

THE USE OF THE SENSES IN RELIGIOUS REVIVAL MOVEMENTS

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This paper demonstrates that sight and hearing have played the most important roles in the Protestant regions of Scandinavia. In many instances, the phenomena linked to sight and hearing have been maintained for long periods of time, and new phenomena have come into existence in other respects. Revivalist movements have wavered between maintenance of traditions and a regeneration that would enable them to awaken interest among new generations. Senses other than sight and hearing have not had the same importance in the post-Reformation period. However, touch has played a more important role than previously realized by scholars of cultural history. Taste and smell, on the other hand, have not yet acquired the same importance as touch, even if taste has acquired a new social function in a religious context.

Keywords: *sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell.*

Razprava pokaže, da sta bila v skandinavskih protestantskih deželah med čuti najpomembnejša vid in sluh. V številnih primerih so se pojavi, povezani z vidom in sluhom, zelo dolgo ohranili, novi pojavi pa so nastali v drugačnih povezavah. Prenoviteljska gibanja so omahovala med vzdrževanjem tradicije in regeneracijo, kar jim je omogočalo zbuditi interes pri mlajših generacijah. V postreformacijskem obdobju drugi čuti niso bili tako pomembni. Vsekakor je imel dotik pomembnejšo vlogo, kakor mu jo pripisujejo kulturni zgodovinarji. Pomen okusa in vonja ni bil tako pomemben, čeprav je okus v religioznem kontekstu dobil novo socialno funkcijo.

Ključne besede: *vid, sluh, dotik, okus, vonj.*

INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews the use of the five human senses – sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell – in religious revival movements from the late 19th century to the present. The study is based mainly on my own fieldwork in the coastal regions of western Sweden, but also includes surveys of similar movements in the nearby countries of Norway and Estonia, and in the history of the Protestant church.

SIGHT

Sight can refer partly to what humans actually see with their eyes, and partly to supernatural experiences during which the seers believe that they are observing supernatural objects and beings.

Actual sight once had a fostering and confessional function. Obvious examples are the mass-produced religious pictures that began to be found in many homes in the late 19th century and to be customary in revivalist homes from the same period. An intentional in-

structive purpose must be presumed when such pictures were hung in children's bedrooms. One woman from the province of Jämtland told of a picture of Christ in her childhood home: *Mother meant for this picture to show us where we ought to turn in all the ups and downs of life. The picture had great meaning for us in this way, and gave us the confident faith to cope with whatever we would meet.* Pictorially based concepts of this kind have made lifelong impressions on the minds of many of my informants.

If these pictures were intended as a profession of faith directed towards strangers, they were hung in the room where visitors were welcomed into the home. The pictures were often accompanied by Biblical passages, such as *As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord* (Fig. 1) from Joshua 24:15. A woman from the province of Värmland stated that *the most important thing is to have the pictures in the sitting-room and the children's rooms. We assert our faith when we dare to display what we believe in and stand for. After all, we do meet many nonbelievers.*



Fig. 1: A mass-produced picture with the text: *As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.* A picture of an angel is visible in the middle of the house.

This devotional aspect was obvious when pictures were hung in bedrooms. Pictures of the Madonna have also begun to be found in the bedrooms of free-church homes in recent years, something that can be attributed to foreign travel in Catholic countries. Religious pictures have also recently been found in the sleeping quarters of fishing boats belonging to revivalist owners, along with prayer-like texts, such as *Jesus, Savior, pilot me / Over life's tempestuous sea . . . / Chart and compass come from Thee; / Jesus, Savior, pilot me.* This text,

which expresses a stalwart faith in the face of the uncertainty that prevails out at sea, is one I found on a boat owned by Pentecostals from the island of Åstol (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: The text *Jesus, Savior, pilot me . . .* hangs above the bunk in the fishing boat *Brattvåg* from Åstol [Photo by Jan-Erik Weinitz, 1980].

