

# MIN KÅRE SON ...

## Direct or Indirect Folk Belief Data Behind Medieval First Commandment Catechism Stories<sup>1</sup>

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The grand master of living Finnish scholars of both folklore and religion Uno Harva,<sup>2</sup> referring to Ljungberg's book<sup>3 4</sup> after having quoted some sentences from the famous 1551 psalter foreword by Mikael Agricola, mentions that heathen traditions in Catholic times in Scandinavia have been preserved in various documents. In a Swedish manuscript from the end of the 14th century, "Själinna Thröst", kept in the Royal Library in Stockholm the following words can be read:

*"Wilt thu dhet första budhordit wel halda tha skalt thu ey thro vppa tompta gudha alia oppa wättir, ey oppa nek, ällir forsa karia, ey oppa skratta ellir tompt orma. Thu skalt ey thro oppa maro ellir elfwa, oc oppa enga handa spook ellir willo."*

(Harva's Finnish translation, which is itself worthy of attention because of the terms borrowed from Finnish folk beliefs, runs as follows. "Jos sinä tahdot ensimmäisen käskysanan hyvin pitää, niin sinun ei pidä uskoa kartanon jumaliin tai maahiisiin, ei näkkiin tai koskenhaltijoihin, ei kratteihin tai karta- nokäärmeisiin. Sinun ei pidä uskoa moraan tai keijukaisiin eikä minkäänlaiseen kummitukseen tai harhaan."<sup>5 6</sup> For experts of early Finnish folk religion sources the list of various folk belief figures is of the utmost importance. This is the reason why Honko

<sup>1</sup> We owe special thanks to Szabina Cziria for her technical assistance in the production of the essay. (Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> Uno Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, Porvoo – Helsinki, 1948, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Helge Ljungberg, *Den nordiska religionen och kristendomen*, Uppsala, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> The book also appeared in a German version (Helge Ljungberg, *Die nordische Religion und das Christentum*, Gütersloh, 1940.), which remained practically unknown in Scandinavia, and for our topic it does not give further data.

<sup>5</sup> Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Because I shall later quote the critical edition of this text, I do not here give any correction of Harva's Swedish text (which was borrowed not from the original, but from Ljungberg's book), nor to his Finnish translation, which might be rendered at some points also in other ways.

quotes it again in his very condensed history of Finnish list of gods by Agricola.<sup>7</sup> In his opinion Agricola

*“Als solches hatte es Vorbilder: wir weisen nur auf das Vorwort zur 1547 veröffentlichten Übersetzung des Katechismus von dem Litauer Martinus Mosvidius und den aus dem Ende des 14. Jahrhs. erhaltenen schwedischen Text ‚Själinna Thröst‘ (Trost der Seele) hin, wo beidemale mythische Wesen und Gottheiten aufgezählt werden und das Volk gewarnt wird, an sie zu glauben.”*

Although the idea that *Själinna Thröst* (hereafter ST) might serve as a pattern (*Vorbild*) to Agricola is not quite the same as the view expressed by Harva, it is not far from the position of Haavio<sup>8</sup> who denies the influence of some unknown scholarly or poetic systematization upon Agricola's list. Even Haavio does not deny this influence in principle, but only as far as the Olympic character of Karelian “gods” is concerned.

As far as I can see, although in this way ST occurs among the oldest sources of Finnish folk religion, none of the Finnish scholars have studied it separately.<sup>9</sup> The short encyclopedic article, probably the latest concise treatment of the subject offered by Ronge<sup>10</sup> from a Scandinavian point of view, not referring to possible Finnish contacts, can be summarized in the following way. The lengthy medieval Swedish work ST is known in its Stockholm manuscript (*Cod. Holm. A 108*), and was probably written down in the Vadstena monastery between ca. 1438 and ca. 1442 as a copy of a somewhat earlier text (most likely from about 1420 also in Vadstena), which has been lost. Its origin was a Low German work (*Der Grosse Seelentrost*) from the mid-14th century. There are various other manuscripts in Sweden which have more or less common themes or stylistic features. More interesting is the fact that there are two more fragmentary Danish texts *Siälla trdst* in *Cod. Ups. C 529* and *Cod. Holm. A 109* from about 1425, probably independent copies of the lost original of *Cod. Holm. A 108*. Since both in textual editions and philological works about the texts there are important findings which have not been analysed

<sup>7</sup> Lauri Honko, *Finnische Mythologie*, in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, Bd. 11, Stuttgart, Hrsg. von H.W. Haussig, 1963, 297.

<sup>8</sup> Martti Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat, Uskontotieteellinen tutkimus*, Porvoo–Helsinki, 1959, 7.

<sup>9</sup> At least I was not able to find any reference to the Swedish text in Krohn's two pertinent summarizing works (Kaarle Krohn, *Skandinavisk mytologi*, Helsingfors, 1922 and Kaarle Krohn, *Zur finnischen Mythologie*, I., FFC 104, Helsinki, 1932.). I also tried to compare this list of folk belief figures with the often mentioned early medieval German *Indiculus superstitionum*, a topic which deserves further study. For the first seminal edition see the publication very difficult to get (H. A. Saupe, *Der indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum*, [Program des städtischen Realgymnasiums], Leipzig, 1891.).

<sup>10</sup> Hans H. Ronge, *Siälinna thröst*, in *KHLNM*, 15. columns, 1970, 307–310.

by scholars of Finnish (and Swedish) religion in the Middle Ages, I shall try to give a historical survey of results achieved hitherto as regards the origin, distribution and interpretation of the above mentioned “list” of folk belief figures.<sup>11</sup>

As we know from the preface by G. E. Klemming<sup>12</sup> to the first philological edition of the Swedish text, it was A. A. von Stiernman, who in his lecture *Tal om de lärda vetenskapens tillstånd* in 1758 first mentioned the existence of what he supposed to be a translation from Latin into Swedish of the educative work *Själinna Tröst*. Klemming has pointed out that many of Stiernman’s attributions as to the scribe and the origin were not particularly accurate, and working primarily from German philological literature such as the work of Geffcken (to whom we shall return later), he has justly shown that the source of the Swedish text might well be a Low German (Low Saxonian) work from the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century, also existing in a copy written by Johann Everzen in 1407. As to the compiler of the German work of exempla and suchlike, J. G. Grässe already referred to a certain Johann Moirs Sultz, who lived in Cologne in 1445. According to Klemming a Dutch translation (first from 1478, then also in other versions) was made from the German text, as well as a Swedish one, the latter being the source of the Danish text from the very end of the 15th or the very beginning of the 16th century. The critical edition contains two (and not, as Harva said, one) exempla concerning the first commandment: one is “den unge mannen som försvor sig till djefvulen”<sup>13</sup> and the other is “S. Germanus och tomtare.”<sup>14</sup>

There is also a second critical edition of the Swedish ST text by Henning, who accepts Klemming’s dating of the work at around 1430, but uses the arguments raised by Thorén<sup>15</sup> to say that the lost original text of the Swedish manuscript was

<sup>11</sup> Here I am not going to deal with problems examined in my other paper (Vilmos Voigt, On Baltic and Balto-Finnic Lists of Gods, in *Festschrift in Honor of Velta Ruke-Dravipa*, Stockholm, 1986.), concerning the lists of gods by Agricola and by (recte) Martin(us) Mosvidius. I was able to collect most of my data during my visits to Sweden (1984), Finland (1985) and the Federal Republic of Germany (1985). I owe thanks to many libraries and colleagues there for their generous help. I would wish, however, to make special mention of Professor Tryggve Sköld (Umed), Professor Lutz Röhrich (Freiburg i. Br.) and Lassi Saressalo (Turku) for their kindness in providing me with good advice and xerox copies. As usual, I was able to use the facilities at the Finnish Literary Society in Helsinki, too. I thank all of my colleagues and friends there.

