

INTO THE STEAM, INTO THE DREAM:
THE FINNISH SAUNA AS A RITE OF PASSAGE

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Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies,
Indiana University
May 2000

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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I. Introduction

In Finland, the sauna is a vital part of people's lives. "The tradition of the sauna, carried on unbroken for about two thousands years is deeply rooted in the nation's way of life, and sauna bathing is part of the Finnish identity" (FSS).¹

There are more than 1.5 million saunas in Finland (Finland: a cultural encyclopedia 1997: 278); the number has tripled during the last 50 years according to the Finnish Sauna Society. "Other nations had various types of sweat bath, but generally they were the perquisite of the higher ranks of society. In Finland, the sauna was and is for every man. It is not the status symbol it has become in some countries" (Herva 4).

1. 1. Purpose of this research

1. 1. 1. Earlier sauna research

Since 1960's much research has been conducted regarding the sauna especially in the fields of sociology (Aaltonen, n.d.; Helamaa, 1974), history (Viherjuuri, 1960; Vahros, 1966; Vuorenjuuri, 1967; Laaksonen, E., 1997), folklore (Vahros, 1966; Lockwood, 1977; Laaksonen, P., 1998), anthropology (Mather & Kaups, 1963; Sutyla, 1977; Lockwood, 1977), medicine (Wijburg, 1976), psychiatry (Ihalainen, 1974), physiology (Baderman, 1974) and even statistics (Janhunen, 1974). I have cited only a few of the many studies that have been done. However, to the best of my knowledge, the liminality of the Finnish sauna has not yet been fully investigated.

1. 1. 2. Earlier studies on liminality

Liminality is originally a term borrowed from Arnold van Gennep's formulation of *rites de passage*. The word liminality came from *limen* (L.) which means threshold (initiation/transformation)². "Liminality represents the midpoint of transition in a status sequence between two positions" (Turner 1974: 237).

There are three phases of transition rites according to van Gennep (1909):

(i) *rites préliminaires les rites de séparation du monde antérieur*; (ii) *rites liminaires les rites exécutés pendant le stade de marge*; (iii) *rites postliminaires les rites d'agrégation au monde nouveau* (27).

"During the first phase of separation, symbolic behavior takes place, and during the liminal period, the subject becomes ambiguous as it passes through a symbolic domain, and finally at the end, ritual degradation and elevation take place" (Turner 1974: 232).

According to Selänniemi (1996), "liminal is a state and a process in the transition phase during which the ritual subjects pass a cultural area or zone that has minimal attributes of the states preceding or following the liminal" (266).

"Liminal phase is considered sacred, anomalous, abnormal and dangerous, while pre- and postliminal phases are normal and profane state of being" (Selänniemi 1996: 266). Graburn (1977) also states that "the transition formalities are ambivalent and fraught with danger or at least tension" (22).

The alternation of these states (the nonordinary experience - and profane) and the importance of the transition between them --rituals of sacrifice-- emphasized the process of leaving the ordinary, and the converse process of desacralization or return to ordinary life (Mauss 1898 cited in Graburn 20).

“In this gap between ordered worlds almost anything may happen” (Turner 1974, 13).

Leach (1961: 132-36), in his essay entitled "Time and False Noses," suggests that “the regular occurrence of sacred-profane alternations mark important periods of social life or even provides the measure of the passage of time itself” (cited in Graburn 1977: 20). Both Graburn and Selänniemi have applied the concept of liminality to tourism.

Graburn's theory is that since work is ordinary and compulsory, it is profane, while tourism is sacred and liminal due to its nonordinary, voluntary nature. He views life as “a succession of events marked by changes in state: It is both cyclical and progressive or linear in that we pass through life by a series of changes in status, each of which is marked by a different (though similarly structured) rite of passage” (Graburn 1977: 23).

Selänniemi (1996) believes that “tourism is liminoid or *quasiliminal*.”³ “Liminoid is ritually liminal, and produced and consumed by individuals. On the other hand, liminal is believed by the members of society to be of divine origin and is to its nature anonymous” (Selänniemi 1996: 267). “Often the elements of liminality have been separated from the whole to act individually in specialized fields” (Turner & Turner 1978: 253 quoted in Selänniemi 1996: 267). “Products in these fields promise to remove the consumer away from the everyday experience, that is a promise of transition into a stage that resembles the liminal for a limited time-span. In liminoid everything is possible” (Selänniemi 1996: 267).

Selänniemi(1996) also points out that “social antistructure -- *communitas*-

undifferentiated, democratic, direct, spontaneous social bonds or contacts (social bonds without obligations) which can be seen in tourisms are the characteristics of liminality” (267).

The following statement by Turner (1974) also supports the idea that the nature of the Finnish sauna can be applied to the concept of liminality that has been discussed.

It is in liminality that *communitas* emerges, if not as a spontaneous expression of sociability, at least in a cultural and normative form -- stressing equality and comradeship as norms rather than generating spontaneous and existential *communitas*, though of course spontaneous *communitas* may and does arise in most cases of protracted initiation ritual (232).

Similarly, “the magic of sharing a touristic activity lasts only when (i) the event is really nonordinary; (ii) participants initially share similar value systems; and most importantly, when (iii) they already know each other or are in the same profession or institution” (Graburn 1977: 29). Another interesting point Selänniemi (1996) mentions is that “during the liminal period, one can be anti-self or ideal-self, and these selves may also alternate in the same person” (267).

According to the theory of Selänniemi (1996), “it is more important that you travel than where you travel since you travel more to a different state of being than to a different place striving to free themselves [*sic*] for a limited time-span from everyday life to attain a desired state of relaxation” (268). However, “it is culturally determined; only in western societies, tourism is seen as a normal way of

getting away from everyday life for a while” (cf. Smith 1989 cited in Selännemi 1996: 268). For example, the Balinese use cockfights to escape from the ordinary life:⁴

Their life is less a flow, a directional movement out of the past, through the present, toward the future than an on-off pulsation of meaning and vacuity, an arrhythmic alternation of short periods when "something" (that is, something significant) is happening and equally short ones where "nothing" (that is, nothing much) is -- between what they themselves call "full" and "empty" times, or, in another idiom, "junctures" and "holes" (Geertz 1973: 445)

“... what sets the [Balinese] cockfight apart from the ordinary course of life, lift it from the realm of everyday practical affairs...” (Geertz 1973: 448).

Accordingly, the liminality of sauna must be also culturally determined. Degrees of liminality differ depending on who is in the sauna and the location of the sauna, and other factors. A non-Finnish person, who thinks that the sauna is merely a place to wash, might not feel the liminality in the Finnish sauna; likewise, a Finnish person might not experience liminality in a Japanese public sauna equipped with a loud TV.

Erving Goffman suggests that “an important component of the liminal situation is an enhanced stress on nature at the expense of culture” (cited in Turner 1974: 252). Yet, Turner argues that “the continuous thread of structure through ritualized *communitas* in liminality is highly characteristic of long-established and stable cultural systems” (Turner 1974: 254). “Since *communitas* relieves the

individuals from following the common norms, it has to be a temporary state so that society can continue its organized existence” (Turner & Turner 1978: 249-250 cited in Selänniemi 1996: 267). “The tension between the rational rhythm and the natural rhythms add another element of stress to our lives” (cf. Adam 1995 cited in Selänniemi 1996: 268). “Thus people try to obtain time that is more their own than the time lived in everyday life” (Selänniemi 1996: 268) making liminality a necessity of one's life.

1. 1. 3. Examples of the liminal situation

In Japan, the tearoom where the tea ceremony takes place is considered a special place segregated from ordinary, everyday life. One of the tea masters, Shuko, stated that “the only way to reach the pinnacle of the spirit of tea is to release the self and to understand the true nature of things by drinking tea respecting each other and being humble (Suzuki & Suzuki 1971: 332).⁵ During the tea ceremonies, everybody, regardless of social rank, is expected to be humble and respectful. The entrance to the teahouse is thus made small making it necessary for everyone to lower his/her head (bow) upon entering.

In the United States, casinos might be a liminal place. People who usually would be stingy become brave gamblers. The colorful neon and the cheerful music – the whole atmosphere of casino is created to take people away from the ordinary life into a dreamland.

1. 1. 4. Sauna and its liminality

Lockwood (1977) has associated this liminality with the sauna event of the Finnish-American people in her paper "The Sauna: An Expression of Finnish-American Identity."

The sauna event is both spacially and temporally removed from ordinary daily activity and there also is a psychological sense of separation from social order; thus participants are outside or on the periphery of everyday life in a transition from one state, usually characterized as disorder, to another, that of order (73).

Lockwood (1977) believes that "Van Gennep's three stages of liminality clearly structure the sauna performance" (74). However, according to her, the liminal stage of the sauna event begins at the moment one removes his/her clothing and enters through the sauna door, though I suspect that one is already in the liminal stage when preparing for the sauna or even after taking off for a sauna trip.⁶

Lockwood (1977) claims also that "sauna is no longer associated with rites of passage in modern Finnish-American culture, rather its function has become manifestation and reassertion of Finnish-American ethnic identity" (75).

The goal of my research is to identify the roles and functions of the sauna in modern Finnish society and to clarify how the theory of liminality applies to the sauna activity of the Finns in present-day Finland, somewhat expanding Lockwood's idea and arguing against her theory on some points. Since Finnish-Americans followed quite a different path from the Finns in Finland historically as well as environmentally during the last century, I expect the comparison between Lockwood's result and mine to be of interest to many people.

Since I myself am not a Finn, I will have the advantage of observing the Finnish sauna culture more objectively, taking the eticist approach. Yet by actually participating in the sauna activities with the Finns, I would also be able to identify their activities from the emicist's stand point.

1. 2. Questions and theory

It seems that for many Finns the sauna is a special place, a place one cannot live without. Yet many Finns do not realize that it is such a special place since it has become simply a way of life. What makes the Finnish sauna so special? What is the function of the sauna in one's life? My assumption is that in Finland, the sauna ritual is associated with a "rite of passage"⁷ in people's lives. For the Finns, sauna bathing is a way to escape from the ordinary everyday life into the unordinary world (into liminality)--a vacation from one's life or even from one's own self--just as tourism to the southern islands is liminal for the Finns (cf. Selänniemi Matka ikuiseen kesään and Graburn Hosts and Guests).