In recent years, even in greatly secularized Sweden, it has become increasingly common to wear a cross hanging visibly on a chain around the neck. One continuation of my fieldwork, in addition to the observations already attained, could be to interview people wearing crosses. What meaning do these crosses have for them, and what do they intend to indicate by wearing them? The most specifically Christian variant of these crosses is the “Cross of the Resurrection.” This cross, which has appeared in recent years, has a bright figure of Christ visible in its centre. It is most often worn by young people that belong to Christian youth groups (Fig. 3).

Even when death has struck, revivalist families consider it important that expressions of their Christian faith be expressed on gravestones as professions of belief aimed at visitors to the cemetery. This applies both to texts and pictorial symbols, and among these is the Cross of the Resurrection encircled by rays of light. The texts on such gravestones often have a Biblical origin and emphasize the resurrection of the dead. Among the most used is a passage taken from John 11:25 – *Jesus said: I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.* Clearly expressed Christian symbols and texts on gravestones have become much more common, generally speaking, in Norway than in



Fig. 3: Young girls wearing a “Cross of Resurrection” on a chain around the neck [Photo by the author, 2006].

Sweden in recent years. This may be because a larger number of individualistic and worldly pictorial motifs are used on Swedish than on Norwegian gravestones, but may also be the result of more tangible secularization in Sweden, in the sense that spiritual dimensions are no longer expressed in ways that are visible to others.

The perception of divine beings by the people in my compiled material relates especially to angels and, in some cases, to Jesus. The Swedish ethnologist Katarina Lewis conducted an extensive study of the home-mission revivalist movement known as Schartauanism in the 20th century. She noted several examples of women that state that they have experienced visitations by angels, especially during difficult periods of their lives [Lewis 1997]. Visions by Jesus have been reported to have occurred during intense revivalist meetings, among them in the Pentecostal congregation on the island of Åstol in the late 1940s. Reports of these happenings, such as when local fishermen saw Jesus approach them on the seas, have been passed on over the years. This has provided a feeling of security and assistance in difficult situations. One of Katarina Lewis’ informants spoke of something similar during a crisis she experienced:

I felt so weak after my last child was born. I just couldn't go on. It was just no use. What would happen to the children? Then I saw someone standing at the foot of the bed. It was Jesus. Then I was able to sleep. Then I could rest.

God is considered to make Himself known in a different way than Jesus, and to impart messages. One informant that belongs to the Swedish Mission Society told of how he suddenly saw a golden message one night above his bed:

There was a picture on the wall with letters of gold, for when Our Lord writes, He writes in gold. It was shining gold, but I couldn't understand what it said. Then an old voice interpreted it in Swedish: 'They will care for you when you are old.' There was light all around the picture so that I could see the letters.

This informant was unmarried and, as he reached middle age, he had begun to worry about what sort of care he might receive as he became very old. He had prayed to God for help and advice. It was in this exact connection that he experienced this tangible contact with the divine world.

Ghosts are among those beings from the evil and sorrowful part of existence that make themselves known, in keeping with the dualistic understanding of the world then prevalent. Along the coast they are referred to as "specters," the unhappy corpses of those that have not been buried in sanctified ground and therefore can be heard screaming in the night. This folk belief, which was very common among the older generation of members of revivalist groups, was not seen as being in conflict with a living and active Christian faith. Such experiences were openly spoken of with fellow believers. The folk-life artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson (1915–1998) painted several pictures of ghosts and "specters" searching for their clothing after it had disappeared when wreckage was gathered up (Fig. 4).

