja sees in early-19th century reports, under the name of *tromperri*, alluding to heretics typically announcing themselves by blowing horns; the *Alumbrados*, predominantly female, with whom both inquisitors, Valle and Becerra, engaged, on the grounds of their suspiciously prolonged longevity; and, last but not least, *the heretical propositions*, such as suspects not only despising orthodox Catholicism, but indeed believing the witch cult to provide superior a route to salvation. De Lancre indicates that the inquiry showed them the *akelarre* being frequented every night, with virtually each suspect acknowledging they had participated the night before.

Chapter Thirteen, *The Meadow of Pleasure*, is truly recording the folklore of the gatherings.⁸ Theatrical representations of what may have been the contemporary dance traditions are drawn into demonological witch stereotypes; yet, kind attention is given to the portrait of the queen of the sabbath, which would have come most natural to the mind of every young rural woman because of the many seasonal festivities where a temporary queen, at times accompanied by a king, would have emerged within folklore traditions, widespread across the entire Europe. Likewise are the fire-jumping rituals, purely ethnographic stances usually linked to the night of St. John (Midsummer's night), highjacked in the trials as occasions for the devil to lure the humans at the *akelarre* to believe that hell's flames would burn comparably. Similar with their human counterparts,⁹ the folk spirits *lamiñas*, believed to have giant forces (as in lifting a mill in the air) and bird bodily parts (used and useful in metamorphoses) hold correspondent gatherings with what is termed as a *taste for the dramatic*. They are led by folk spirit *Mari*, the powerful queen of all the spirits, surviving for long into the 19th century, whereto she has maintained the ancient-lore virtues of weather controller, crop carer, fertility enhancer. As for the format of the gatherings, the association Emma Wilby proves they hold with images of *earthier paradises*, allows us to peer, dimly, into the ideal of the suspects, of abundance (food, above all), rejuvenation, contrary-to-their-

mundane living of poverty and hardship, as well as into prosecutors' intolerance towards these *celebrations of disorder*, them being allegedly pious, urbane men of frugal existences.

The reversed story of the gloomier associations of the *akelarre* is addressed in the following Chapters: Fourteen, *Dark Banquets*, Fifteen, *"There is no sin in it,"* and Sixteen, *"Be nothing to God,"* where the darker festive activities are presented: cannibalism (unexceptional in the larger context of European witch trial confessions, exceptional in their vivid imagery) devouring other dead witches or their dead victims, from children (divided between *akelarre* parishes) to relatives; conflation with the folklore of vampiric night-visiting, possibly of the *"Wild Hunt"* collective type, or of devils and ogres; *akelarre*-sex (communal, incestual, orgiastic, devilish) more prominent in French than in the Spanish records (the latter indicating more private gatherings, conjointly consumed), as emphasised in historical documents (high rates of premarital sex in response to challenging matrimonial conventions), to be considered in relation with locally circulating heretical templates (so powerful on impressionable personalities of tender age, as must have been Valle and Becerra during their formation stages; de Lancre's own sensitivity covers subchapter *Basque Permissiveness* and does touch on the religious mystique of troubadours in medieval Southern France), as well as with late-survivals of Moorish influence (quoting Henningsen, Wilby reminds readers of the potential transmission within Basque utopian matrices, of Islamic paradisiacal erotic-prominent imagery); ceremonialism in a cult for the Devil whose participants initiated through the *"demonic pact"* and whose worship mocked (*"aped"*) the Catholic mass, with the supplementary touch of a magical usage of the renunciation to the saintly Catholic devotions.