The Finnish sauna is a liminal place; thus it is sacred/holy, and non-ordinary conversations and behavior take place inside the sauna. The Finnish sauna can be seen as the mid-point of a rite of passage. Moreover, there must exist a micro-model and a macro-model of liminality with different levels of liminal intensity with regard to Finnish sauna activities.

In order to verify this assumption, the following questions need to be answered:

- 1) If the Finnish sauna is liminal, when and where does each phase (preliminal, liminal, and postliminal) start? (cf. Van Gennep 1909)

- 2) How do the macro- and the micro-models of liminality fit into the sauna activities?
- 3) How do the different sauna situations affect the liminality of the sauna?
- 4) Are saunas in other cultures liminal as well?

1. 3. Material collection

The materials for this research came from my own fieldwork in Finland conducted in the summer of 1998, interviews, responses to the questionnaire on the sauna I had prepared, and the existing written materials as well as materials from the Internet and responses to my questionnaire received via e-mail.

1. 3. 1. Fieldwork

I spent six weeks in June and July of 1998 in the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Turku, Raisio, Rauma and Savonlinna as well as in the small villages of Porkkala and Anjankoski to do the fieldwork.

My fieldwork consisted of observing and taking part in the sauna preparation, sauna taking and post-sauna activities. I have recorded my observations and experiences by writing sauna logs and by taking photos. I also visited various types of saunas, including a smoke sauna in *Kotiseutumuseo* in Raisio.

1. 3. 2. Interviews

I had a chance to interview an elderly man in a small village about his sauna experiences and recorded the conversation on cassette tape. However most of the interesting sauna stories usually came up while casually talking with the Finnish

people over coffee when I was not prepared to record on tape. In such cases, I later attempted to reconstruct the conversations from notes.

I have also interviewed and recorded some foreign students after their first Finnish sauna experience. The tape-recorded material was transcribed and analyzed.

1. 3. 3. Questionnaire

The sauna questionnaire I prepared can be roughly divided into four sections. The first section consists of the questions about time and place, the second section deals with what goes on inside sauna, and the third section discusses the post-sauna issues, and the last section asks about general sauna experiences and the informants' feeling towards the sauna. (See appendix B)

The questionnaire was distributed to Finns in Helsinki and Turku area who were willing to help with my project. I received their answers in written form. The same questionnaire was also distributed to some Finns in Finland via e-mail. They were the same informants from my previous research project on the sauna spirit which was experimental research using the Internet as a main source of material collection. I used this method again since it was very successful.

1. 3. 4. Essays

Essays on the sauna experience with many interesting comments and thoughts were sent to me from 56 students of the University of Jyväskylä, which became very helpful in understanding what the younger generation thinks of the nation's traditional ritual.

I also asked 30 foreign students from 11 countries who were studying the Finnish language and culture in a summer course in Savonlinna about their views on the Finnish sauna. They answered my questions by writing an essay.

1. 3. 5. Secondary sources

Since the late 19th century, much research has been conducted about the origin of the sauna and the effect of sauna bathing. There are quite a few books on the Finnish sauna culture. I also utilized web pages that discussed the Finnish sauna. The web pages of the Finnish Sauna Society contained much especially useful information. There were also many Finnish magazine articles on sauna issues that provided me with the latest views on the sauna culture.⁸

1. 3. 6. Internet

The use of the Internet has helped me greatly in gathering materials as well as in finding informants in a short period of time.

Using various search engines and by typing in the keywords “Finnish sauna,” I found several hundred web pages. Also with the help of the Internet and e-mail technology, I was able to send out my questionnaire to many Finns in different regions and could receive prompt responses from them, though the informants acquired over the Internet tend to be the younger generation, usually students in bigger cities whose way of thinking might differ from that of the older generation in the countryside. In order to account for the unbalanced distribution of the informants, I used other methods of collecting the informants as well and combined them with the Internet informants.

Web pages are not permanent--sometimes they are modified and sometimes they completely disappear. Thus it is difficult to document them. The list of the URLs at the end is based on the URLs that were valid at the time of my research.

1. 4. Method of fieldwork and its problems

I made two major kinds of observations in the Finnish sauna culture. The first was the observation of the physical features of the Finnish sauna and the second and more importantly was the observation of the people's behavior and conversation.

1. 4. 1. Observation of the physical features of sauna

Although the focus of this research is not on the physical features of sauna, it is necessary to pay some attention to them in order to comprehend the behavior that takes place in the sauna. I tried to observe the following things: What items are typically in the Finnish sauna? What is the temperature inside? What sort of materials are used in the sauna and for sauna accessories? Where is the sauna located, etc? These features are documented in writing as well as in photographs.

1. 4. 2. Observation of the people

Observation of the people's behavior and conversation is the main focus of this research. In my sauna log, I recorded much about what took place in each sauna session I participated in. Taking a tape recorder was too risky in a hot and humid place like a sauna. The existence of the tape recorder might also have made people uncomfortable and thus might have made them talk differently than they normally would have; therefore, these notes were recorded after the fact.

I observed people's behavior and conversation change before, during, and after the sauna to compare what effect the sauna had on people. And inside the sauna, I also observed the position of where they sat and who threw *löyly*.⁹ I also took notes on the pattern (the order of the shower room, sauna, dressing room, etc. traffic) since it might cause some changes in conversation and behavior.

1. 4. 3. Problems of the method

The biggest problem I encountered was that my presence could possibly affect informants' behavior, yet there was no other ways to observe them than being there.

Another problem was that the answers to my questionnaire or the interview questions seemed sometimes superficial, especially when I had known the person personally. Also, distribution of the questionnaire in person did not work as well as via e-mail. The answers were not as in detail probably due to the lack of time and embarrassment about telling the truth. However, the distribution of the questionnaire via e-mail had its own problems due to the fact that it is usually more difficult to conduct follow-up interviews.

In order to overcome these problems, I tried to examine the information I gathered carefully to determine which ones would be the reliable sources.

I will start my analysis by discussing some history of the sauna and the different types of saunas in chapter 2. In chapter 3, I will also discuss the social functions of the sauna. In chapter 4, I will examine the liminality of the sauna. In

chapter 5, I will discuss foreign views of the sauna, and finally in chapter 6, I will summarize the study and try to answer the questions I posed in chapter 1.

II. Background of Finnish sauna

What is a sauna? How is the Finnish sauna different from the saunas in other countries? Here, I will offer background information on the Finnish sauna.

2. 1. History and Ritual

The origin of the Finnish sauna is uncertain. Some say it is from Teutons, others say it was invented in Russia, and some believe it is purely Finnish. In any case saunas have existed for thousands of years.

“In the middle Ages, Finnish sauna played an important part in the daily life of the Finns” (Viherjuuri 1960: 25). A long time ago, the sauna was not only a place to clean oneself but had many functions, such as “drying flax, preparing malts, curing meat and many other agricultural or domestic chores” (Valtakari 2/4).¹⁰ Aside from these functions, the sauna is known to have strong connections with certain rituals. It was a place to prepare for festivals and wedding ceremonies, a place for healing the sick and ill, a place for giving birth,¹¹ and a place to prepare the dead for burial.

Many strange beliefs and superstitions are connected with the sauna and with bathing customs. The ancient Finns believed, like many other primitive peoples, that fire came from heaven, and therefore it was sacred. The fire place and the pile of stones in the sauna were therefore alters. The sauna was a place for the worship of the dead, who were supposed to return gladly, even after death, to so pleasant a place (Viherjuuri 1960: 26).

In Finland, unlike in other cultures, the sauna has been always regarded as a sacred place where immorality was considered a complete taboo.

Magic, especially relating to healing or love affairs, was also performed in sauna: “At Whitsuntide and Midsummer the marriageability of young women was improved by special sauna baths; the smell of herbs and birch-leaves hung in the air and the wise woman recited her spells” (Valtakari 2/4).¹²

Most Finns today agree that sauna is truly a national custom. Many informants who responded to my questionnaire said that they go to the sauna because it is a tradition, and simply a way of life, among other reasons.¹³ Karjanoja states that “sauna liittyy kaikkien ikäluokkien elämään sekä puhudistautumisena että rituaalina” (1997: 30).¹⁴

2. 2. Sauna Terms

Here are some terms that are useful in understanding the Finnish sauna culture. As with any translations of cultural items, it is almost impossible to provide an exact meaning in English. One must always be careful not to measure these items with one’s own yardstick, in other words, with one’s own language/culture.

The following glossary is collected from several different sources for the comparison purpose.¹⁵

sauna:

Finnish style sweat bath (FSS)

savusauna:

Smoke sauna (FSS) (K & P)

kiuas:

Sauna stove (FSS) (K & P)

Heater (SS)

kiuaskivet:

Stones in the sauna stove (FSS)

Stones (SS)

Stones used in a sauna stove (K & P)

löyly:

1) Steam or vapor created by throwing water on the stones of the stove

2) The heat, humidity and temperature in the sauna in general (FSS)

Sauna steam (K & P)

heittää (lyöä) löylyä:

Throw water on the heated stones (K & P)

löylyhuone:

The hot room (FSS)

The steam room (Herva)

pesuhuone:

The washing room (FSS) (Herva)

pukuhuone:

The dressing room (FSS) (Herva)

vihta, vasta:

Whisk, made of birch (or similar) twigs. Used for beating the body in the hot room to stimulate the feel of the *löyly*. (FSS)

Whisk, made of the leafy twigs of a young birch or any broadleaved species

(Herva)

Bunch of leafy twigs (K & P)

vihtominen:

Hitting oneself with the sauna whisk (K & P)

lauteet:

Elevated platform to sit on in the hot room (the physical fact is that warm air rises)

(FSS)

Sauna bench (K & P)

lakeinen:

Opening in the ceiling of a smoke sauna where the smoke escapes during heating

(FSS)

räppänä:

Duct or vent on the sauna wall close to the ceiling. The size of the opening is usually adjusted with a simple slideboard. (FSS)

kiulu:

Small pail or bucket to contain the *löyly* water. Usually made of wood: boards tied together with wooden hoops. (FSS)

Bucket (SS)

Wooden or plastic bucket (Herva)

kippo, kauha:

Ladle to throw water on the stove (FSS)

Ladle (SS)

tiku, kisu, kitku:

Unpleasant fumes in a smoke sauna right after heating

-disappear in an hour or two after which time the sauna is ready (FSS)

avanto:

A hole in the ice of a frozen lake or sea (FSS)

joulukylypy/sauna:

Christmas sauna (K & P)

2. 3. What is in a sauna?