The artist believed that he had visions of a different world than that which can be observed with ordinary eyes. In comparison, an informant that was an active member of the free-church movement, the Swedish Mission Society, stated that he could see people

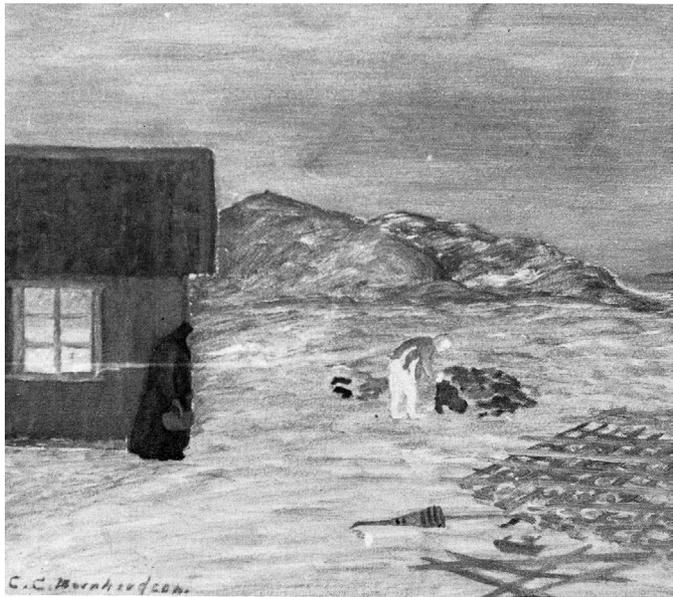


Fig. 4: A barely clothed sea-
men/specter searches in the
light of dusk for his clothes
in a heap of wreckage, to
the dismay of a watching
woman [Painted by Carl
Gustaf Bernhardson].

that had died many years ago, but that they had never been among the actively faithful. He sometimes experienced these visions while he walked to or from the mission meeting house. He never kept these visions secret, but often spoke about them to other members of the mission society. With regard to such supernatural visions, one might quote something that the Norwegian folklorist Bente Gullveig Alver said concerning a study about a clairvoyant Norwegian woman entitled “The Third Eye”: *It would be more unscientific to deny clairvoyance than to be receptive to its existence* [Alver 1982: 35]. The cultural scholar should always listen when informants speak about their experiences, rather than discuss whether these are real or fictitious. The study of the aspect of faith involved is far more important than any attempt to analyze the possible reality on which these experiences might be based.

HEARING

Hearing refers partly to that which people hear with their ears and partly to that which they believe they hear from a supernatural world.

Hearing with one’s ears can refer to the religious upbringing that one has been exposed to in the home by the parental generation. The folk-life artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson painted a picture showing his grandmother reading the morning prayer for her grandchildren (Fig. 5). Daily instruction of this kind in the home of times past can often be found in the records of folk-life archives. Revivalist movements often unite a spiritual dimension and material objects in a very factual manner. Women that gathered to sew and knit for charitable purposes and for the missions, for example, usually had one or more of their company read aloud from a devotional book (Fig. 6).

Songs and music are also included in the aspect of hearing. These have always played a prominent part in the free churches of both the western Swedish and southern Norwegian



Fig. 5: Carl Gustaf Bernhardson’s grandmother reads the morning prayers from her prayer book to her grandchildren seated on the sofa.



Fig. 6: The women of the Swedish Mission Society sewing group on the island of Smögen sewing items for mission work while one of the older women reads from the prayer book [Private photo, 1894].

coastal regions. Groups of vocalists and musicians were formed and traveled about to different districts in order to spread the Christian message. Young men living in coastal districts often started such groups. Among these were, for example, the Åstol Brothers (Fig. 7), the Dyrön Brothers, and the Skärhamn Brothers. The songs and music presented by these groups have alternated with personal testimonies witnessing the importance of the Christian faith for each and every one of the members.



Fig. 7: The singing Åstol Brothers have released CDs of religious songs, including *Revival Songs from Åstol* [Photo by Björn Edlund, 1980].

The fact that listening to songs and music has adopted new expressions in our own time can be exemplified by the Christian motor clubs that have grown up in recent years. The Street Gospel motor club, which is active on the western Swedish islands of Orust and Tjörn, was started in the summer of 2005. This motorcycle club is not a church group, but a society open to all true believers. It has 34 members, both women and men. Most of the leaders have a background in the Pentecostal movement. The motor club's aim is to have its members travel around on their motorcycles and spread the Christian message to the general public through their music and vocal presentations. Their music is modern and very loud, as I observed during my field studies (Fig. 8).