The following sections in the book address, broadly speaking, the carnivalesque performances which all over Europe pertain to the figure of the Devil as beholder of the intentional benefits of the *akelarre*-pact, as it is termed in the Basque country. Chapters Seven-



teen, *Theophilus and the Stage*, Eighteen, *The First Altar of Hell*, and Nineteen, *Mass and Misrule*, particularly important to an ethnologist such as myself, tackle the dramatic performances ranging from masquerading traditions, religious plays/*autos sacramentales*, reenactments of historical battles (on Spanish ground, in the form of conflicts between Christians and Moors). They involved choreographed processions, with central stage pointing at “*theatrical devils*,” with particular attention given to the Devil making bargains or pacts with the humans, testing saints, sorcerers, ordinary people, and then gaining enforcing covenants. No doubt, demonstrates Wilby, the three-dimensional impersonations of the pact-making devils have contributed to the creation of fictions, dreams and false memories of the demonological event tried in the witch-craze. Moreover, the scientific quest to decipher the momentous role held by sabbath-mass in Basque trials leads the author to emphasize the exceptionality of the mere presence of descriptions of an *alternative liturgy*, vivid, detailed and more numerous than in any other record, clustered together herein (Spanish cluster), possibly for reasons of spiritual threats posed by the New World, which was believed to worship no other than the Devil, in mimetically inverted counter-churches. Among the vernacular elements, the usage of (parts of) the mass by magical practitioners, of words from the mass to divert the clouds and the storms by weather conjurers, or of prayers that narrated sacred liturgical events like the Last Supper, by battlefield healers, must all have contributed to the interrogatorial impetus to conflate all unorthodox liturgy with the *akelarre*-mass. Consistent space is given to *Inversions: comic, theatrical, liturgical, farcical* in all the ways, peppered with misrule, rags and oblique language, as every carnival is calling to our anthropologist minds. And likewise, it is a powerful insight that the supposed presence of carnivalesque complex specific behaviour is responsible for the detailed parodies of the Catholic mass as found in the records, instead of general, colourless, supposed descriptions of alternative liturgies.

Chapter Twenty, *The Malevolent Mass*, is tackling Basque popular religiosity, in order to address what were, for the interrogators, feats celebratory of the evil, yet, for the humble people, nothing short of fundamentally benign: observation which only a modern historian could foster. Catholicism (throughout a range of ritual methods, such as: processions, pilgrimages, exorcisms and sacraments) provided people with many a mean against threats; yet, people would still resort to Christian uttered curses (harsher when routed via God, than via fairies, devils or witches), to liturgical cursing (the powerful cursing mass), and Basque cursing, to magically readjust the existing order of things.

Folklore is actively considered diachronically again in Chapter Twenty One, *De Lancre's Imagination*, with the important note that every topical incidence is not confined to the Basque territory, but rather, ubiquitous in early modern Europe at the very least (misrule traditions – boy bishops; masquerades; conjuring traditions – weather, liturgy, magic practices; mortuary matrices – the *Camino de Santiago* crossing the Milky Way as road of souls; Church-based theatricals – cohabiting with Basque paganism). Yet, the level of “*societal legitimacy*” these popular expressions of belief and religiosity enjoyed, stems from a number of prototypical instances permeated from within into the Basque land, as late as the tenth century, when Christianization begins to press through the massive language barrier. Longstanding priesthood elective resources being based primarily on locals, it was but normal that Basque clerics were being lenient on many aspects: cohabitation with parishioners (recognizing children from these unions), susceptibility to necessities of pastoral working lives, thralldom to their elder kinsmen, usage of conjurations (fern seeds, pest and weather exorcisms) for the benefit of municipal and individual clients. And since the core elements of the *akelarre*-mass only emerged in Spain in September 1609, Wilby offers a detailed trajectory for the incursion of a trailblaze sparked by De Lancre, with his education and his religious convictions, two months earlier, in his Labourd investigation.