In examining the liminality of the Finnish sauna, it is important to observe the physical differences between the inside and the outside of the sauna by comparing what can be found in the sauna. A typical Finnish sauna consists of a steam room, a washing room, and a dressing room, though often in some old saunas in the countryside one washes oneself inside the sauna (steam room).

The steam room is usually entirely of bare wood such as spruce or aspen. The *kiuas* or stove can be wood-heated or electric,¹⁶ and its casting is made of brick or steel. The *kiuas* is topped with stones that are hard, and dark, and it contains metals such as iron and chromium oxide that are very strong against the heat. The bather will take along a towel or a special cloth to sit on, a wooden or plastic bucket filled with warm water to throw on the *kiuas*, a ladle or dipper, which can be plastic or wooden-handled copper, to go with, and sometimes a birch whisk. A thermometer and a hygrometer may also be present, but not always. Quite often,

there is no electric light especially in the countryside. The candlelight or a lantern hung outside provides dim light in such cases.

The washing rooms usually have a wooden bench or a stool with containers of hot and cold water if not a shower. There is also a wooden or plastic washbowl. In modern washing rooms, the floor is tiled. The old fashioned sauna with concrete floor has a duckboard of some sort.

The dressing room varies greatly. Sometimes it is also used as a guest room; in that case, a bed is present.

2. 4. Different types of sauna

Basically, there are three different ways to heat the Finnish sauna today. The three methods are wood-heated, electrically heated, or heated with smoke. In his sauna study, Badermann (1976) called “the electric sauna the ‘technical sauna’ opposed to the original sauna which is heated by a wood fire” (263).

2. 4. 1. Wood-heated sauna

This type of sauna was most common and popular for a long time and there are still many of them especially in the cottages found in the countryside or in old homes. Even today, when most urban saunas are electric, many Finns prefer the wood-heated sauna, because of its soft and even heat, nice wooden fragrance, and they seem to enjoy the time spent for the preparation of heating the sauna.¹⁷

The best wood to burn seems to be birch because of its dryness and fragrance. Depending on the types of *kiuas*, it may be heated either from outside the sauna building/ *löylyhuone* (steam room) or inside the *löylyhuone*. The preparation begins with gathering birch twigs used to start the fire in the *kiuas*.

First, the twigs are wrapped in paper like a small packet. This packet is lit in the stove. When the flames become continuous, larger pieces of wood are added and the sauna is let warm.

2. 4. 2. Electric sauna

It is difficult to find the wood-heated sauna in cities. The electric sauna has become a safe, easy, and efficient alternative to the wood-heated sauna for the busy urban people, though it lacks certain mythical atmosphere¹⁸ that is unique to the ancient sauna, and “some are of the opinion that the steam of the electric sauna is lifeless” (Helanmaa 1976: 22).

To heat the sauna, one can set the desired temperature and turn the switch on. In about half an hour the sauna is ready to be taken. The electric sauna actually made the heating of the sauna so easy that the sauna may be taken almost anytime one wishes, making sauna-taking somewhat less special.

2. 4. 3. Smoke sauna

This form of sauna is believed to be the original one in Finland. The smoke sauna is heated by filling the room with smoke and letting the smoke out through a small window. Although it takes a long time to heat the smoke sauna, it remains warm for a very long time as well.¹⁹ According to the Finnish Sauna Society, almost all saunas were smoke saunas at the beginning of 1900’s. But due to its difficulty of heating, cleaning,²⁰ and safety problems,²¹ the smoke sauna is dying out rapidly. It seems that unless you are a member of an exclusive sauna club, or from deep in the woods, now it is not very easy to experience the luxury of the smoke sauna without paying a lot of money.

III. Where, when, and why do the Finns go to sauna?

3. 1. Different locations of sauna

Saunas are found everywhere in Finland. If one owns a house, it is very likely that there is a sauna in it. It is definitely not only for the rich people in Finland. Apartments almost always have a shared sauna for the residents if not in the individual unit. Saunas are at schools, companies, hospitals, government institutions, sports clubs, hotels, in boats and ferries, and in military camps. It has been suggested that saunas be put on trains as well. It is well known that Finns take saunas with them wherever they go—to Olympic villages, to UN military camps, etc.

Here, I will describe saunas in different places in order to provide the reader with an idea about the varieties of the sauna bathing tradition in Finland.

3. 1. 1. Home

It has long been said that the sauna is the first structure to go up when building a house. In Finland, the sauna is an important part of a house just like a kitchen or a bathroom. It is usually located in the basement or next to the shower room in a house. Typical modern day home saunas are electric since they are much easier to build, care for and warm. Usually a home sauna can hold about 5-6 people.

Many students who attend school away from home mentioned that the sauna is strongly connected to home. They really feel that they are finally home when they return home for the weekend and are in the parents' sauna.

3. 1. 2. Apartment

“In the official view, the sauna is a part of the dwelling unit. The National Board of Housing stipulates that houses built with the aid of a State loan must have a sauna. According to the planning regulations, there must be for every 20-35 dwelling units one sauna...” (Helamaa 1976: 22).

Usually in an apartment building, unless there is an individual sauna in each unit, one must sign up for a time to use the sauna. Everyone will get at least an hour a week turn. Often, the sauna fee is included in the rent, but sometimes, one must pay a separate fee of about 2 dollars per use. Student dormitories have the same system. Though some people refuse to go to saunas shared with strangers, everyone is entitled to have easy access to a sauna in Finland no matter what sort of place one lives in.

Although an apartment sauna might not be the best, the attitude toward it is often quite positive. Some expressed that it is one of the best places to get to know neighbors whom otherwise one would not meet.

3. 1. 3. Public sauna

Before people could afford a private sauna, the villagers shared the town sauna, which was located in the yard outside the living area (Valtakari 98: 2/4). This is the only kind of sauna that is decreasing in number as more and more people acquire their own private saunas. The public sauna is a commercial sauna which is open to public. It played a significant role, especially during the period of urbanization in the 1920s and 1930s, in serving those who did not own a private sauna in cities. There are, however, saunas attached to the public sports clubs or

swimming pools, which play a similar role and have an atmosphere similar to the old-day public sauna.

Aside from just washing and cleaning, the public sauna seemed to have also been a place to socialize. When asked about socializing in a public sauna, many people in their 20s complained about having to chat with elderly people who just love to talk. Interestingly, I heard the comments from the older generation that young people today go to sauna only to socialize... but obviously not often in the public sauna.

3. 1. 4. Summerhouse

It is a dream of many Finns to own a wood-heated sauna in the forest by the beautiful shore. And actually, many do realize this dream. Many city dwellers possess a summerhouse in the country, and the sauna is either in the house or a separate building. Almost without exception, the sauna in the summerhouse is either wood-heated or even a smoke sauna. The size of the summerhouse saunas seems to be larger than that of regular houses. Thus sauna parties and sauna evenings with friends, relatives, coworkers and other group members often take place in a summerhouse.²² Jumping into the cold lake-/sea-water is one of the great joys of taking a sauna in the country. Many unforgettable childhood memories are created, and one's best sauna experience, almost without an exception, takes place in the summerhouse sauna as well.²³

3. 2. When do the Finns go to the sauna?

According to the responses to my questionnaire, most Finns go to the sauna once or twice a week on the weekend.²⁴ The number increases in the summertime, when a lot of them spend time in their summerhouse.

“There are no rules on how often sauna baths can be taken. In olden times people used to bathe daily or weekly, depending on the season and the locality. Today Finns usually bathe once or twice a week; a holiday-maker may do so every day in his private cottage sauna” (Valtakari ¾).²⁵

There are special times and occasions many Finns agree that the sauna plays an important role. The Christmas sauna and the Midsummer sauna are considered the year’s two major events.²⁶

3. 2. 1. Weekend sauna

According to the parish history records from different parts of Finland,²⁷ people in Finland sauna bathed every day of the week. The number of days decreased to every two to three days by the end of 18th century. “When the bath-nights were reduced in number, Saturday and Wednesday became the established sauna nights...In the present century Wednesday was gradually dropped, but Saturday is still the sacred sauna night of the Finnish peasant population, just as the last day of the week, *laugardagr*, was a general bathing or washing day in old-time Scandinavia” (Aaltonen 162).

Today, the reasons why many people go to sauna on the weekend may vary. Some say it is the best way to leave busy work behind and start the weekend. Others say you don’t have to hurry on weekend. Still others say it is a place to reflect on the past week and plan for the next. One can even take a short trip to the

summerhouse during the weekend. Hence, it is understandable many prefer to go to sauna on the weekend.

3. 2. 2. Midsummer sauna

Midsummer sauna traditionally had more meaning than just cleaning before the Midsummer dance. Young girls used to get information about their future husbands by throwing *vihta* onto the sauna roof.²⁸ The sauna seemed to have been a special meeting place for couples in the midnight hours especially on Midsummer's eve.

In Finland, the sauna is almost always a part of celebration, just as are a good meal and drink. It seems that nobody comes out of a sauna unhappy. And Midsummer is a very happy day for the Finns who endure the long and dark severe winter.

3. 2. 3. Christmas sauna

The Christmas sauna is a very important part of the Christmas tradition in Finland; however, the nature of sauna bathing is in stark contrast to that of Midsummer. Unlike the exciting and joyful nature of the Midsummer sauna, the Christmas sauna is a way to begin Christmas peacefully. It is believed that by going to the sauna, one could be spiritually purified rather than physically cleansed. In a way, it is a sacred ritual for the Finns. Before going to the Christmas sauna, many people used to light candles and put clean straw on the floor (Arstila 1983: 48).