In this paper I also wish to discuss my informants' reports of hearing voices from an invisible world. This has often occurred during times of crisis and danger; for example, when fishermen and sailors have been warned about approaching storms. These have usually been experienced as well-meaning and divine voices, but there have been instances of



Fig. 8: The Street Gospel motor club performing songs and music during their appearance on the island of Orust in the summer of 2006 [Photo by Agneta Nienhardt].

evil voices originating in the world of the devil. One elder (born in 1922) in the Pentecostal congregation at Åstol in the province of Bohuslän [cf. Gustavsson 1982] recalled hearing his father (1893–1960), also a congregation elder, speak of a warning that he had been given while at sea. This warning had saved the crew of the fishing boat and was perceived as having been sent by God:

Once when Papa was homeward bound from the North Sea, he heard a voice that said, 'Ludvig, go up on deck.' The voice said this once and then twice. Papa went up and looked about, but couldn't see anything. But the third time he looked out, he saw breakers close by them. He shouted to the man at the helm, 'Quick, change course!' So this was a warning. If he hadn't heeded the warning, they wouldn't have come home.

One can easily understand that the dangers of the open sea have formed a basis for such warnings, and these are also found in the folk beliefs of former times. Carl Gustaf Bernhardson painted pictures showing “warners,” who appear as bright figures to someone walking on the ice just as it is about to break under his feet, or when storms are approaching out at sea.

The informant from Åstol also spoke about how he had experienced *a voice from the Almighty* around 1970. His two sons, about 20 years old, were traveling by motorcycle, but did not arrive home when expected. The father became uneasy and began to pray. He then heard a voice that said *Vänerns borg*. The next morning one of his sons phoned and said that they had had trouble with their motorcycle and had stayed overnight in the town of *Vänerns borg*. *I already knew that*, the informant said. He experienced this as having had auditory contact with the divine world. In some cases, such voices are considered to have come from angels. One informant, who was born in 1904 and who belonged to the Swedish Mission Society, told how he had had several experiences of waking at night and hearing voices that passed on comforting messages to him when he lay ill. *It was an angel. The voice came from*

about a half meter above the floor by my bed. It was shrill and light like that of a child of ten or twelve. 'You will get better.' This informant had been ill and received this message while in a very trying condition.

TOUCH

The touching of objects or people has come to play a peripheral role within the Protestant church when compared to the former Catholic period. One can simply consider, for example, the formal disappearance of holy water. Among ordinary people, however, popular customs of touch continued without the official sanction of the church. The Swedish ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus gave an excellent example of such traditional usage in his study of the false churching of women that had miscarried. These women attempted as unobtrusively as possible to catch hold of the back of the vicar's robe as he was carrying out some official action, such as a burial. According to popular belief, the women would then be healed. This custom is based on a medieval ritual that has its origin in the New Testament narrative in Matthew 9:20-22. According to this account, a woman that suffered from continual bleeding unobtrusively caught hold of the back of Jesus' robe and was then cured [Bringéus 1964].

There have even been cases in recent times of active members of the free-church movement having suddenly been cured when they have come into contact with a supernatural divine force that has surged through their bodies. This point of view is entirely in keeping with the official doctrine of the free-church that emphasizes the importance of seeking and receiving divine faith-healing. The laying-on of hands with accompanying prayers on the part of the congregation can take place in such situations. An active member of the Swedish Mission Society told of his personal experiences in the following way:

I had a cough that just wouldn't get better. One day I was up in the attic and feeling very depressed because I couldn't say a single word to anyone without coughing, altho-



Fig. 9: An informant that was an active member of the Swedish Mission Society shown walking with a divining rod in an attempt to find water [Private collection].

ugh I'd gone to the doctor many times. Then I prayed and, after the third prayer, I was answered. It was just like a flash of lightning went through my body. It burned a lot. My cough disappeared and never came back.