<sup>12</sup> G. E. Klemming, *Själens tröst: Tio Guds bud förklarade genom legender, berättelser och exempel*, Efter en gannal bandskrift utgifven av (Samlingar av Svenska Fernskrift-Sällskapet 57–60.), Stockholm, 1871–1873, iii–viii.

<sup>13</sup> Klemming, *Själens tröst*, 26–30.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>15</sup> Ivar Thorén, *Studier över Själens tröst*, Stockholm – Köpenhamn, 1942.

a direct translation from the Low German *De seelen trost*.<sup>16</sup> As for the Hanseatic transmission, or the spread of the ST among brotherhood communities, the scholars do not agree.

Here is neither space nor reason to list all the remarks and achievements of Swedish philology concerning this text. Ljungberg in his book (which was evidently known to Harva, thus providing the ultimate source for the Finnish scholars) quotes both of the ST texts of importance to us, connecting the whole text with “medieval religion and identifying its roots in German religion and magic.”<sup>17</sup> He also refers to the well-known compilation of Boudriot (1923) in which the author tried to collect data concerning Old German religion in church literature of Western Europe between the 5th and 11th centuries. Based upon the critical source remarks by Klemming, which index the Low Saxonian, High German and Dutch parallels to the Swedish text, Ljungberg expresses the opinion that the Swedish translator was not “slavishly following the German sources, but rather adjusting the text to the Swedish circumstances.”<sup>18</sup> This remark might inspire both Harva and Honko to think that there could be a direct reference to North European folk religion in the Swedish text.

Thorén in his thorough monograph of the Vadstena text of ST confirms the years 1438–1440–1442 as the time of the existing *Cod. Holm. A 108* text, which according to him is not a translation itself, but a copy of a translation.<sup>19</sup> In his careful analysis of the text *Den unge mannen som försvor sig till djävulen* he supposes that parts of the story remain in contact with the texts of the *Fornsvenska legendariet*, and both of them go back to some Latin work.<sup>20</sup> We must add, however, that the two lists of folk belief figures were not listed among the correspondence, and in this way Thorén did not in fact say anything about the topic which concerns us here.

Thorén already suggested that the ST text (together with the Swedish *Barlaamsaga*) could be related to the territory of later Finland. Henning, returning to the problems of the author, scribe and translation of the ST sums up his views in the following way: “Thorén söker leda i bevis, att den fornsvenska Barlaamsagan och Själens Trösts original flutit ur samma penna och att översättaren av b8da verken är en Vadstenamunk, Olaus Gunnari, som sedan blev biskop i Väster8s. Denne var en av de klosterbröder, som fr8n Vadstena den 16 maj 8r 1442 sändes till det nygrundade dotterklostret i N8- dendal, varvid som g8va medfördes inte blott den

<sup>16</sup> Sam. Henning, *Sie linna thrtfst: Forste delin aff the bokinne so m kallas sixlinna thröst*, Efter cod. Holm. A 108 (f.d. cod Ängsö), Kritisk upplaga, Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet 209, Uppsala, 1954, ix.

<sup>17</sup> Ljungberg, *Den nordiska religionen*, 287.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

<sup>19</sup> Thorén, *Studier över Själens tröst*, 7–9, 187.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 56

svenska Barlaamsagan utan - även Själens tröst.”<sup>21</sup> If this is true, we find another list of probably local pagan belief figures 109 years prior to Agricola’s list of gods in Nödendal (today’s Naantali), South-western Finland. According to Henning’s linguistic and philological remarks the connections between Vadstena and present-day Finland seem to be even more striking. The Swedish ST is without a doubt a product of the famous Vadstena monastery, and has close connections with *Arboga lagbok*, and with the Swedish *Barlaamsaga* too. Orthographic peculiarities like *her* (for *här*) bear a relation to the district of Åland/Ahvenanmaa, *endast* to South-west Finland, or more exactly to Åbo/Turku and to Nödendal/Naantali e.g. as for *elgna* (for *egna*) and to Tavastland/Häme, or again, more precisely, to Kangasala (as for *eidh* for *ett*).<sup>22</sup> According to Henning the Swedish translation of Rimbert’s *Vita Anskarii*, together with the St. Barlaams “saga,” were sent to Nödendal in 1442 (and both works were written by a monk in Vadstena, Johannes Hildebrandi). At the same time other manuscripts were also sent to Nödendal: among others the copy *A 108* of the ST, which was put down on paper by another Swedish monk from Finland between 1438 and 1442 “utgjorde en utlovad fortsättning p8 Själens törst, ville man troligen dessutom som g8va till Nödendalsklostret överlämna en avskrift av själva huvudarbetet. Denna avskrift, *A 108*, verkställdes antagligen i Vadstena av en skrivare, som sannolikt var av finlandssvenskt härkomst, under tiden c:a 1438–1442...”<sup>23</sup> The Finnish-Swedish connections were also mentioned by Ronge,<sup>24</sup> but without much further specification, which probably explains why it has escaped the Finnish scholars’ attention.

As for the Danish texts, which by some scholars were sometimes closely related to the Swedish ones, even supposing that they were translated not from some German or Latin, but from the Swedish variant, the current view is that the fragments known from two manuscripts (*Cod. Ups. C 529* and *Cod. Holm. A 109*) might have originated from Sk8ne in about 1425. The Danish fragments are translations less influenced by the Latin, and most probably not later copies, but closer to the original.<sup>25</sup> Its critical edition appeared so slowly that no Finnish scholar paid any attention to it at all. It is a pity that the part of the Danish text of *Cod. Ups. C 529* of importance to us is so fragmentary that the critical edition gives the Swedish text as a parallel in order to render the scattered Danish words or letters more intelligible.<sup>26</sup> For the other Danish text I was not able to find any direct parallels.

<sup>21</sup> S. Henning, *Skrivarformer och vadstenaspråk i Sjaelinna thrdst*, Uppsala, 1960, 6.

<sup>22</sup> For further literature see *ibid.*, 161–162.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>24</sup> Ronge, *Sjaelinna thrøst*, 307–310.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 307–310.

<sup>26</sup> Nils Nielsen, *Sjaelens trost* (“*Siae-la trøst*”), I-II. København, 1937–1952, 24.

Thus those Danish variants which are older than the existing Swedish manuscript, do not offer us much help in understanding the topics which we wish to deal with.

German variants considered to be the source for the Scandinavian ones enjoy a very rich philological research tradition of their own which is far from finished or complete. Just to refer to the most important summaries, we can start with the book on Decalogue by Geffcken, who more than a century ago already listed four (and later two or three more) manuscripts (the oldest are from about 1407) and ten printed editions (followed later by one more printed variant) between 1478 and about 1523 in various German libraries or archives,<sup>27</sup> suggesting that even more copies of such a widespread work might well have existed. Another classic study of the topic was that of Reidemeister, who after reviewing previous works gave a synoptic survey of 39 manuscripts (among them a Swedish and a Danish text) mostly from the 15th century, but in some cases probably even from an earlier period as well. He was able to list 23 printed versions (from 1474 to 1759, all German or Dutch). He also provides a detailed table of contents to the texts, and the parts “Ein Jungling verschreibt sich dem Teufel” and “Bischof Germanus vertreibt Teufelsspuk” occur in most of the texts.<sup>28</sup> In general he accepts Cologne and the end of the 14th century as the place and the date of the original German version, which might have been completed by a Dominican friar, but he does not say much in particular about the direct origin of our topic.