3. 3. Social functions of sauna

Once an editor of Boston's largest daily newspaper wrote that "the Finnish sauna is not a solo performance in washing up—it is like a meeting. It reminds one of campfire gathering in the olden days."²⁹

The Finnish sauna is indeed used for the purpose of social contacts. It seems that the relaxed atmosphere in the sauna accommodates difficult human relations and helps ease problems. It is also believed to help facilitate the team spirit among athletes, soldiers and other groups.

3. 3. 1. Family sauna

The family is the basic unit of human relations. For many Finns, the sauna is a place to discuss family matters, anything from day's happenings to serious issues.³⁰ Important news is usually broken in the sauna.³¹ The whole family goes to the sauna together when children are young. As the children grow up, members of the same sex go together. This often includes extended family members such as grandparents, cousins and other relatives. However, it is not unusual for the adult family members of different genders to go to the sauna together in Finland. Many of my informants indeed mentioned going to the sauna with siblings/parent of the opposite sex.³² These statements seem to indicate that the sauna plays a significant role in maintaining the family ties in Finland.

3. 3. 2. Business sauna

It is a common practice for the Finns to conduct business, and even politics in the sauna.³³ "When the deal does not work at the meeting table or when there is a problem between the businessman and his client, the business is moved into the

sauna, where everything seems to be taken care of “(Arstila 1983: 52).³⁴ In China, one feeds the enemy a delicious meal to overcome the difficult part of the meeting, while in Finland “businessmen and politicians take their adversaries to the sauna” (Herva 1961: 7). “Hostility melts in the steam as the birch whisks swish, and stubborn minds begin to accept compromise. Rank and protocol are shed in the dressing room with one’s clothes and it is hard to maintain pompous dignity in a birthday suit³⁵....It is just part of the Finnish tradition of hospitality” (Herva 1961: 7). “An invitation to sauna from business contacts you have never met before is perfectly normal” (Norros 2/3),³⁶ though it could possibly intimidate the foreign businessman who is not accustomed to this tradition...

3. 3. 3. Sports sauna

Sports and the sauna are also closely connected in Finland. After working out, going to the sauna is a great way to relax weary, stiff muscles. Some athletes go to the sauna before a competition to concentrate and warm up. Finland’s great distance runner Paavo Nurmi is said to have spent a lot of time in the sauna. It is a well known fact that the Finnish Olympic athletes had a sauna built in the Olympic village at the Berlin Games in 1936.

Good records in sports are often associated with the good physical and mental conditions.³⁷ The sauna provides both of them, making it indispensable in sports. Thus sports clubs, not only in Finland but all over the world, are often equipped with saunas today.

3. 3. 4. Sauna party/evening & sauna trip

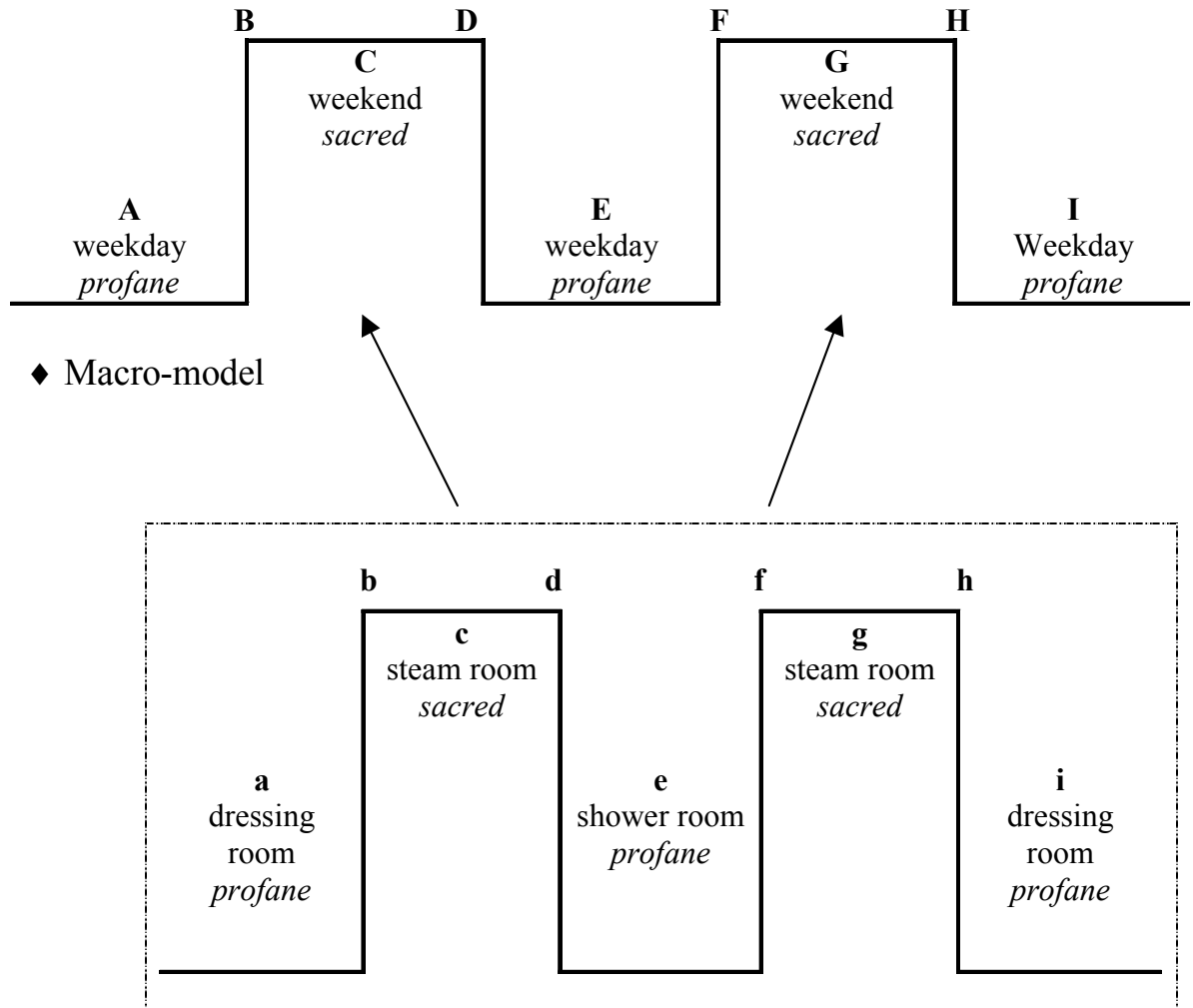
The sauna is also a place to socialize and have fun in Finland. Many social events such as sauna parties, sauna evenings and sauna trips held by a work place, schools, churches, clubs, and other groups and organizations take place throughout the year. These social events usually involve eating and drinking (and sometimes even singing or playing games) afterwards. Quite often, sauna turns are separated by gender. However, a mixed-sauna is not surprising in Finland especially among close friends or among members of the same club at universities. One must again remember that the sauna and sexuality are remotely connected, if at all, in Finland.

IV. Liminality of the Finnish sauna

<i>Mistään ovesta ei ole niin</i>	There are no other doors that are
<i>miellyttävä astua sisälle kuin</i>	so pleasing to enter as the sauna door.
<i>saunan ovesta. Lämmin ottaa</i>	The warmth receives you with open arms.
<i>sinut avosylin vastaan. Lämmin ja</i>	The warmth and the strong scent of
<i>savun ja vastojen voimakas</i>	smoke and birch whisks. ³⁸
<i>tuoksu.</i>	

(KALEVALA)

What happens when one goes through the special door into the sauna?
What separates the sauna from the ordinary everyday life? Here I will examine the Finnish sauna as a “rite of passage”³⁹ using the hypothetical models I have designed below.



◆ Macro-model

◆ Micro-model

* The charts indicate that the whole micro-model fits inside the period 'C' and 'G' of the macro-model.

These models suggest that the Finns go through the cycles of profane and sacred stages not only on a weekly basis but also during a single sauna bathing experience. The macro-model's weekend part can also be vacation time at the summerhouse or special holidays such as Christmas and Midsummer. Or one can even apply the life cycle to this macro-model. In such case, the high points in the model would be birth, wedding and death. These major events in life have long

been associated with the sauna in Finland, and they are the original marking points of rites of passage suggested by Van Gennep (1909).

“Each liminal period will be different from the previous one because one has experienced times of different periods that lead to the specific liminal point” (Graburn 1977: 23). Thus, the period ‘G’ is different from the period ‘C’ in the macro-model above. The same can be said for the micro-model’s period ‘g’ and ‘c.’

Turner (1974) suggests that “the liminality is not institutionalized and preordained. Rather should it be viewed as spontaneously generated in a situation of radical structural change” (248). If his statement is correct, how does the radical structural change occur with regard to sauna activities? Using the information gathered from the informants and also my own sauna experiences in Finland, I will now examine how and when each phase of the transition rites takes place in order to solve the questions I posed earlier in this paper.

4. 1. Preliminal phase

My assumption is that the preliminal phase in the macro-model starts at point ‘B,’ i.e. when the weekend starts.⁴⁰ It is when one puts work/classes behind (separation from everyday life) and involves oneself in activities different from weekdays. The question is whether the whole of the micro-model (the sauna activity), i.e. the period ‘a’ through ‘i’ should be considered liminal. Lockwood (1977) thought only periods ‘c’ and ‘g’ are liminal; thus assuming period ‘a’ part of a preliminal phase. What should we consider the period before ‘a’? The preparation for the sauna, especially the wood-heated sauna takes a considerable

amount of time. I assume that some kinds of changes in the state of the bather are already taking place at this point.

After all, it is not practical to determine when the preliminal phase begins for different types of saunas and for different situations. Moreover, this possibly differs depending on each individual. Yet by analyzing some sample behaviors, it is possible to reach a general understanding of this ritual.