This man has performed dowsing, or seeking water with a divining rod, and interprets such activity as getting into contact with *something that is everlasting*. When the divining rod twists downwards towards the ground with such force that it cannot be prevented, the narrator believes that this is because he has come into contact with forces in the earth that have existed *ever since God created man* (Fig. 9).

When Pentecostals with whom I am acquainted have acquired the gift of speaking in tongues (or glossolalia), they have also spoken of experiencing a supernatural and divine force flowing through them. It has been beyond their control, and their voices became a tool for it. They began speaking a language that they themselves could not understand. This has occurred both in religious meetings and in solitude. One man, who became a member of the Pentecostal congregation in 1939, told of experiencing

a force that's really immense, something you can't understand. It's something divine. It comes over a person like a delicious balm. You become fearless, so you no longer feel at all shy or withdrawn when witnessing about Jesus. It comes suddenly. No one knows about it beforehand. You can lie there like an empty sack and then, one, two, three. That's when the force is needed.

Touching with a religious implication has also had a protective function against accidents. This has occurred in the coastal districts of western Sweden, which are characterized by both home-mission and free-church revivalist movements. The folk-life artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson depicted this in some of his paintings relating to fishing. The fishermen would make the sign of the cross with their hands in the water as they let their lines or nets drop



Fig. 10: A fisherman grasping the anchor chain as it is let down into the sea while saying *God give you strength tonight, dear friend* [Painted by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson].

down into the sea. They believed that this prevented any mishaps that might happen to the equipment. This was also thought to promote successful fishing. Another subject is the fisherman that grasps his anchor chain before sinking it down into the sea in bad weather and says, according to the picture caption, *God give you strength tonight, dear friend* (Fig. 10). This material object is personified here and, because of this, is something that can receive help from God. These folk-life paintings are based on the artist's own experiences as a fisherman during the 1930s.

Another explicit way in which people could make contact with the spiritual world was when the vicar or the free-church preacher came down to the harbor just before fishermen from these revivalist coastal districts departed for deep-sea fishing. He was not to go on board because this could bring bad luck, according to traditional folk beliefs, but was to stand on the wharf, say a prayer, and, like the women that remained at home, take the fishermen's hands both as a sign of farewell and as a blessing. Carl Gustaf Bernhardson depicted an incident of this kind in 1939 when he himself was on board a boat about to depart (Fig. 11).



Fig. 11: The vicar of the island of Gullholmen saying farewell to the fishermen about to depart for deep-sea fishing grounds in 1939 [Painted by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson].

One occasion when taking hands occurred in a ceremony in the post-Reformation Protestant church was during the churching of women that had recently given birth. This took place in the church six weeks after the child was born. This custom continued as long as the ritual of churching itself continued; namely, until the late 19th century as a general rule, and in revivalist families until the early 20th century [Gustavsson 1972]. At the end of the ceremony, the vicar took the woman that had just become a mother by the hand and uttered the words: *May the Lord be with you in His truth and fear, from now and throughout eternity! Amen* (Fig. 12). The common folk considered this to be a blessing, and it was precisely this blessing for the future that women that had miscarried hoped to receive by grasping the vicar's robe (see above).

In our own times, the grasping of hands has returned to the church, or rather to high-church and ritualistically oriented groups, in a new way through the revival of the ancient rite of peace. When the vicar utters the words, *May the peace of the Lord be with you*, the



Fig. 12: The vicar of the church in Varberg in the province of Halland taking a new mother by the hand after having read the prayer “A Mother’s Thanksgiving” for her in 1971 [Photo: Hallandsbild, Tony Malmqvist].

members of the congregation take each other by the hand and repeat, *The peace of the Lord*. The former ritual of making the sign of the cross during christening ceremonies has reappeared in recent years. The vicar touches the child’s body and says, *I make the sign of the cross on your forehead, your mouth, and your heart* [cf. Bringéus 2005]. During confirmation ceremonies, there have been several instances in recent years of the vicar, the assistants, and the closest relatives forming a circle around each young person being confirmed and placing their hands on his or her head and offering prayers. This is understood by many people as a rite of blessing for the young person’s future (Fig. 13).