After World War II, when Margarete Schmitt published with painstaking care the critical edition of the German *Der grosse Seelentrost*, she was able to use 27 manuscripts (she did not include the single Swedish and the two Danish texts), and 13 printed versions. The others, mentioned by earlier scholars, were either lost during the wars or she was unable to find them again. On the other hand she could include some new material, both to the manuscripts and to the prints. In general she agrees with Reidemeister that the German *Grosse Seelentrost* originates from the second half of the 14th century, from Low German, the western central part of that area, and was written by a learned priest, whose name has remained unknown.<sup>29</sup> She submitted subtitles to the separable thematic parts of the text.

Surprisingly the sentences of importance to us are to be found in three chapters. At the very end of chapter 6, “Ein Jungling, der sich dem Teufel verschrieb,” there are the following sentences:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> J. Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Oahrhunderts*, I., *Die Zehn Gebote*, Leipzig, 1855, 47–49, additions: 110–111.

<sup>28</sup> G. Reidemeister, *Die Überlieferung des Seelentrostes*, 1., Halle a.S., 1915, esp., 10, 39, 44–45, the last is I, 8, 9, in „Inhalts’ Tabelle III.

<sup>29</sup> Margarete Schmitt, *Der Grosse Seelentrost: Ein niederdeutsches Erbauungsbuch des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Niederdeutsche Studien - Band 5, Köln – Graz, 1959, 118\*, 136\* etc.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 16, lines 34–36 and 17, lines 1–2.

“Kynt leue, wultu godes bot holden, so ne schaltu nicht gelouen an de guden holden vnde an de beteren, noch an de elue, noch an de guden wichtecken, noch an neynerleye spoknisse, wente dat ys allet des vyendes droch, da he de lude mede bedruget, de kranken louen hebben. Suwe gantzen gelouen heuet, deme nemach dat droch nicht schaden.”

Then follows a short exemplum about bishop Germanus, which is of no interest to us here. Then again the whole subchapter 8, “Über den Schicksals-glauben”<sup>31</sup> belongs to our topic. One might comment that textual variations are not very great here, and do not specify the belief figures. Reidemeister<sup>32</sup> already called the attention to this part of the text, which occurs in practically all of the important variants.

Later studies have dealt with more variants (mostly fragments), or with the possible sources of the exempla.<sup>33 34 35 36</sup> These are of no direct relevance to our topic, but it has been supposed that the 14th-century Dominican version may have been preceded by a somewhat earlier Franciscan text, directed towards the religious education of boys. After more than twenty years of silence Andersson-Schmitt has recently published her first sample of the sources of the exempla in *Grosse Seelentrost*. Concerning chapter 6 (“Ein Jungling..”) she admits a close connection with *Legenda Aurea*, and probably also with the *Speculum historiale* by Vincentius Bellovacensis, and concerning chapter 7 (“Bischof Germanus”) probably also the *Legenda Aurea*.<sup>37</sup> These connections, however, belong to the exempla, and do not affect our list of belief figures. The same could be said about the exemplum index by Tubach,<sup>38</sup> in which stories rather than belief motives have been registered.<sup>39</sup>

If we try to sum up the results of philological studies upon *Seelentrost* (“conso-

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 17–18.

<sup>32</sup> Reidemeister, *Die Überlieferung des Seelentrostes*, 44–45, part 10 „Warnung vor Zauberei und Aber-glauben” in Tabelle III.

<sup>33</sup> Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Über die Verwandtschaft der Alexander-sagen im Seelentrost und in der ersten niederländischen Historienbibel, in *Beiträge zur niederdeutschen Philologie, Niederdeutsche Studien*, Köln – Graz, 1960, 78–104.

<sup>34</sup> Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Ein Seelentrost-Fragment der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala, in *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 86, 1963, 75–81.

<sup>35</sup> Michael Murjanoff, Zur Überlieferung des Seelentrostes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 86, Halle, 1964, 184–224.

<sup>36</sup> Lotte Kurras, Der grosse Seelentrost, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur*, 104 (1975), 247–250.

<sup>37</sup> Margarete Andersson-Schmitt, Mitteilungen zu den Quellen des Grossen Seelentrostes in *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 105, 1982, 22.

<sup>38</sup> Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum*, FFC 204, Helsinki, 1969.

<sup>39</sup> See e.g. the various references under the catchwords “devil” and “soul,” and more precisely “pact with devil I–VII,” Nos. 3566–3572 (Tubach, *Index*, 276–277.) etc.

latio animi”) material, the following picture appears. German works, at least in 30 variants, and later in numerous prints, were very widespread and well-accepted in the area from Cologne to Danzig, and from the Low Countries to Prussia. Their primary redaction might have already existed in the second half of the 14th century. More than 230 stories (mostly exempla or suchlike) have been incorporated into it, and were collected from various ecclesiastic works, world histories, biblical or apocryphal legends, etc., and were arranged according to the Ten Commandments of God. It is the scope of the so-called “great” *Seelentrost*, which in many cases was followed by a “little” *Seelentrost*, containing material about the seven sacraments, prayers, confessional texts etc. In both cases the addressee is usually a young person, who is often addressed by his teacher or priest as “dear son.” The extremely popular educative work arrived in Scandinavia in all probability at the beginning of the 15th century, and was popular in Vadstena, where a Swedish translation was made. At least a copy of the translation in 1442 was sent to the Nådendal monastery, together with other writings popular at the time. Even the orthography of some Swedish texts shows close contact with the Finnish territories of the Swedish kingdom. The 332-page-long Swedish text contains several hundreds of stories and motives, most of which can be traced directly back to Low German sources. In many cases philologists none the less think that the Swedish friar who compiled the text was using other, generally known works too.

The list of belief figures, whom one is not allowed to serve because of its placing under commandment one, chapter 6 (“Ein Jungling..”) comes directly from the German original. After chapter 7 (“Bischof Germanicus”) there is a Swedish variant of the two chapters 8 and 9 (“Über den Aberglauben” and “Über den Schicksalsglauben”) similarly borrowed from the German work. This second list (in fact consisting of two lists) is more exhaustive and more clerical than the first one (at the end of chapter 6). As a matter of course, any translation of a list of (folk) belief figures might pose a serious problem for the translator as to which terms could express the same meaning in a different language. Supposing that the German ST text is also a translation (of course from Latin), the belief figures listed there ultimately represent a kind of “interpretatio Germanica,” whereas the Swedish counterparts may be referred to as “interpretatio Suecica.” If we want to lc folk belief data in the list, there may be no less than five different bilities.

(a) **As Boudriot**<sup>40</sup> and others have already clearly shown, in German medieval church literature there are traces of Old German pagan traditions end terms. This factor may not be excluded even as regards the German *Seelentrost* works.

<sup>40</sup> W. Boudriot, *Die altgermanische Religion in der amtlichen kirchlichen Literatur des Abendlandes von 5. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, Bonn, 1928.



(b) Popular folk beliefs as reflected in the Latin texts probably used in compiling the German *Seelentrost*.

(c) German folk or popular belief figures contemporary to the German text's compilation.

(d) General Swedish, or more precisely Vadstena Swedish folk beliefs behind the terms of the Swedish *Själens tröst*.

(e) Because of its affiliation with Nådendal, Tavastland, Åbo, etc., one might speculate as to a direct or indirect influence upon the Swedish text from the Swedish-speaking areas in Finland. If we can identify such characteristics, the possibility of its reflecting non-Swedish (i.e. Finnish) folk beliefs should not be permanently ruled out.

It would require a thorough analysis to decide whether German, Swedish, Finland-Swedish or even Finnish elements can be found in the list of belief figures of the Swedish ST. As far as I know, no attempt has been made to study the problem. Despite its fragmentary character, the Danish *Sjzzlens tröst* offers one or two words<sup>41</sup> which state a close connection with the Swedish terms, but on the other hand do not exclude the possibility of using non-Swedish but Danish belief terms in the respective sentences.