4. 1. 1. Preliminal phase (micro-model): Wood-heated vs. electric-heated

Assuming there are preliminal phases both in the macro-model and the micro-model, the types of sauna, especially whether it is wood-heated or electric-heated, would make a great difference in the preliminal phase in the micro-model.

The electric sauna hardly requires any preparation aside from pushing a button to turn on the heater, and turning a knob to set the temperature. It takes about half an hour to an hour to heat a sauna depending on the size. After turning the switch on, one can go off to do whatever chore is left to do, watch television, or something else. During this waiting period, nothing special that is associated specifically with the sauna takes place. In this case, the preliminal period starts in the dressing room where the actual preparation begins – taking off one's clothes, etc.

On the other hand, the preliminal phase starts much before one enters the sauna if it is wood-heated. Actions such as gathering wood to burn, lighting the sauna stove, adding more wood to keep the stove going are not the kinds of things one does every day. They are time-consuming and a lot of work, but not the kind of work one does at the office. There is no need to hurry. Not having to worry

about time is one of the important characteristics of the Finnish sauna that many of the informants agreed upon. Time starts to flow slowly during this period as if it indicates that time will eventually come to a stop inside the sauna.

4. 1. 2. Preliminal phase (micro-model): Home vs. summerhouse

Since most of the urban home saunas are electric-heated, and summerhouse saunas are almost always wood-heated, what has been said above in 4. 1. 1. applies here as well. However, there is more than the way the sauna is heated that affects the preliminal phase. Location, atmosphere, and the carnival-like nature of summerhouse sauna should be clearly differentiated from the home sauna.

According to my survey, almost all the informants preferred the wood-heated summerhouse sauna to the home sauna despite the work involved to heat it up and the miles of country road they must travel to get there. Being surrounded by nature itself creates a different state of mind for many people – a separation from ordinary life. Somewhere between the moment one leaves home and one arrives at the summerhouse, the preliminal phase begins. The beginning point is rather ambiguous. The separation from ordinary life takes place gradually in this case, while at the home sauna, the preliminal phase occurs suddenly in the dressing room.

4. 1. 3. Preliminal phase (micro-model): Younger vs. older generation

The individual difference of the beginning of the preliminal phase is neither geographical nor gender-based. The differences are most significant among different generations. When the older generation heads for the sauna, the primary goal is to get clean, while the younger generation often has many purposes aside

from just washing, e.g., socializing, relaxing, etc.⁴¹ These attitudinal differences can possibly affect the preliminal phase. However, the greater difference is observed between children and adults. For children, sauna may be less liminal, if at all. The reason for this may be that children are not yet fully integrated into the society. For children, amusement parks might be more liminal than saunas.

This leads to a question if these differences between generations are caused by “the change in progress” or it is simply the result of “age grading.”⁴² In order to find the answers to this question, it is necessary to examine the real time data.

4. 1. 4. Other elements that affect the preliminal phase

Other possible elements that would affect the preliminal phase are the situations and the company. A good example is Christmas sauna. The preliminal phase in the macro-model begins already when one starts preparing for the Christmas, usually sometime at the beginning of December. In the micro-model, the preliminal phase begins as one starts cleaning the sauna for this special occasion. In such cases, even with regard to the home sauna, the preliminal phase starts much before one takes his/her clothes off in the dressing room.

As for the company, whether one is going to sauna with somebody close, with strangers or alone can make a difference in the preliminal phase since it is likely to create a different kind of liminality depending on with whom one takes a sauna. More will be discussed in the next section.

4. 2. Liminal phase

This is the phase when one is in an ambiguous, abnormal and unordinary state. It is also considered a sacred phase of the rites of passage, going through a

sort of transformation. Many informants stated that they go through both mental and physical changes in sauna. Many indicated that the sauna experience is strongly connected to their cultural identity – a symbolic ritual – implying the liminality of the sauna bathing.

When does the liminal phase begin, and what is being spoken and what sort of unusual behavior takes place during this period of sauna activity?

4. 2. 1. Macro-model

During the liminal period of the macro-model (i.e. weekend, vacation, holiday etc.), people are generally more relaxed and inclined to engage in the activities that please them. This is namely a charging time for the new week (or the new semester) to come.

4. 2. 2. Micro-model

The liminality is observed most clearly in the steam room (*löylyhuone*). It is evidently the mid-point of the rite of passage. Many unusual, abnormal, unordinary things happen there.

One such thing is a loss of self-consciousness.⁴³ Nakedness makes people vulnerable. Unlike in other countries, swimsuits and towels are not very welcomed in the Finnish sauna. This vulnerability leads to the ambiguous social status. Everyone becomes equal in a sauna. This ambiguity starts at the moment one takes off his/her clothes. Released from clothing, and enveloped by the warm air, one can become truly relaxed physically and mentally.

When sauna bathing alone, one has no worries inside the sauna. Many students said that they go to sauna alone often to organize their thoughts. In this

socially and technologically complex and busy modern life, it is easy to lose sight of oneself. There is hardly time to stop and reflect on one's life. However, many have commented that inside the sauna, time stops. One could completely forget about the fast pace life outside. The sauna becomes a small hideaway for the weary people. Many of the informants told me that the most important things in a sauna, aside from good *löyly*, are peace and quiet.

When bathing with close friends or family, the Finns often talk about deeper and more personal issues. Problems are usually washed away with one's sweat. Business and politics work better in the sauna for the similar reasons. Men and women of all ages often bathe together, but there is surprisingly no disorder. The Finns say, "One must behave as if in the church when in the sauna." Thus, there is no immorality. People consider the sauna a sacred place, partly because of the sauna's long history associated with magic and other rituals.

The Finns are said to be a shy group of people. They do not usually talk to strangers on the train or on the bus. But when asked whether they would talk to strangers in a public sauna, most of the informants answered yes.⁴⁴ To the question if there is anyone with whom they would feel uncomfortable going to a sauna, almost everyone responded nobody.⁴⁵ The stereotype of the Finns does not seem to apply in the sauna.

4. 3. Postliminal phase

This is the phase where one reintegrates back to the ordinary state. This (in the micro-model) does not happen as soon as one walks out the sauna door. The

reintegration occurs even more slowly than the separation in the preliminal phase in the case of sauna activity.

Unlike the pre-sauna activity, there exist certain uniform rituals that follow sauna bathing. First of all, swimming and/or a shower that follow(s) each time one goes into the steam room (i.e. period 'e' and 'i' for example) Cooling off, changing into relaxing clothes, and drinks and food are common post-sauna activities. The way people cool themselves, and what they drink and eat are also somewhat uniform: the most common way to cool down was to sit outside naked or with a towel.⁴⁶ The most common drinks⁴⁷ are water and beer, and there is a strong connection between sausage and sauna.⁴⁸

This uniformity in the post-sauna activity indicates that the sauna ritual (the micro-model) continues until one wakes up the next morning. As people usually go to the sauna in the evening,⁴⁹ the liminality continues into the night without ending suddenly. Aside from relaxed, clean feelings, quite many commented how tired, in a positive way, they feel after the sauna.⁵⁰ This means that at this point their mind and body are still in a kind of euphoria that eventually draw them into a good night's sleep. The reintegration begins only then when they wake up the next morning. As for the macro-model, the post-liminal phase begins when the weekend or vacation is over (i.e. at point 'D' and point 'H').

V. Foreign views of the sauna – liminal or non-liminal?

Today, the Finnish word "sauna" is known all over the world. But saunas outside Finland took off and developed different reputations. I once found an advertisement in a French magazine with a full-page picture of a sauna (steam

room). At first I thought that it was an advertisement for a sauna stove or at least something related to sauna, yet it turned out to be an advertisement for a condom. Unfortunately in many countries, the sauna was attached to some kind of sex industry differing sharply from the original functions of sauna bathing.

As mentioned before, the liminality of the sauna is culturally bound, differing from one culture to another. In this section, I will examine how the sauna is viewed in different countries, and also, how non-Finns reacted to the Finnish sauna experience.⁵¹ Finally, I will examine the liminality of the sauna in countries other than Finland.

5. 1. European view

In the Middle Ages, Central Europeans also enjoyed the steam bath, but it eventually disappeared from these countries until it became popular again in recent years.⁵² Saunas are usually found in the luxurious hotels or in sports clubs in Western Europe. Most Europeans never experience sauna bathing in their life time. The reaction to the Finnish sauna differs depending on what part of Europe one is from. Though it is dangerous to generalize from only few examples, based on my observation, Southern Europeans accepted the Finnish way with less difficulty than Germans and Belgians. It is difficult to say if this is due to their cultural similarities or their tolerance toward other cultures.

Interestingly, this phenomenon somehow correlates with Selänniemi's speculation as to why the Finns travel to Southern Europe.⁵³ When the Finns cannot take a trip to the south, they instead take a vacation from their life in the sauna. There, they are no longer their ordinary selves, and become bold like the

Southern Europeans. This makes it easy for a Southern European to copy the behavior of the Finn in sauna.

The situation is different in Russia, especially among the Finnic peoples. A Tver Karelians⁵⁴ told me that she goes to the sauna ('banya' in Russian) once a week. Unlike the Finnish home sauna, *banya* in Russia is often a public bath. She had a lot of nice childhood memories associated with *banya*. As she was telling me the stories in an old sauna in Savonlinna, she became homesick. The sauna reminded her of her family and home.

5. 2. North American view

Native Americans long had a culture very similar to the Finnish sauna. They had the sweat lodge. In a tent, the stones were heated and rituals were performed. As one perspires in the sweat lodge, one could experience a shamanistic trance.⁵⁵

Typical North Americans today usually have no knowledge of this type of bath. Most perceive the sauna as a luxurious addition to a home or the leisure which accompanies a hotel swimming pool. Besides, nudity is considered taboo in public places. Hotel and sports club saunas require the bathers to wear swim suits. Moreover, in most of the saunas, it is prohibited to throw water (*löyly*) on the stove. Good *löyly* (steam) is one of the most important criteria of the Finnish sauna. Without it, the sauna experience is never the same. Americans who are not used to the extreme heat of the sauna often consider it a torture rather than relaxing.