At sports events, I have observed soccer players making the sign of the cross on their chests before the start of a match. This is seldom done by Swedish- or Norwegian-born players, but very often by foreign professional players that have come to Scandinavia from predominantly Catholic countries, such as Brazil. It will be interesting to see if this new custom also begins to inspire Norwegian- and Swedish-born players in the future. This can then be considered either a religious act or a rite of superstition before the start of the match. One should remember that many of these foreign players are models or idols for young soccer fans today, and that they can thus become sources of inspiration.

TASTE

The consumption of food and drink with a pronounced religious aim has never played a prominent role in the popular religion of the Lutheranism-dominated areas of Sweden and Norway. The aspect of consumption is primarily linked to the rite of Communion, which takes place within the context of the mass in church. In recent years, serving coffee and cakes immediately after the church service has become more frequent in many places in Sweden. Such events do not, however, have any religious function, but are purely social in character and offer the worshippers a chance to meet on a personal basis. Their conversation does not usually have a religious content.

In past times, all meals were preceded and followed by prayers [Gustavsson 1994; Bringéus 1997], a subject that has been thoroughly discussed by Nils-Arvid Bringéus. This custom has, however, lessened or completely vanished in connection with the increasing rise in the individualization of religion. Another ancient custom that has vanished consisted of the mourners at a funeral drinking a glass of wine just before the coffin was taken to the church and the cemetery. This lived on into the 20th century, primarily in those districts of western Sweden characterized by the home-mission revivalist movement known as Schartauanism. After the Reformation, this was practiced in memory of the deceased. The custom had no

Fig. 13: Recital of prayers with the laying of hands on the head of a newly confirmed youth. The ceremony was performed by the vicar, the assistants, and the young person's closest relatives at the parish building in Åh in western Sweden in the summer of 2006 [Photo by the author].



religious content; in other words, in contrast to medieval times, when toasts were drunk in honor of God and the saints. The modern memorial toasts are of interest in this connection solely because they took place in the context of a religious church funeral during which the vicar or a highly placed layman proposed a toast with the words *We drink this wine to honor the memory* or *We raise our glasses in memory of the deceased*. This took place after the vicar led prayers and before the mourners left the deceased's home [Gustavsson 1980] (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14: A glass of wine drunk in memory of the deceased in her home at a funeral in western Sweden in 1973 [Photo by the author].

During my investigation of symbols on gravestones in Norway and Sweden, I found indications of food only on a few immigrants' graves. This was, for example, the case in 2001 when plates of fresh apples and oranges were placed in front of the gravestone of a Chinese woman that was born in 1947 and died in Sweden in 1992 [Gustavsson 2003]. Outside the Protestant regions of Scandinavia, however, similar phenomena can be found, especially in Orthodox regions. The Finnish ethnologist Nils Storå studied memorial meals arranged on relatives' graves by the Orthodox Skolt Sami of Finland. He wrote *The main element in these commemorative feasts is the meal in memory of the dead man, in which he also takes part. On the occasion of collective feasts of remembrance, all the family's dead take part* [Storå 1971: 270].

In my own case, and in connection with a world congress of folklorists in 2005 in Tartu, Estonia, I had the opportunity to conduct fieldwork among the Orthodox Setu people in southeast Estonia. Many religious ceremonies were reestablished and revitalized in this region after Estonia's independence from the USSR in 1991. I participated in an important religious holiday in the town of Saatse near the Russian border during the summer of 2005. Here I experienced the deceased's next of kin, both younger and older persons, placing meals on graves (Fig. 15).