If we cannot solve this problem by means of a direct philological analysis, there is also a more complicated way, namely to look at decalogue and catechism history in Sweden during the 15th century, and thus to weigh the possibilities of pagan or folk belief references in a Swedish work of 1442.

Both decalogue and catechism history are special fields of research, with an enormous literature, great achievement along with certain dark spots from a comparative point of view. Thus I shall not enter into the general history of the subject.<sup>42</sup> In a short summary, anticipating a close investigation, I tend to be of the

<sup>41</sup> See "selfver" (Nielsen, *Sjaelens trost*, 24, line 6) and "swikir fol..." (line 7), with Swedish counterparts. For the first good orientation on the Danish version see Johs. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Om fragmenterne af den gammeldanske Siæla Trøst, Acta Philologica Scandinavica* 9 (1934–1935), 187–192.

<sup>42</sup> See, however, some of the most often quoted classical works as e.g. Gerhard von Zezschwitz, *System der christlich-kirchlichen Katechetik*, Bd., 1, *Der Katechumenat*, Bd., 2, *Der Katechismus und der Katechese*, Leipzig, 1863–1869.; Peter Gobi, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfall des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, Kempten, 1880.; M. Hezard, *Histoire du catéchisme*, Paris, 1900.; E. Chr. Achelis, *Lehrbuch der praktischen Theologie*, (3. Aufl.), Leipzig, 1911 with rich excerpts from medieval source material. Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus*, 1855 was already quoted in this paper. Some of the new summarizing works give new aspects too: Leopold Lentner, *Katechetik und Religionsunterricht in Österreich*, Bd., 2, Innsbruck, 1959 (with rich material concerning the shift between medieval /Roman Catholic/ and Reformed /Protestant/ religious teaching in Austria), Ernst Christian Helmreich, *Religionsunterricht in Deutschland*, Hamburg – Düsseldorf, 1996 (about Germany), A.

opinion that the popularity and shaping of the text of the ST is due to its catechesis character, typical of both pre-reformation and Lutheran educative literature. Addressing the reader with the words (my) “dear son...” is a clear reflex of this.

Having assumed this much, contacts with Scandinavian (or even with Finnish) folk beliefs should not be overlooked. Catechistic questions have very often been asked heightening the significance of the questions themselves in the same way as certain factors in the spreading of witchcraft in Europe were also the results of some questions asked at the trials. Thus, in a roundabout way, the Vadstena/Nådendal text is in fact a source for – and not of – Swedish (and to some extent also for Finnish) folk beliefs. If it is not the oldest source material of Swedish supernatural beings, rather a part of a manual against them, which in culture history (in a very typical way) has contributed to their popularity. This very European, one might say “slavish,” translation does not I think reflect the pagan religion’s late survival in the North, but mirrors the uninterrupted medieval and reformed tradition which questions and teases folk beliefs there.

As is well-known, even the first known forms of the Decalogue (viz. the Elohist variant in Exod. 20:1–17, and the Deuteronomist variant in Deut. 5:6–18) are not the same word for word. Jewish and especially the (Jerusalem) Talmudic tradition have added new forms and various new explanations. It was Saint Augustine (who died in 430 A.D.) who placed the Ten Commandments at the very centre of Latin church ideology stressing the accepted division between the first three (relating to God) and the seven later ones (relating to other people). His list differs from the Talmudic one, and also from the list by Philo (who died in about 40 A.D.). In Jewish tradition the first law was about the special position of Jehovah, and the second was about his adoration as the only God, prohibiting the cult of idols. (The third law was about the defence of his name.) Philo of Alexandria, representing the Judeo-Christian view, accepts the adoration of the only god as the first commandment, the second is in his list being the interdiction of the cult of idols. Cults, and beliefs as related to other supernatural beings thus could be a topic of narrative relating to the first and the second explicit commandments. On the other hand, Augustine subsumes all the related elements into the first commandment (the second according to him being the prohibition of mentioning God’s name in vain). All stories about “heathen” or “pagan” gods and beliefs fall into the explanation of the first commandment.<sup>43</sup> Between Philo and Augustine different views occur as regards

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Läpple, *Kleine Geschichte der Katechese*, München, 1981.; Wolfgang Nastainczyk, *Katechese: Grundfragen und Grundformen*, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich, 1983, etc. all with further literature. See also the works mentioned in notes 51 and 53. About Decalogue problems see the works mentioned in note 43.

<sup>43</sup> There is no wonder that the literature about the Decalogue is very rich. Sigmund Mowinckel, *Le Décalogue*, Paris, 1927.; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog: Seine späten Fassungen, die ori-*

the list, the words and the meanings of the commandments. We cannot say that learning of them was considered a prerogative of the catechumens or of the believers. Still the church fathers speculated much about the exact order and number of the commandments. Origen (184–254 A.D.) e.g. tries to combine what he also saw as the two separate first laws *non erunt tibi alii dii praeter me* and *non facies tibi idolum neque uilam similitudinem*, otherwise number ten of the Decalogue would collapse: *Haec omnia simul nonnulli putant esse unum mandatum. Quod si ita putetur, non completitur decem numerus mandatorum. Et ubi jam erit decalogi veritas?* (in *Exodum homilia VIII*, No. 2 = *Patrologia Graeca* tom. XII, col. 351.) Because of the varying character of the tradition, Augustine wanted to fix a clear and valid system of the decalogue, also relating to the catechism of the Christians. (See in details data already collected by Rentschka.) His list was accepted by, among others, Pseudo-Jerome, Isidore of Seville, Alcuin, Hugo de Saint-Victor, Petrus

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*ginale Komposition und seine Vorstufen*, Freiburg i. Br. – Göttingen, 1982.; or Frank Crusemann, *Bewahrung der Freiheit: Das Thema des Dekalogs in sozialgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, München, 1983 represent the main different lines in interpreting the origin and development of the Ten Commandment texts, and it is generally accepted that the best summary is E. Dublanchy, Decalogue, in A. Vacant – E. Mangenot – E. Amman (ed.), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IV, Paris, 1939, 161–176, from a theological point of view. Geffcken – not only in his quoted book (Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus*, 1855.), but also in his earlier treatise (Johannes Geffcken, *Über die verschiedene Einteilung des Decalogus und den Einfluss derselben auf den Cultus*, Leipzig, 1838.) – deals with the system and the order of the commandments. Other classical studies present different views, as Johann Mayer, *Geschichte des Catechumenats und der Catechese in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten*, Kempten, 1868.; F. L. Steinmeyer, *Der Dekalog als catechetischer Lehrstoff*, Berlin, 1875.; L. Lemme, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Dekalogs*, Breslau, 1880.; Paul Rentschka, *Die Dekalogkatechese des heiligen Augustinus*, Kempten, 1905. (as a dissertation completed in 1904), R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, London, 1923.; J. J. Stamm, *Der Dekalog im Licht der neueren Forschung*, (2nd ed.), Bern – Stuttgart, 1962.; E. Nielsen, *The Ten Commandments*, London, 1968. (originally a Danish book: E. Nielsen, *De ti Bud*, København, 1965.), G. Bourgeault, *Decalogue et morale chrétienne: Enquete patristique sur l'utilisation et l'interprétation chrétienne du decalogue de ca. 60 à ca. 220*, Paris, 1971, etc. A good summarizing work is Bo. Reicke, *Die Zehn Worte in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Zählung und Bedeutung der Gebote in den verschiedenen Konfessionen*, Tübingen, 1973. For late medieval German material see above all Egino Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen catechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters, (Nach den Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek.)*, München, 1965. It is very important that there are good summaries on Swedish catechisms (Bengt Ingmar Kilström, *Den kateketiska undervisningen i Sverige under Medeltiden*, Uppsala, 1958.), resp. on confirmation (Carl-Gustaf Andrén, *Konfirmationen i Sverige under medeltid och reformations tid*, Lund, 1957.), with direct references to our topics. Dieter Harmening, Dekalog, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, 1980, *Op. cit.*, Bd. 3, Lief. 2–3, 377–379. gave a good summary (also from a folkloristic point of view) on the German Decalogues von Nikolaus de Lira (died in 1340 A.D.) to Johann Schott, *Spiegel christlicher Walfart*, 1509, including 25 different works. On particular medieval and German problems see also the works mentioned in note 46.

Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas, Saint Bonaventura, Duns Scotus etc., i.e. by his contemporaries up to the 14th century. At the same time some church fathers still insisted on the Talmudic list. Strange and unprecedented variants also occurred. E.g. the Anglo-Saxon Decalogue of King Alfred (after 871 A.D.) lists the tenth (!) commandment as against gods of gold or of silver i.e. against idols (Schilter<sup>44</sup> and later he quotes other specific German variants too.)

In catechism manuals of the 13th century the Augustinian order was kept, as in *Speculum Ecclesiae* of St Edmund of Canterbury. During the 15th century the majority of the manuals (as e.g. *ABC des simples gens* which was republished in various works, like in *Liber Jesu Christi* or the *Manuale curatorum*) followed the same tradition. During the Reformation Luther kept the Catholic (and Augustinian) tradition alive. Calvin and his followers came back to the list of Philo. Socinians, Anglicans, the Greek United Church and some other denominations also accepted the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is absolutely inevitable that the words, systems and explanations of the Decalogue were thus always a matter of conscious decision, carefully taught, examined and explained. This preoccupation with the Decalogue was intimately connected with prayers, confession and religious traditions<sup>45</sup>. Theologians, jurists, philosophers and church councils often explained the meaning of the commandments in various ways (using philosophical, logical, legal, theological etc. arguments), and at church services more popular narratives served the same purpose. Exempla about the abrogation or danger of serving other supernatural beings than God belong to this tradition, created and controlled by the church everywhere. Obligation, divine and natural law, charity and mercy, sin and its confession all of those were connected with the topic.

The proper history of catechism from the first Christians to the time of the Reformation is a very complicated subject. We might think that it was Augustine who put the Decalogue at the very heart of catechesis exams and teaching. Even before him important Christian theologians like Clement of Alexandria (who died in about 215 A.D.) in his *Paidagogos* stressed the importance of the topic, but it was Augustine, who used the catechetical material for debating the heresy about the Decalogue in his sermons against Manichaeans, Donatians, Pelagianism etc. His tradition later became almost like a schoolbook, as in such works as *Questiones in Vetus Testamentum* by Isidore of Seville (560–636 A.D.), *De psalmodum libro exegesis* (traditionally attributed to Beda Venerabilis) and in many other works widely used during the Middle Ages.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> J. Schilter, *Thesaurus antiquitatum teutonicarum*, Ulm, 1728, 1, 76.

<sup>45</sup> See for summary Herm. Jos. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche und das kanonische Bussverfahren*, I–II, Mainz, 1883–1898. (Nachdruck: Graz, 1958.)

<sup>46</sup> Especially from German point of view there is a very old and large literature, beginning from e.g. Schilter, *Thesaurus*, 1728, and followed by classical works, as F. U. H. Wasserschleben, *Die*

If we want to understand the importance of the Decalogue in North Europe, we should remember that the Ten Commandments of God served as the “preface” to the *Leges* of the Anglo-Saxon king, Alfred (soon after 871 A.D.).<sup>47</sup> Probably the first important clergyman in Northern Europe who paid serious attention to God’s law was the archbishop of Lund, Andreas Suneson (who died in 1228) in his *Hexaëmeron* following the theological conclusions of Hugo de Saint-Victor.<sup>48</sup> A Dominican theologian, Augustinus de Dacia (who died in 1285) has a short chapter on the topic in his *Rotulus pugillaris*. St Birgitta (1303–1373), the foremost religious personality of Medieval Sweden is another well-educated person, who organized around herself the famous Vadstena monastery, mentioned often above. In her Revelations (*Uppenbarelsen*) she also emphasizes the importance of God’s commandments. The same problem was also raised at various church meetings and synods. Northern cultural history places ST along this line, mentioning as a very typical catechetical work the Danish translation of Martin Luther’s *Betbuchlein* in 1526. The most important post-reformational catechetical work, by the Jesuit Petrus Canisius (died in 1597) *Summa doctrinae christianae* (1555) was already printed in 1579 in a Swedish translation.<sup>49</sup>

Just how complex the question of the Decalogue (and catechism) in every country actually was, we can see from some German data. There, besides Augustine and Isidore’s *Questiones in Vetus Testamentum* the *Sententiae* by Petrus Lombardus (1095–1160) was also popular, as can be seen from the precious Strasburg *Biblia*

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*Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1851, (Nachdruck: Graz, 1958.); V. Hasak, *Der christliche Glaube des deutschen Volkes beim Schlusse des Mittelalters*, Regensburg, 1868.; Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher*, 1883–1898.; Franz Falk, *Drei Beichtbuchlein nach den 10 Geboten aus der Frühzeit der Buchdruckerkunst*, Münster i.W., 1907.; Stephan Beissel, *Zur Geschichte der Gebetbücher*, (Stimmen aus Maria Laach.), Freiburg i. Br., 1909.; P. Sprockhoff, *Althochdeutsche Katecheti*, (Dissertation), Berlin, 1912.; P. Schulze, *Die Entwicklung der Hauptiaster- und Haupttugendlehre von Gregor dem Grossen bis Petrus Lombardus und ihr Einfluss auf die frühe deutsche Literatur*, (Dissertation), Greifswald, 1914.; Georg Domel, *Die Entstehung des Gebetbuches und seine Ausstattung in Schrift, Bild und Schmuck*, Köln, 1921.; Paul Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, Gütersloh, 1927.; Bernhard Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, München, 1928.; B. Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im frühen Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930.; Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Innsbruck, 1932.; W. Matz, *Die althochdeutschen Glaubensbekenntnisse*, (Dissertation), Halle, 1932. etc. In all new handbooks or encyclopedias of German literature or culture history there are good summarizing entries on religious literary genres. International contacts, e.g. Celtic-German or French-German were studied carefully. From those only to German-Scandinavian contacts we shall refer.

<sup>47</sup> See Schilter, *Thesaurus*, tome I, appendix Monumenta catechetica, 76–77.

<sup>48</sup> Gertz, M. Cl.(ed.), *Andrae Sunonis Hexaëmeron libri XII*, Havniae, 1892, 86–106.

<sup>49</sup> See for a short summary Jarl Gallén, Buden, *KHLNM II*, 1957, columns 335–338.