5. 3. Asian view: The case of Japan

In the summer of 1998, an exhibition called “Furo⁵⁶ & Sauna”⁵⁷ was held in Jyväskylä, Finland. The organizer tried to display the common themes and rituals of the two through this exhibition.⁵⁸ Indeed, the Japanese understand bathing as more than just cleaning. It is a place to relax, socialize, and enjoy. The Japanese love to take trips to natural hot springs in nature. Nakedness is not a big issue in Japan, just as in Finland. The sauna was received into Japanese culture very easily for these reasons. Although home sauna is not very common in Japan,⁵⁹ there are many public baths (*‘sento’*) or health resorts that offer a sauna along with various types of baths. However, it is extremely interesting to find a big television screen often in the steam room in the Japanese sauna, while there is never such a thing by the Japanese style bath.

Especially in the 80s, the “sauna” in Japan had another meaning promoting bad images of the sauna. It had become an object of the sex industry. Like in many other countries, the sauna was used for wrong reasons. In the book “Furo & Sauna” Yamaguchi (1997) explains how this deviation took place. According to him, there are four elements of sauna and *furo* that used to be pure and sacred, which became earthly as it became more widespread:

”1. rentoutumisen maallistumisvektori:

-- mielen uudelleensyntymisestä kohti ruumiin toipumista rasituksista

2. puhdistautumisen maallistumisvektori:

-- ryhmästä kohti yksittäistä ihmistä, yhteisöstä kohti yksilöä

3. parantamisen maallistumisvektori:

-- mielen ja ruumiin parantamisesta kohti sairaan ruumiinosan lääkehoitoa

4. nauttimisen maallistumisvektori:

-- puhdistautumispiitojen riemusta kohti pinnallisia nautintoja ja huveja⁶⁰,

(12-13)

It is clear that the sauna is less sacred than *furo* is to the Japanese, thus leaving them less concerned about the sauna being employed for earthly activities.

5. 4. Foreign students' view of Finnish sauna

Here are some comments from students from countries other than Finland.⁶¹

Russia (Tver Karelia):

- For me, 'banya' is a combination of massage with whisk, the abundance of aromas from boiled herbs, and great heat.⁶² (female)
- I still haven't been in a Finnish sauna, but I heard a lot about it... I was in sauna in Tver and in Ukraina. I think that the sauna in Finland is better since there is a good company here (in Finland).⁶³ (female)

Russia (Komi/Zirian):

- I think that the Finnish sauna is fun. I like the heat.⁶⁴ (female)

Russia (Ukraine):

- I like going to the sauna: to be steamed in a nice way and to relax after a difficult day in the banya...⁶⁵ (female)

Latvia:

- I like Finnish sauna. I think that Finns don't stay in sauna too long since it is very hot. When I was in sauna, Finns went outside because it was too hot. Latvians like very hot sauna. *Vihta* (birch whisks) are also very nice in Finland. I think sauna is a wonderful thing.⁶⁶(female)

Lithuania:

- I have never been in sauna... I heard that Finns can not live without sauna. It is exciting that in Finland, there are saunas in City Halls as well. Sauna is like a part of Finland.⁶⁷ (female)
- In Lithuania, there are many Russian saunas. My family likes both Finnish and Russian Sauna. Lithuanians know that the sauna is very important to the Finns and that the Finns can not live without it.⁶⁸ (female)

Poland:

- Il y a deux jours, pour la première fois, je suis allée au sauna! Avant je n'aurais jamais cru que je sois à même d'y aller, tout simplement dans la « tenue d'Eve », c'est-à-dire tout à fait nue, à poil. Mais cela a été super et vraiment facile à faire, grâce à une certaine ambiance amicale entre mes copines. Sauna est une invention formidable! C'est vraiment quelque chose de très intéressant! Quelle expérience enrichissante! (female)
- I have always liked warmth and heat. That's why it doesn't disturb in anyway when the temperature in sauna is so high. I feel very comfortable there although at the beginning it was a slight surprise for me to see people naked there. I quickly got used to it and I find it very natural now. BUT I have a lot of trouble when telling my friends about sauna customs in Finland. They consider it something immoral and corrupted. Even my husband, whom I've told a lot about this sauna innocence and non-erotic attitude cannot fully accept it. In Poland sauna is usually associated with the rich and influential (because only they can afford to have it), who, in turn, do not have good reputation. There is a kind [of] rumor spreading

about orgies and dirty dealings in sauna, multiplied by the factor of nakedness. In my country people never undress in front of others—except very intimate situations... Even very young children have their underwear on the beach. When a sister and a brother wash together, they do not undress, either. This is probably the problem. (female)

France:

- I think that sauna is typical/traditional...I hope. Je suis pressée d'essayer.

(female)

Belgium:

- After [sauna] we all had to jump into the lake – stark naked – which was a bit embarrassing the first time. But after a few moments we really felt the relaxing effects of the sauna... It was a wonderful experience, being so close to the nature, in a rather secluded place. (male)

- My first experience about [*sic*] sauna in Finland happened during a seminar in Helsinki... After our meeting all women gathered together and undressed. Then we began first to take a shower all together. Naked, we entered the room (sauna)... [After sauna] we all sat and had a very nice talk... It was such a good experience and a great feeling of well being! (female)

Netherlands:

- I never went to a sauna before (before I went to Finland), and I thought I wouldn't like it... Nowadays I love the Finnish sauna, I think you have to get used to it. By the way, a typical Fin is someone in the sauna who has a bottle of beer in one hand, and a mobile phone in the other. (male)

UK:

- I haven't yet experienced the Finnish sauna...but my impression from "outside" the sauna is that it is something of paranoid importance to the Finns. The few summer collages that I have been to all have saunas and the moment I arrived, I was asked if I wanted the sauna to be prepared or not. It reminds me of the Russians with their love of the "banya"... (male)

Germany:

- Momentam sehe ich noch keinen Unterschied zwischen finnisher Sauna und der Sauna in Deutschland. Es ist genauso heiß und das Wasser anschließend genauso kalt.... (female)
- When I was in Finland last year, I went to sauna for the first time. I had never been to one before that. The very first time was very comfortable... I found it strange to drink beer during the break.⁶⁹ (male)
- I go to sauna often in Finland. It is very fun. When I was sitting in a sauna, Finnish men came into sauna with beer in hands. They were drinking beer and I had to try it.⁷⁰ (female)
- I was in sauna only twice when I traveled to Finland... The air was so hot and I could not stay inside for a long time... but it was fun.⁷¹ (female)

Italy:

- It is very beautiful and nice.⁷² (female)
- I had finnish sauna 3 times in my life and I find it very cool. The first time I tried it was very good feeling to sweat so much. Afterwards I felt my body purified. I

haven't tried yet to jump in the cold water after the sauna, but I'd like to do it as soon as possible. I like the sauna very much. (female)

- I really like it because I feel that everything that is bad inside my body goes out. I think it's really nice and cozy and it's something "exotic" for me because in Italy we don't usually have sauna. What I like of sauna is that it is usually near a lake or anyway in a beautiful landscape, and this makes you feel closer to nature. (female)

USA:

- There are many positive things to say about my encounter with Finnish saunas...I am fairly new to the sauna tradition...I have only preconceptions to compare my first genuine sauna, which I indulged in on Thursday evening. Let me say that it was truly enjoyable. The steam and heat contrasted exquisitely with the shock and tingle of the cold shower... (male)

- Last Thursday I went to the sauna for the first time. I really enjoyed it. It was nothing the way I expected it to be. It was pleasant. I thought that I'd feel sticky and gross, but actually the sweating was nice. After the sauna, the cold shower felt very nice. I think that the most pleasant sauna experience would be in the winter when it's really cold outside. (female)

- I think that sauna is very beautiful. It is the best way to bathe. I enjoy a hot dry sauna, but am not particular as to a time they should be taken. I like to drink one or two beers while in the sauna, and jump in the lake afterwards, when possible. The sauna is also a good place to socialize in my experience. (male)

Most of the young foreign students studying in Finland have positive images of the Finnish sauna, though, as stated above, some of their fellow citizens

disagree. The view of sauna seems especially distorted in Poland. The nakedness and the extreme heat are unbearable and unthinkable for some non-Finns, while the Finns consider these elements some of the most important tools for their rites of passage.

VI. Discussion

The Finnish sauna is without a doubt a liminal place for many people. For the Finns, sauna bathing is a way of life, a necessity, an important ritual, and an escape from reality. Yet the sauna can sometimes also be a place to face reality. People are often told of the break up of a relationship or the verdict of excommunication while in the sauna,⁷³ where one can be more open.

The states of being one's own self and not being one's own self may alternate, or co-exist in the sauna. This ambiguity is a sign of the liminality. In the heat and the steam of the sauna, one travels between reality and illusion. The result of this transformation can be either positive or negative. The pain of negative transformation is softened and made milder when it takes place in the sauna. The effect of a positive transformation is maximized in the sauna. Moreover, the sauna allows the Finns to discover a completely different self – or even a completely different social structure.

A reserved, quiet, shy Finn becomes very sociable and open. A boss and his inferior have no differences in status in the sauna. Men and women lose sexuality. Strangers become acquainted. The sauna in Finland often acts as an ice-breaker, team-spirit enhancer, a strengthener of relations aside from being a mental and physical healer.

Almost all of the informants stated that life without a sauna is unthinkable.⁷⁴ They would not like to live in a place that does not offer access to a sauna. Everyone ultimately needs a break from everyday life and one's own self especially for the sake of mental health. Unlike trips to the Mediterranean, the sauna is within the reach of everyone. Thus it serves the Finns as a special place,⁷⁵ though from the emicist point of view the sauna is just an ordinary place. The sauna has become such a part of the Finnish life that they cannot live without it, but many would not realize this fact – how special it is -- unless they actually experience life without the sauna.

By suggesting the micro-model and the micro-model, I expanded what Lockwood (1977) suggested as liminal in sauna activities. There are no fixed borders between the pre-liminal, the liminal and the post-liminal phases in the micro-model as in the macro-model. The beginning and the ending points of these phases depend upon the participants and the situations. So does the degree of the liminality. The transition from one phase to another is rather gradual.