The last Chapter in the book, Twenty Two, *The Cultic Template*, faces the evidence of the unity of the integrated themes identified in the witch records, so that individually examined elements – crop-and body-maleficium, poison-making and toad familiars to *akelarre* festivities, sexual orgies, feast cannibalism, initiations and alternative liturgical ritual – do converge in the construct of a witchcraft sect and cult. In these respects, a thorough demonstration is following and scrutinizing the Basque witch cult as emerged in between 1609-1614, considered the “gold standard” of the European witch-cult to be: religious confraternities and the witch-cult, the hierarchy, initiation, confession and secrecy, the liturgical ritual, the black-themed masses and the mortuary rituals, exhumations, money and alms-giving, ritual and practical aid, festivities, the occupational confraternities, the accent on the dialectic healing – harming, the Basque-specific confraternal templates.

An *Epilogue* is reknitting the red thread of the entire inroad into the Basque witch-craze the book has provided, a thread recovering the voices of the accused, hidden or muted beyond templates and stereotypes, yet brought back to life, with particular attention paid to social bonds, intense collective merriments, valuable times of respite from tough labour and living, of the gender demographic of women primarily, ignored or distorted by other oblivious historian gazes. Illuminating peasant lives and shedding light on the religious mentalities that underpinned them (in Emma Wilby’s own terms), is conducive to most humane lines of thought and feeling towards those Basque peasants, who, undoubting God and the supernatural, had to find comfort in times of tragedy, of loss, of help in need (from priests, learned magicians and cunning folks). Therefore, the witch narratives remain undoubtedly “an expression of the depth with which the Basque people were committed to the comforts of a community-based Christianity that, since its late entrenchment in the tenth and eleventh centuries, they had wholeheartedly made their own” (closing paragraph of *Epilogue*).

Readers of Emma Wilby’s book find themselves challenged in their own perspectives over

witchcraft, over long European temporalities attesting popular religiosities and folklore elements, and more importantly, on the methodologies one ought to employ to delve deep into multiple mediations any document entails. Lessons on what can be apprehended about a writer’s process of committing to the paper some aspects at the same time with silencing other, which we might be in right to suppose, extend far beyond early modern Basque witch-craze analysis. As for the latter, the 21st century East-European ethnologist, who could identify in most surprising strata unspoken similarities to their own field-material, extant thus far in history, remains gratefully committed to understanding ever more from subdued voices.

NOTES

1. Interview with Gustav Henningsen, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uAZY11PtPbA&t=1s> (accessed on 26 September, 2023; heartfelt thanks to Bogdan Neagota for signaling this important interview with Gustav Henningsen).
2. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alonso_de_Salazar_y_Fr%C3%ADas (accessed on 27 September, 2023).
3. Gustav Henningsen. 1980. *The Witches’ Advocate, Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609–1614)*. Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada.
4. Emma Wilby 2019. “Introduction.” In *Invoking the Akelarre: Voices of the Accused in the Basque Witch-Craze, 1609–1614*, Emma Wilby, 1–5. Brighton, Chicago, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press.
5. *Basque Origins. DNA, language, and history*, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Un1QtE5swEU> (accessed on 29th of September, 2023).
6. Emma Wilby also depicts in this chapter the centuries-old feminine enforced predominance in the Basque lands, due to men’s absence for fishing and herding/ transhumance, or mercenary fates on sea and on land, with many losses along (including the New World); this widow-solitary status of medieval and modern centuries may have enhanced a prior archaic matriarchal situation, which may be responsible for the presence of local folklore figures “Mari” and adjoining feminine spirit communities.
7. The Edict of Grace was followed by the “Edict of Silence,” whereby details of interrogations in trials were prohibited to discuss, to protect identities and to quiet down the preaching of incendiary sermons (Emma Wilby, *Ibidem*).
8. For the meanings and amplex of *akelarre* see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akelarre> (accessed on 20th October, 2023). Henningsen indicates the term could mean “meadow with alka flowers”, see target book, Chapter 13/note 4.
9. This dialectic: folk spirits – human counterparts, has been duly discussed in Ileana Benga. 2013. “Tales we tell are tales we dwell. The tale between belief-tale and fairytale.” *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor / Journal of Ethnography and Folklore*, New Series, 1–2, Bucharest: Romanian Academy Publishing House, 89–100.