*latina cum glossa ordinaria W. Strabonis* (1480). Just before the Reformation a Catholic priest in Basle, Johann Ulrich Surgant in his manual of practical theology *Manuale curatorum* (written in 1502, printed in 1503) published the French and German texts of the Augustinian commandments. More interesting is the fact that in Basle in 1526 Sebastian Münster (1489–1552) translated the famous medieval Jewish treatise *Decalogus praeceptorum divinatorum* (printed in 1527) by Abraham Ibn Ezra, also, however, including the Augustinian version of the commandments.<sup>50</sup>

Luther (1483–1546) was in this respect a very typical representative of his age too. Already from 1516 on he was referred in various ways to the Decalogue as understood by the Augustinian tradition. He published his “shortened” German version of the Ten Commandments *Eyn kurzcz form der zehen gepott* first in 1518 (?), then again in 1520. A “complete” version is to be found in his translation of the Pentateuch (1523). Both his “small” and his “large” Catechism (1529) start with comments from the Decalogue. “*Der kleine Catechismus*” and to some extent the larger “*Deudsch Catechismus*” were later followed and often translated in most of the protestant countries, soon available in the Scandinavian, Baltic and also Finnish (!) languages. Already in his 1520 treatise *Von den guten Werckkenn* Luther deals extensively with the problem of not having other gods, in his German words “Du soit nit andere Gotter haben”. The influence of Luther’s catechetical writings is more considerable than one might imagine. Between 1529 and 1546 (the year of Luther’s death) his small Catechism was published in 88 printed versions, and even in the 17th century multilingual editions of it appeared (e.g. a version in 8 languages was published most probably in Sweden, without year and place: *Catechesis minor octo linguarum hebraice videlicet reddita et cum explanatione in graecum, latinum, germanicum, italicum, gallicum, bohemicum et sveticum sermonem conversa*). Even in Italy Luther’s catechisms were in actual use until the 20th century.<sup>51</sup>

For the Calvinists Calvin’s famous *Institutio* (1536) already have clear instructions on commandments and catechisms. The most important special catechism was written by a Basle priest, Johannes Oekolampad (1482–1531). Its first edition *Frag und Antwort in Verhörung der Kinder*, Basle, 1537, was an anonymous publication, but in later editions (from 1540 on) his name did appear. In 1544 a

<sup>50</sup> Reicke, *Die Zehn Worte*, 11–12.

<sup>51</sup> On Luther’s catechisms see primarily the critical edition: D. Martin Luthers *Werke* 30, 1, Weimar, 1910., with commentaries to *Der kleine Catechismus*, 1929., by O. Albrecht, and to the *Deudsch Catechismus* by O. Bremer. See furthermore O. Albrecht, *Luthers Catechismen*, Leipzig, 1915. A good bibliography of Luther’s pertinent works J. Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie*, Lief. 1–3, Baden-Baden, 1966. For a more general view see J. Meyer, *Historischer Kommentar zu Luthers kleinem Catechismus*, Berlin, 1929.; E. Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I–V, Leipzig, 1902–1913. and F. Chors, *Die evangelischen Catechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, I–V, Berlin, 1900–1907.

Latin translation was published, with additions from Oswald Myconius. His “small” and “large” catechisms were very popular until about 1627. Both the grouping of the commandments (three–seven or four–six) and the wording of an expressive prohibition of portraying God (the major points of difference between Lutherism and Calvinism) vary in the different editions, and after the intransigent Calvinist Johann Jakob Grynaeus (1586–1617) the ban of pictures was expressively added to the text. In general the “small” Calvinist catechism was used in oral teaching and in the examination of (school)children.<sup>52</sup>

Roman Catholic catechisms, following the popularity of Luther’s, were very similar both in purpose and in content. The numeration of the commandments was in both cases the same (i.e. the Augustinian order), and explanations were also very similar. Luther spoke out against the adoration of pictures, but not against pictures as such, and did not urge their destruction – another common point with the Catholic church. This is the reason why some of the authors of “Catholic” catechisms were not in fact members of the Roman Catholic Church. Erasmus wrote his *Explanatio symboli, decalogi praeceptorum et dominicae praecationis* (1533) in Freiburg/Breisgau. Typical Jesuit works were Petrus Canisius’s “large” catechism *Summa doctrinae* (1555) and his “small” one, *Kurzer Unterricht* (1560), directed at German Catholics. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) decided to revitalize Catholic “*propaganda fidei*.” As early as 1566 a larger work *Catechismus romanus* was published, which some years later in an Antwerp edition (1574) was explained to a greater audience (A. Fabricius Leodius: *Catechismus romanus ex decreto concilii tridentini editus, nunc elucidatus*).<sup>53</sup>

We have referred to German data above because it was from this territory that Scandinavian countries received the most important influence. In Germany from the 14th to 16th centuries religious life became very complex, sometimes allowing the expression of extremist views.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Reicke, *Die Zehn Worte*, 17–20.

<sup>53</sup> On Roman Catholic catechisms see, among others: C. Moufang, *Katholische Katechismen des 16. Jahrhunderts in deutscher Sprache*, Mainz, 1881; F. Probst, *Geschichte der katholischen Katechese*, Breslau, 1886.; P. Bahlmann, *Deutschlands katholische Katechismen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 1894.; Rudolf Padberg, *Erasmus als Katechat: Der literarische Beitrag des Erasmus von Rotterdam zur katholischen Katechese des 16. Jahrhunderts, Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Katechese*, Freiburg i. Br., 1956.; K. Schrems, *Die Methode katholischer Gemeinkatechese im deutschen Sprachgebiet vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt–Bern–Las Vegas, Hrsg. von Wolfgang Nastainczyk, 1979. Text edition: Streicher, F. (ed.), *Catechismi Jatini et germanici*, 1–2, (Societatis Jesu selecti scriptores II, 1, 1–2.), Romae, 1933–1936.

<sup>54</sup> See for an initial introduction Hasak, *Der christliche Glaube*, 1868.; Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen*, 1965.

There is a good specialist literature on catechisms in medieval Sweden.<sup>55</sup> According to it from the 13th century the Ten Commandments played a central role in catechetical tradition, following scholastic schools (e.g. Bonaventura *Collationes de decern praeceptis*, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Edmund of Canterbury *Speculum ecclesiae*, Laurentius Gallus etc.). Councils in Clairmont 1268, Lambeth 1281, Cahors 1289, Lavaur 1368 etc. stressed the importance of the Ten Commandments in practical catechetical teaching. The Chancellor at Paris university, John of Gerson in the introduction to his *Opusculum tripartitum de preceptis decalogi, de confessione et de arte moriendi* (beginning of the 15th century) – a book (favoured so much by Huizinga) which is also available in the medieval collection of Uppsala library – gives practical instruction concerning the combination of Decalogue and confession too. The decisions of the Tortosa Council (1429), J. U. Surgants *Manuale curatorum* (printed in 1503) and other documents were also known in Sweden. A famous work, *Summula* by Laurentius of Vaxala or magister Mathias's *Homo conditus* deal with the Ten Commandments from a catechetical point of view. The so-called “Old Swedish Pentateuch”, the revelations of St Birgitta and other medieval manuscripts in Sweden show a zealous interest in catechetical interpretations. As a manuscript attributed to a certain Ericus Johannis (from Vadstena, under number C 36, from 1470's) shows, the Augustinian tradition was very much alive in medieval Sweden. ST is a part of this tradition. Another Vadstena-manuscript (C 923) *Nota tabulam de decern preceptis* versified short summaries of the Ten Commandments and several sermons about them show an uninterrupted Swedish tradition from the middle ages to the age of the Lutheran reformation in the North.<sup>56</sup> As it was already mentioned about the history of confession and penitence in medieval Sweden,<sup>57</sup> and later more specifically concerning the sources of Agricola's prayer book,<sup>58 59</sup> Finnish tradition has been inseparable from the Swedish.

Several scholars have also studied the breakthrough of the Reformation in Northern Europe from the point of view of religious cults and beliefs. General

<sup>55</sup> Kilström, *Den kateketiska undervisningen*, especially 235–257.