In today's Finland, the sauna is liminal in different ways compared to even 50 years ago when the sauna still functioned as a place for important rites of passage such as birth, marriage and death. The Finns seemed to have successfully adopted the liminality of the sauna to fit their needs in modern society. In this scientifically advanced age, few people believe in ancient rituals. The meaning of rituals has changed over the years. The ritual has become a less formal event. Sauna bathing, however, is such an important ritual that for the Finns life without it is simply unthinkable.

The sauna in countries other than Finland hardly has the same kind of liminality, if any. The sauna has no connection to the sacredness or rituals in Central Europe, other parts of Scandinavia, and in many Eastern European countries as well as in the United States. In Asia, the sauna is often associated with earthly business. These saunas overseas may be liminal, but in the sense of experiencing a profane pleasure which is unordinary. I should say that this kind of liminality is a negative-liminality, while the kind of liminality experienced in the Finnish sauna by the Finns is a positive-liminality.

I believe that it is possible for a Finn to experience positive-liminality in a sauna overseas, because for the Finns, sauna bathing is not affected merely by the place but by the state of mind. As long as one goes into the sauna through a preliminal phase, as one does in Finland, which prepares one's mind for this ritual, he/she can reach feelings of sacredness and pleasure in a foreign sauna just as at home.

On the other hand, it takes a while, if ever, for a non-Finn to experience the same liminality as Finns do in the sauna. As a matter of fact, it has nothing to do with nationality. For example, a French person who grew up in Finland being exposed to the Finnish way since childhood is likely to have a similar reaction to the Finns in the sauna. The liminality of the sauna for non-Finns is greatly affected by their attitude toward the sauna and even their attitude toward the Finns and the Finnish culture. Many foreigners seem to have an image of Finns being very provocative. The tolerance of nakedness is the most common obstacle most foreigners have to overcome. Unlike in Finland, many cultures associate

nakedness with shame or sexuality. If one truly understands the sacred nature of the Finnish sauna, such thoughts or worries disappear. Yet as long as one is feeling uncomfortable in the sauna, the awkwardness will prevent one from enjoying the experience of liminality, which Finns enjoy so much. However, I want to emphasize that it is possible for anyone, as long as one has the desire, to experience the same liminality as the Finns do by learning and understanding the true nature of the Finnish sauna and by having a positive attitude toward it.

It is dangerous to overgeneralize the results since many of my informants were from cities and were mainly university students.⁷⁶ If I had included more people from smaller villages and the older generation, the view might have been different. However, I tried to show the modern trend of the view of the Finnish sauna and how it may be liminal through the informants I had access to. The younger generation is always at the forefront of change. I hope this research has suggested the future of the Finnish sauna and where its liminality is heading.

Notes

¹ FSS = Finnish Sauna Society

² Originally taken from Paula Genn Allen's book Songs of the Turtle cited in Smith, K. <<http://www.saddleback.cc.ca.us/div/la/neh/esllim.htm>> (7/28/98)

³ The term used by Turner.

⁴ cf. Geertz (1973)

⁵ Originally in Japanese.

⁶ See the macro-model in section V.

⁷ cf. Van Gennep (1909)

⁸ "Mystinen sauna." *et Lehti* (July, 1998), 35-49.

"Nyt saunaan!" *öljy: Messuextra* (Feb, 1998), 42-47.

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- "Polttarit morsiuissaunassa." *MeNaiset* (June 26, 1998), 94-96.
- "Saunaan!" *Kodin Kuvalehti* (June 18, 1998), 6-11.
- "The sauna: a sacred place." *Universitas Helsingiensis: the Quarterly of the University of Helsinki* (April, 1998)
- ⁹ Water thrown on the stove for steam (see Sauna Terms for the detail)
- ¹⁰ Cited in Valtakari <<http://www.sauna.fi/pages/valtakari.htm>> on page 2/4. (7/22/98)
- ¹¹ During the interview with one of the informants, 82 year-old male from Anjankoski, told me that he was born in a smoke sauna.
- ¹² Cited in Valtakari <<http://www.sauna.fi/pages/valtakari.htm>> on page 2/4. (7/22/98).
- ¹³ See responses to the questionnaire no. 6.
- ¹⁴ "The sauna is attached to the life of all age classes both as cleansing place and as a ritual place."
- ¹⁵ FSS = The Finnish Sauna Society <<http://www.sauna.fi/pages/terminlg.htm>>, SS = Sauna Shop add brochure, Herva = Herva (1961: 9-11), K & P = Karjanoja & Peltonen (1997: 160-161)
- ¹⁶ It may also, though rare, be gas-/oil-heated.
- ¹⁷ Badermann (1976: 264) suggests that "Any person who rushes into the ready-heated sauna directly after coming from work will leave it only half as relaxed as the person who has correctly lit the oven in the wood-fired sauna, collected the fresh birch twigs for the birch whisk and in those ways inhaled a little smoke and forest air."
- ¹⁸ Many Finns have noted that it is difficult to relate magic and rituals to the electric sauna with a modern interior. They believe also that *saunatontut* (the sauna spirits) live only in wood-heated sauna/ smoke saunas.
- ¹⁹ When I visited a smoke sauna which had been used a few days prior to my visit in Raisio, Finland, it was still quite warm even after so many days.
- ²⁰ Because of the smoke, inside the sauna turns black.
- ²¹ Many smoke saunas are said to have caught fire in the process of heating.
- ²² It may be privately owned, company owned or rented.
- ²³ See the responses to the question no. 18.
- ²⁴ See answers to the question no. 1 and no. 2.
- ²⁵ Cited in Valtakari <<http://www.sauna.fi/pages/valtakari.htm>> on page 3/4. (7/22/98)
- ²⁶ See answers to the question no. 5.
- ²⁷ See Aaltonen pp. 161-162.
- ²⁸ It is said that the groom would come from the direction where the end of *vihta* is pointing. (Arstila 1983: 48)
- ²⁹ Cited in Laaksonen < <http://www.sauna.fi/pages/laaksone.htm> > on page 4/5 (7/22/98)
- ³⁰ See answers to the question no. 8.
- ³¹ One of the informants (24 year-old male) told me that he was excommunicated by his parents because he wanted to leave the religion, and the news was broken by his father and uncle while in the sauna.
- ³² See answers to the question no. 7.
- ³³ There is even a very popular TV show, *Hyvät Herrat*, in which politicians discuss their policies in sauna.
- ³⁴ Reinikainen (1977) suggests that the attachment of the commercial and other negotiations with sauna bathing became popular in the post-WWII era. He believes that "(the negotiation in sauna) gives the conversation and exchange of viewpoints an unofficial and spontaneous nature that can often help to bring mutual understanding in differing opinions and to reach an agreement...Sauna makes it easy for people to come closer to each other, on the same level" (p. 20).
- ³⁵ Helamaa (1976) also agrees in his sauna studies titled "various applications of the sauna" that "In the politicized society of today differences of opinion must be reconciled, and in business it is important to establish and maintain contacts...in this respect, the sauna offers an intimate and neutral environment for meetings and offers of hospitality... nakedness knows no differences in rank and dignity.
- ³⁶ <<http://www.vn.fi/um/finfo/english/saunajuttu.html>> (7/22/98)
- ³⁷ Wijburg (1976) states in his study "The sauna and sport" that "apart from being a bodily experience, the sauna is also a mental experience: it is just in the sauna that mental equilibrium is

restored.” (p. 152). According to him, sauna also motivates and creates the sportsmen the mood that “they are all involved in the same thing” and it “discloses the shared interest.” (p. 153)

³⁸This translation of *Kalevala* (the Finnish national epic collected by Elias Lönnrot, 1849) is taken from Reinikainen (1977: 8).

³⁹ cf. Van Gennep (1909)

⁴⁰ It may also be the beginning of a vacation or a holiday.

⁴¹ See answers to the question no. 6.

⁴² These terms are commonly used in sociolinguistics. “Change in progress” means that the change is taking place in society as a whole, while “age grading” means that the individual change is taking place in the course of aging.

⁴³ Aaltonen repeatedly mentions in his paper “the sociology of the sauna” about the lack of self-consciousness especially between sexes that occurs in the Finnish sauna.

⁴⁴ See answers to the question no. 9.

⁴⁵ See answers to the question no. 10.

⁴⁶ See answers to the question no. 12.

⁴⁷ See answers to the question no. 14.

⁴⁸ People used to grill sausage on the sauna stove, though today it is not popular to do so because of the smell it creates in sauna.

⁴⁹ See answers to the question no. 3.

⁵⁰ See answers to the question no. 13.

⁵¹ On July 11, 1998, I went on a sauna trip in Savonlinna (in the central Finland) with 31 foreign university students from 12 countries including Russia, The Netherlands, The United States, Belgium, Italy, France, Germany, Lithuania, Greece, Poland, Latvia, and the Great Britain.

⁵² Reasons for the disappearance are speculated to be the result of the spread of diseases, development of habits such as drinking and debauchery, and shortage of wood used to heat the sauna, which never happened in Finland.

⁵³ cf. Selänniemi (1996).

⁵⁴ The Finnic people originally from the Karelia area (east of Finland) who now reside north of Moscow.

⁵⁵ cf. Vahros (1966) p. 14, Karjanoja (1997) pp. 26-27.

⁵⁶ The Japanese bath.

⁵⁷ This joint exhibition of the Japanese bath and the Finnish sauna took place also in Tokyo in the fall of 1997.

⁵⁸ On the leaflet for the exhibition, Esa Laaksonen writes that both Japanese *furo* and Finnish sauna are associated with the “rites of purification”: “The theme is an apt one as the hot bath, the temperature of which is between 40 and 43 degrees centigrade, is as an experience surprisingly close to the feeling of well-being caused by the relaxation and deep purification connected to a good experience in sauna. Both traditions also include near-ritualistic ceremonies... *Furo* was originally part of a primitive religious rite in which man merges with the divine through purification in the bath.”

⁵⁹ This is probably due to the special problems, and the safety problems.