Such meals were arranged on a large number of graves. Tables were often laid on the graves, on which both food and drink, especially vodka, were placed. It was not difficult to understand that this was a festive occasion. Although the participating clergymen conversed with me in German, I could not speak directly to the laymen among the Setu people, but had to rely on an Estonian interpreter. The hospitality of the participants was very evident and also involved the unknown fieldworker, who visited several graves. My interpreter and I were offered food, desserts, and drink, both vodka and soft drinks. I was, however, more interested in documenting, conversing with, and taking photographs than in eating and drinking, ignorant as I was about the cultural codes present at the scene. Both the clergy-

men and my interpreter pointed out that I had to accept whatever was offered to eat and drink because refusing the people's hospitality would be considered an insult [cf. *ISFNR Newsletter* 2006, no. 1: 22]. Accepting this hospitality was considered to honor both those that offered and the deceased by whose grave one stood. On such occasions, festivity and joy characterize the living at the same time as they experience solidarity through time in relationship to their deceased relatives.

SMELL

Incense is the only subject that can be substantiated in my collected material that has any religious meaning associated with the sense of smell. Incense disappeared after the Reformation, but has begun to emerge once again in ritually oriented religious groups, such as the Ansgar student church in Uppsala, Sweden.



Fig. 15: A family of Setu people gathered, together with two black-clad Orthodox priests, for a commemorative meal at their relatives' graves during the holiday of *Päämitsapäev* (Elijah's Friday) in the summer of 2005 in the town of Saatsse in southeast Estonia [Photo by the author].

SUMMARY

This paper has demonstrated that sight and hearing have played the most important roles in the Protestant regions of Scandinavia that I have studied. In many instances, the phenomena linked to sight and hearing have been maintained for long periods of time, and

new phenomena have come into existence in other respects. This has taken place within the religious revivalist movements that have sprung up outside the official state church since the late 19th century. The revivalist movements have wavered between maintenance of traditions and a regeneration that would enable them to awaken interest among new generations.

Senses other than sight and hearing have not had the same importance in the post-Reformation period. This paper has, however, indicated that touch has played a more important role than previously realized by scholars of cultural history. A regeneration in these respects has also taken place within the Swedish church, which was separated from the state in 2000. Through increased ritualization and growing activation of the members of the congregation, the sense of touch has acquired greater importance, something that has had special appeal for young people. Taste and smell, on the other hand, have not yet acquired the same importance as touch, even if taste has acquired a new social function in a religious context. The sense of smell, in the form of incense, can acquire increased importance in correlation with a growing ritualization of religious activities.

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RABA ČUTOV V VERSKIH PRENOVITVENIH GIBANJIH

Razprava pokaže, da sta bila v skandinavskih protestantskih deželah med čuti najpomembnejša vid in sluh. V številnih primerih so se pojavi, povezani z vidom in sluhom, zelo dolgo ohranili, novi pojavi pa so nastali v drugačnih ozirih. To se je zgodilo v prenovitvenih verskih gibanjih, ki so vzniknila zunaj uradne državne cerkve od poznega 19. stoletja. Prenovitvena gibanja so omahovala med vzdrževanjem tradicije in regeneracijo, kar jim je omogočalo, da so prebudila interes pri mlajših generacijah.

V postreformacijskem obdobju drugi čuti (razen vida in sluha) niso bili tako pomembni. Vsekakor se po moji raziskavi kaže, da je imel dotik pomembnejšo vlogo, kakor mu jo pripisujejo kulturni zgodovinarji. Obnovitev v teh ozirih se je zgodila tudi v švedski cerkvi, ki se je ločila od države leta 2000. S povečano ritualizacijo in naraščajočo dejavnostjo članov kongregacije je dobil čut dotik večjo vlogo, nekaj, kar je postalo za mlajše generacije tudi privlačnejše. Okus in vonj pa nista nikoli imela tako pomembne vloge kakor dotik, čeprav je okus dobil v religioznem kontekstu novo socialno funkcijo. Čut vonja, posebej pri kadilu, lahko postane pomembnejši, sorazmerno z naraščajočo ritualizacijo religioznih praks.

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