<sup>56</sup> Besides the general works, quoted elsewhere in this paper special attention might be paid to the Scandinavian tradition of prayer books, sermons and alike. See e.g. R. Geete, *Svenska böner från medeltiden*, Stockholm, 1907–1909.; Sigfrid Estborn, *Evangeliska svenska bönböcker*, Stockholm–Lund, 1929.; Anne Riising, *Danmarks middelalderlige praediken*, København, 1969. etc.

<sup>57</sup> Jaakko Gummerus, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buss- und Beichtwesens in der schwedischen Kirche des Mittelalters*, I, Uppsala, 1900.

<sup>58</sup> J. Gummerus, *Mikael Agricolan Rukouskirja ja sen lähteet*, I, Helsinki, 1941.

<sup>59</sup> In its final form J. Gummerus, *Mikael Agricolan Rukouskirja ja sen lähteet*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 44, Helsinki, 1955, [Finnish ed. of 1941.].



histories of religion<sup>60</sup> as well as special studies<sup>61</sup> tried to explain, why and how the medieval church practice had been changed into a new model. For our topic, the problem of a shift in the character of prayer books and communion seems to be the most important,<sup>62</sup> but other topics, like psalter changes might also be of interest, especially when we remember that Agricola's list of pagan gods appears in an introduction to his Finnish translation of psalms. Although it is not easy to give a concise picture of this many-sided change, we can say that the ecclesiastic reform took place in Sweden (and Finland) within a very short period of time. At the Strängnäs legislative assembly meeting (*riksmöte*) in June, 1529, the Swedish king ordered the (re)shaping of the Swedish holy mass ritual. In October, 1536 at the coronation of Queen Margaretha Eiriksdotter, in Uppsala the Swedish language mass and the necessary handbooks were discussed. During 1538 (and 1539) the entire Swedish kingdom accepted the new ritual. Special care was taken in Finland, where the new church life was established in an even more rapid way. Bishop Martti Skytte (1480–1550), then his secretary and follower, Bishop Mikael Agricola (1510–1557) were the two people who completed the shift in religious traditions in Finland. Agricola studied at Wittenberg University from 1536–1539. His first book (*ABCkiria* between 1538 and 1543) belongs to the catechetical tradition. Another of his typical works *Rucouskiria Bibliasta* (1544) is in fact a later version of a common prayerbook.<sup>63</sup> For the same topic this Finnish translation of the psalms (1551) is of the greatest importance, containing the famous list of Karelian and Häme pagan “gods.”<sup>64</sup> Together, the three books by Agricola clearly testify as to how long and uninterrupted a tradition existed around the ST in Finland.

Another interesting fact is that the famous C III 19 manuscript of the Helsinki University Library, *Mathiae Joannis Westh Codex* from Vemo/Vehmaa (about 1547–1549) contains a text on fol 111–123 called “*Seiuin vachuistos iohutus /a iäki-*

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Hjalmar Holmquist, *Reformationstidevarvet 1521–1611*, in *Svenska kyrkans historia*, utgiven av Hjalmar Holmquist och Hilding Pleijel, III. bandet, Stockholm, 1933.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. Olav D. Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier till belysande av reformationens genomförande i Finland*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland 305, Helsingfors, 1946.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. Estborn, *Evangeliska svenska*, 1929.

<sup>63</sup> See Gummerus, *Mikael Agricolan*, 1941., with references to themes mentioned above.

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. Martti Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat, Uskontotieteellinen tutkimus*, Porvoo– Helsinki, 1959. Agricola's text available in various publications, both by folklorists, linguists, historians of religion. There are some hitherto neglected aspects, from the point of view of comparative philology (see Voigt, *On Baltic and Balto-Finnic Lists*, 1986.), I cannot deal with in this paper. Haavio's quoted interpretation is neither the first, nor the last word on the problem, nevertheless a very interesting attempt to connect the list of “gods” with the ecclesiastic calendar. For general orientation see Gummerus, *Mikael Agricolan*, 1955., further literature quoted in Rapola, Martti (ed.), *Ruotsin ajan kirjallisuus*, (Suomen kirjallisuus II), Helsinki, 1963, 593–595.

*tys aina kyliän keuluoline, mutta caicken enimmään cooleman tuskas*” from the year 1546, which is in fact a translation from a printed Swedish text from 1537 “*Sielenes tröst och läkedom*.”<sup>65</sup> This text, in fact unknown to international ST researchers, might deserve a special study.<sup>66</sup>

Swedish church history in general stressed the importance of the years of change between 1544 and 1560, and called them a “turning point in folk religion.”<sup>67</sup> From the above it might be clear just how complicated the term “folk” is in this formulation. Ljungberg in his famous book read once by Harva, discussing the origins of the problem of possible Finnish belief contacts of ST texts, and in mentioning ST wanted to speak about the Viking times (!) and among the twelve chapters of his book only in the 11th chapter did he deal with connections between high religion, low religion and magic, as he says. In his book the only late medieval case is the ST, without a detailed commentary. The reason for such a treatment might be that he, following Boudriot, sees in ST a reflection of Scandinavian folk beliefs much older than those of medieval.<sup>68</sup>

Another area for further research might be the study of medieval Scandinavian prayer books. Besides older, mostly German literature<sup>69</sup> Scandinavian prayer books were examined already before the veent ST publications. Since then a magnificent multivolume edition of medieval Danish prayer books has been published,<sup>70</sup> referring to early English, medieval European and German parallels. Besides other important data about folk beliefs in the Middle Ages, *AM* 75, 8<sup>e</sup> contains a prayer (*No. 516a*, attached to the first commandment) which refers not only to Augustine, but also warns about magic, fate beliefs etc., much along the lines of ST.<sup>71</sup> Not very common in ethnographic literature, there is a good review of the Danish prayer books publication, even a small monograph, but this, dealing with only the first two volumes, does not make any comments relevant to our topics.<sup>72 73</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Schalin, *Kulthistoriska*, 218.

<sup>66</sup> On the codex in general see P. J. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet vuoteen 1640*, Helsinki, 1929.

<sup>67</sup> Holmquist, *Reformationstidevarvet*, 310–318.

<sup>68</sup> Ljungberg, *Den nordiska religionen*, 286–289.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher*, 1883–1898.

<sup>70</sup> Karl Martin Nielsen, *Middelalderens danske brfnebog*, I–V, København, 1945–1982.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 170.

<sup>72</sup> Josef Szövérfy, *Volkskundliches in mittelalterlichen Gebetbüchern*, Randbemerkungen zu K. M. Niensens Textsausgabe, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab - Bind 37, nr. 3, København, 1958.

<sup>73</sup> Besides the mentioned works see also Axel Mante, *Ein niederdeutsches Gebetbuch aus der zweiten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, (Bistumsarchiv, Trier, Nr. 528,) Lund – Kopenhagen, 1960.

As for the complete understanding of the ST story on the first commandment, it was also a Danish scholar who emphasized the general importance of a generic approach to medieval legends, and also in particular to the ST exempla.<sup>74</sup> Another new attempt might be to involve iconographic studies in the ST-research. Illustrations of the Decalogue are very popular and continuous in medieval Europe. Laun in her special study practically starts from *Concordantiae Caritatis* of Ulrich von Lilienfeld, and later deals directly with ST.<sup>75</sup> According to her we cannot yet find any direct iconographic sources to the supernatural beings mentioned in the first commandment stories in ST. Only very recently folklore research once again stressed the importance of Decalogue studies.<sup>76</sup> Here again the true exempla, and not the small insert texts seem to be more important.<sup>77</sup> The German “large” ST

<sup>74</sup> Tue Gad, *Legenden i dansk middelalder*, København, 1961, especially 270–271., as about one of the summarizing works in the Middle Ages.

<sup>75</sup> Laun, Christiane (geb. Gocht), *Bildkatechese im Spätmittelalter: Allegorische und typologische Auslegungen des Dekalogs*, München, 1979, 88–89, 133–134.