⁶⁰ 1. relaxation: from ‘the mental revitalization’ to ‘the recovery from physical fatigue’ 2. purification: from ‘a group of people’ to ‘a person’, and from ‘a mass’ to ‘an individual,’ 3. healing: from ‘mental and physical healing’ to ‘physical healing by medicines,’ 4. enjoyment: from ‘the joy of getting clean’ to ‘the superficial joy of leisure’ (the original in Japanese).

⁶¹ These comments were extracted from the essays on Finnish sauna written by the informants ages between 20-25.

⁶² a – co e a e acca a o , o pa x axo o pac e -- p ae ,
a .

⁶³ Minä vielä en ollut suomalainen [*sic*] saunassa, mutta minä paljon [*sic*] kuulin tästä asiasta...Olin saunassa Tverissä ja Ukrainassa. Minä luulen sauna Suomessa on vielä parempi, koska täällä on hyvä seura...

⁶⁴ Minä luulen, että suomalainen sauna on hauska. Minä pidän kuumuudesta [*sic*].

⁶⁵ , a e.

⁶⁶ Minä tykkään suomalaisesta saunasta. Minusta suomalaiset ei [*sic*] ole saunassa liian kauan kuin [*sic*] se on ihan kuuma. Koska siten kun olin saunassa, suomalaiset menivät ulos, kun oli liian kuuma. Latvialaiset tykkävät ihan kuumasta saunasta. Oikein kiva on myös vihtoa [*sic*] Suomessa...Minusta sauna on kiva asia.

⁶⁷ En ole ollut [*sic*] saunassa koskaan... Olen kuulleet [*sic*], että suomalaiset eivät voi elää ilman saunaa. Suomessa sauna on myös kaupungin talossa ja se oli tosi jännittävää. Sauna on niin kuin suomen osa...

⁶⁸ Liettuassa on monta venäläistä saunaa. Minun perheeni pitää suomalaisesta sekä [*sic*] venäläisestä saunasta. Liettualaiset tietävät [*sic*] että sauna suomalaisille on hyvin tärkeä ja että he eivät voi elää ilman saunaa...

⁶⁹ Kun olin Suomessa viime vuonna kävin ensimmäisen kerran [*sic*] saunassa. En ollut käynyt sitä ennen. Ensimmäinen kerta oli hyvin mukava... Minusta oli ihmeellistä, että juotiin olutta tauoissa...

⁷⁰ Kävin usein saunassa suomessa. Se on oikein hauskaa. Kun istuin saunassa, suomalaiset miehet tulivat saunaan oluen kanssa. He joivat olutta ja minun täytyi kokeilla sen [*sic*]...

⁷¹ Olin saunassa vain kaksi kertaa kun matkustin Suomeen...Siellä ilma oli oikein kuuma ja minä en ole osannut [*sic*] jäädä saunassa [*sic*] kauan... mutta on hauskaa.

⁷² On kaunis ja mukava.

⁷³ An informant stated that his relatives told him that he was no longer wanted in the family due to a religious disagreement.

⁷⁴ See answers to the question no. 20.

⁷⁵ See answers to the question no. 19.

⁷⁶ See appendix A.

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Appendix A:

Informants

Informants: Questionnaire

ID	Current Residence	Place of Birth	Age	Sex	Occupation	Nationality
1	Espoo	Korpilahti	23	F	Student	Finnish
2	Jyväskylä	Mikkeli	20	F	Student	Finnish
3	Espoo	Helsinki	30	F	Trading co.	Finnish
4	Helsinki	Lappeenranta	18	F	Student	Finnish
5	Raisio	Rauma	19	F	Student	Finnish
6	Rauma	Noormarkku	14	F	Student	Finnish
7	Raisio	kivijärvi	52	F	Homemaker	Finnish
8	Helsinki	Helsinki	27	F	Secretary	Finnish
9	Raisio	Munsala	21	M	Clerk	Finnish
10	Espoo	Espoo	31	M	Manager	Finnish
11	Turku	Turku	23	M	Salesman	Finnish
12	Raisio	Jäläsjärvi	57	M	Engineer	Finnish
13	Turku	Turku	23	M	Electrician	Finnish
14	Turku	Hämeenlinna	22	M	Student	Finnish
15	Rauma	Pori	41	M	Engineer	Finnish
16	Helsinki	Helsinki	22	M	Student	Finnish
17	Jyväskylä	Jyväskylä	20	M	Student	Finnish
18	Espoo	Imatra	23	M	Student	Finnish
19	Lappeenranta	Puolanka	25	M	Research assis	Finnish
20	Espoo	Muurla	25	M	Student	Finnish
21	Espoo	Haapajärvi	26	M	Engineer	Finnish
22	Vantaa	Kuusankoski	27	M	Student	Finnish
23	Turku	Kouvola	21	M	Student	Finnish
24	Helsinki	Ylistaro	25	M	Student	Finnish
25	Helsinki	Helsinki	24	M	Student	Finnish
26	Turku	Kokkola	21	M	Student	Finnish
27	Helsinki	Espoo	23	M	Student	Finnish
28	Espoo	Helsinki	22	F	Student	Finnish
29	Turku	Seinäjoki	22	F	Student	Finnish
30	Rauma	Porvoo	27	F	Researcher	Finnish
31	Geneva, CH	Tampere	24	F	Student	Finnish
32	Stockholm, S	Ylöjärvi	23	F	Student	Finnish
33	Helsinki	Helsinki	22	F	Secretary	Finnish
34	Rauma	Kuusankoski	26	F	Student	Finnish
35	Espoo	Korpilahti	22	F	Student	Finnish
36	Espoo	Rovaniemi	25	F	Student	Finnish
37	Espoo	Oulu	37	F	Administrator	Finnish
38	Helsinki	Renko	26	F	Chemist	Finnish
39	Kuopio	Anjalankoski	45	F	Lecturer	Finnish
40	Espoo	Espoo	20	F	Student	Finnish
41	Helsinki	Tampere	22	F	Account assis	Finnish
42	Espoo	Vihti	25	F	Daycare	Finnish
43	Helsinki	Espoo	31	F	Secretary	Finnish
44	Kouvola	Johannesburg	24	F	Student	Finnish
45	Naantali	Turku	21	F	Student	Finnish
46	Sotkamo	Tampere	24	F	Student	Finnish
47	Kajaani	Jamsankoski	27	F	Musician	Finnish
48	Tampere	Helsinki	24	F	Student	Finnish

Informants: Essay

University of Jyväskylä students:	<u>Female</u> age #	<u>Male</u> age #	
	18 x 1		1
	19 x 4		4
	20 x 5	20 x 1	6
	21 x 2	21 x 1	3
	22 x 2		2
	23 x 4		4
	24 x 1	24 x 1	2
		25 x 1	1
	26 x 1		1
	29 x 1		1
	30 x 1		1
	35 x 1		1
	41 x 1		1
	unknown x 19	unknown x 9	38
<hr/>			
Total # of informants	43	13	56

- Students of Kansainvälinen Suomen kielen ja kulttuurin kurssi July 7-24 in Savonlinna:

	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	
Russia	5		
Latvia	1		
Lithuania	3		
Poland	2		
Belgium	1	1	
France	1	1	
Italy	2		
Greece	1		
Netherlands		1	
Germany	4	1	
Great Britain		1	
United States	2	2	
<hr/>			
Total	24	7	31

Informants: Interview

June 24, 98

Place: Turku

Subject: a 20 year-old male student

June 26, 98

Place: Raisio

Subjects: A couple in their 50s

June 29, 98

Place: Rauma

Subjects: A family (40 year-old male, 27 year-old female, 14 year-old female)

July 1, 98

Place: Espoo

Subjects: A couple in their 50s

July 4, 98

Place: Anjankoski

Subjects: 82 year-old dairy farmer (male) and his son (in his 60s) and grandsons (in 30s)

July 10, 98

Place: Helsinki

Subject: a 24 year-old student

Appendix B:

Questionnaire

Questionnaire about Sauna

1. How often do you go to sauna?
2. When (what day of the week) do you usually go to sauna?
3. What time of the day do you go to sauna?
4. Where do you usually go to sauna?
5. What special occasions do you go to sauna?
6. Why do you go to sauna?
7. With whom do you usually go to sauna?
8. What did you talk about with other people last time you were in sauna?
9. Do you talk with strangers in public sauna?
10. Is there anyone with whom you would feel uncomfortable going to sauna? If so, who? (your boss etc.)
11. How do you feel after sauna?
12. How do you cool yourself after sauna?
13. What do you wear after sauna?
14. What do you eat and drink after sauna?
15. What is the most important thing in sauna?
16. What does vihta/vasta (birch whisk) make you feel?
17. Please describe your ideal sauna.
18. What was the best sauna experience you had? Reason?
19. Is sauna a special place for you? Why?
20. Can you live without sauna?

Kysymykset saunasta

1. Kuinka usein menette saunaan?
2. Yleisesti, milloin (minä päiväivänä viikossa) menette saunaan?
3. Mihin aikaan menette saunaan?
4. Yleisesti mihin menette saunoamaan?
5. Missä eri tilanteissa menette saunaan?
6. Miksi menette saunaan?
7. Kenen kanssa menette saunan yleensä?
8. Mistä puhuitte ihmisten kanssa saunassa, kun kävitte saunassa viime kerralla (tai yleensä)?
9. Puhutteko vieraiden kanssa yleisessä saunassa?
10. Onko joku, jonka kanssa on epämukava olla yhdessä saunassa? Jos niin, kuka?
(pomonne jne.)
11. Miltä tuntuu saunan jälkeen?
12. Millä tavalla vilvoittelette saunan jälkeen?
13. Millä tavalla pukeudute saunan jälkeen?
14. Mitä syötte ja juotte saunan jälkeen?
15. Mitä on tärkein saunassa?
16. Mitä vihta/vasta tekee teille?
17. Kuvaakaa ihanteellinen sauna.
18. Mitä oli paras saunakokemuksenne? Syy?
19. Onko sauna teille erikoispaikka? Miksi?
20. Voitteko elää ilman saunaa?

Appendix C:
Answers to the Questionnaire

Appendix D:

Photographs