<sup>76</sup> Harmening, *Dekalog*, 1980.

<sup>77</sup> Studies of exempla and preachers’ stories have recently become a very important field of folklore, literary and religious studies. There is no need to list here all the important works along this line. Still I think I have to refer to some of them, as e.g. L. Mehler, *Beispiele zur gesamten christkatholischen Lehre, nebst Schrift- und Väterstellen nach der Ordnung des Katechismus von P. Canisius*, I, Regensburg, 1851.; C. G. N. de Vooys, *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen*, (Dissertation, Leiden), ’s-Gravenhage, 1900.; R. Windel, *Zur christlichen Erbauungsliteratur der vorreformatorischen Zeit*, Halle, 1925.; J. Th. Welter, *L’Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen age*, Paris – Toulouse, 1927.; H. Willms, *Eikon*, München, 1935. Still the best summaries are, especially for German material: Wolfgang Stammmler, *Mittelalterliche Prosa in deutscher Sprache*, in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, (2., Überarbeitete Aufl.) 11, Berlin, 1960, 749–1102.; Moser-Rath, Elfriede (ed.), *Predigtmärlein der Barockzeit: Exempel, Sage, Schwank und Fabel in geistlichen Quellen des oberdeutschen Raumes*, Berlin, 1964. Methodologically important: Rudolf Schenda, *Stand und Aufgaben der Exempelforschung*, *Fabula* 10 (1969), 69–85. A first attempt to a catalogue: Tubach, *Index*, 1969. Important collective work: Bruckner, Wolfgang (ed.), *Volkserzählung und Reformation: Ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzähstoffen und Erzählliteratur im Protestantismus*, Berlin, 1974. See further E. H. Rehermann, *Das Predigtexempel bei protestantischen Theologen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, 1977.; W. Bruckner, *Narrativistik: Versuch einer Kenntnisnahme theologischer Erzählforschung*, *Fabula* 20 (1979), 18–33.; Claude Bremond – Jacques Le Goff – Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L’Exemplum*, Paris, 1982.; the necessary and rich summaries in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*: Michael Chesnutt – Wolfgang Bruckner, *Exempelsammlungen*, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, *Op.cit.*, Bd. 4, Lief. 2–3, 1983, 592–626.; W. Bruckner, *Erbauung, Erbauungsliteratur*, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, Bd. 4, Lief. 1, Berlin–New York, Hrsg. von Kurt Ranke, 1982, 108–120.; Christoph Daxelmüller, *Exemplum*, in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, *Op.cit.*, Bd. 4, Lief. 2–3, 1983, 627–649. Concerning medieval Dutch legends and exempla, important to our topic see still C.G. N. de Vooys, *Middelnederlandse legenden en exempelen: Bijdrage tot de kennis van de prozalitteratuur in het volksgeloof der middeleeuwen*, (2nd ed.), Groningen – Den Haag, 1926 (which is the second version of de Vooys, *Middelnederlandse legenden*, 1900).

figures here again as one of the most important sources. As we know from the exemplary book by Kouri<sup>78</sup> among others, German religious literature has directly influenced Finnish religious works, in later centuries as well. (Other, more complicated influences, as e.g. from Celtic or Jewish sources might deserve more attention than usual.<sup>79</sup>)

In sum, our investigations of ST have shown us that there is no direct reference in ST to folk beliefs in Sweden (or among the Finns) in the way believed by earlier research. On the other hand, because of its cultural historical circumstances, the Swedish translation of ST (especially with its Finnish contacts) i.e. the whole work is a most important source for comparative folk religion studies in Northern Europe. Furthermore, I hope, I have been able to verify that the same trend leads straight into Agricola's famous Finnish works.<sup>80</sup> (That is the reason why the relatively short

<sup>78</sup> E. I. Kouri, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus Suomessa 1600-luvulla*, Ericus Ericin Postillan lähteet, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia 129, Helsinki, 1984.

<sup>79</sup> See e.g. Karl-Erich Grözinger, *Ich bin der Herr, dein Gott: Eine rabbinische Homilie zum Ersten Gebot, (PesR 20)*, Bern – Frankfurt, 1976.; Jakob J. Petuchowski, *Die Stimme von Sinai: Ein rabbinisches Lesebuch zu den Zehn Geboten*, Freiburg – Basel – Wien, 1981.; Raymund Kottje, *Überlieferung und Rezeption der irischen Bussbücher auf dem Kontinent*, in Löwe, Heinz (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 1, Tübingen, 1981, 511–523.; already Szövérfy, *Volkskundliches*, 1958. etc.

<sup>80</sup> Perhaps I should mention here two further points of possible research. Excellent entries in the famous Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid (e.g. “buden” in Vol. II /1957/, “botsakrament” *ibid.*, “bot,” “bön,” and “bönböcker,” *ibid.*, “bibelkommentarer” in Vol. I /1956/, “katekes och katekisation” in Vol. VIII /1963/, even “religiös prosalitteratur” in Vol. XIV /1969/) give very good summaries, and are for our topic even more important since their major author is Jarl Gallen, an expert in medieval Finnish church. From the Supplementum volume (XXX in 1977) in entry “bönböcker” Finnish data are collected by Kustaa Viikuna. Pagan versus Christian beliefs are in general well-contrasted in summaries, and traditional formulas or alike are since generations carefully studied by scholars (see e.g. H. F. Massmann, *Die deutschen Abschwörungs-, Glauben-, Beicht- und Betformeln vom achten bis zum zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Quedlinburg – Leipzig, 1839, reprinted in 1969.; or Saupe, *Der indiculus*, 1891., as an exemplary treatment.) Despite the efforts by Krohn, Harva, Haavio, Honko etc., Finnish folklorists did not clear up all the possible cases for such interaction. Kuusi in his seminal essay (Matti Kuusi, *Pakanuuden ja kristinuskon murros suomalaisen kansanrunouden kuvastimessa, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia*, 56 (1955), 145–164.), forgotten by his colleagues, warns from too quick conclusions in this respect, especially interpreting folk poetry in terms of old “pagan” beliefs. “Kansanrunot eivät ole sen enemää historiaelisia kuin uskontotieteellisiä asiakirjoja. Neovat ennen muuta runoja. Uuno Kailaan ja P. Mustapään runoista voi 3. vuosituhatannen tutkija löytää arvokasta valaistusta 1920-, 1930- ja 1940-luvun historiaan ja uskonnollisiin katsomuksiin, mutta epäkriittillinen lukija voi niiden nojalla johtua päättämään, että nyky-suomalaiset ovat palvoneet muinaiskreikkalaisia jumalia ja käyneet sotaa keihäin ja kiivin. Sama vaara uhkaa sitä, kansantradition avuin tunkeutua esimerkiksi 12. vuosisadan kirkkohistoriaan ja kansanuskoon.” (Kuusi, *Pakanuuden*, 148.)

catechetical story in ST remains in fact a key source for understanding late medieval folk beliefs in Northern Europe.)<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> In my paper finished by autumn 1985 I could use as latest general summaries on German texts: Köttelwesch, Clemens (ed.), *Bibliographisches Handbuch der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft 1945–1969*, I, Frankfurt, 1973, Sp. 1245–1249, and Ewald Erb, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis 1160*, Berlin, 1976, 253–254, knowing that important later summaries might be published soon. As far as I know there is no direct Hungarian aspect of the topic, still once I shall use the same method as for the first Hungarian catechisms, following Canisius, i.e. the rich material translated and edited by Gergely Vásárhelyi (1561–1623), and others. See in general Dezső Szentiványi, *A katekizmus története Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1944.

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