

Dr. Kaarina Kailo

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the links between the Finnish sauna and the Native Sweatlodge as rituals of holistic, multidimensional world renewal. The Sauna and the sweatlodge share many features; they belong to the most ancient shamanistic healing institutions and can be related historically and culturally with bear cults. I will contrast ancient and modern attitudes and ideologies towards the sauna or the Native *inipi*--sweatlodge--in order to provoke a debate about the "loss of vital essence" and the "loss of soul" that I claim has taken place in the context of sweat rituals and holistic sweat healing.ⁱ While I seek to revalorize the holistic prechristian culture of sweating for all, it is a necessary stage of research to redress the existing imbalance and to foreground the female aspects of renewal and healing. Only then will we have a more holistic and complete, gender-sensitive picture of ancient Finnish healing dramas.

Sauna and the Sweatlodge as Ritual spaces: Baring Our Beeing

Raise your nature
through a trance
from the crevice,
raise your guardian
from under the tree
before day break
before the rising of the sun
(Vuolle-Apiala, 1991, 95)ⁱⁱ

The Western world view with its underlying ideologies and epistemologies has, in the recent years, come increasingly under fire and scrutiny. Postmodernism and postcolonialism together with Native, Black and Women's studies have deconstructed the Western hegemonic master discourses to expose their ethnocentric biases and short-sighted, profit-centered values. Ideas and practices surrounding the Finnish sauna culture have, of course, not been any freer of the impact of social ideologies and the biases of a particular worldview than any other cultural forms or institutions. To trace the changing attitudes towards the culture of the sauna is to trace the shifts in values in the Finnish culture at large.

The purpose of my paper is to contrast ancient and modern

attitudes and ideologies towards the sauna or the Native *inipi*--sweatlodge--in order to provoke a debate about the "loss of vital essence" and the "loss of soul" that I claim has taken place in the context of sweat rituals and holistic sweat healing. I argue, on the basis of my comparative study of Native and mainstream psychotherapeutic practices--that the very transformation or disappearance of ancient holistic rituals of renewal in the context of the sauna are in many ways a cultural loss, rather than a marker of progress.ⁱⁱⁱ Also, when we talk about the sauna and the sweats as a site of purification, we need to consider how gender-neutral such a concept is. What kind of renewal and wellness do we have in mind? When we enter the sauna to "shed our skin" and experience rebirth, what are our assumptions about "wellness"? To discuss the woman-positive view on purification, I will refer to recent discussions by male and female scholars, particularly Laura Owen (1998) on female biology as a blueprint for imagery of healing or rebirth. Over the past few years, I have had an opportunity to learn about Native healing beliefs and rituals, and to compare the sweatlodge practices with the Finns' sauna practices. While my book learning and archival research allowed me to unearth important comparative perspectives on this topic, it is the participation in the sweats and the Native culture of "sweats" that brought me to the deepest knowledge and insights about sauna culture and holistic wellness. While it is not an easy task to reconstruct the world view of ancient Finns and to make solid scientific comparisons between the Finns' and the Indians' sweat traditions, I have been able to put many bits and pieces together of this puzzle regarding the ancient world view in which they came to being. As is always the case with any kind of archeo-historical research, theories are educated guesswork and rely as much on hard evidence as on intuitive deductions and the formulation of creative, thought-provoking hypotheses. Together with many Native scholars, I believe that we are moving from postmodern nihilism to a revival of informed "primitivism"--back to square one of human "evolution." The dualisms inherited through the Enlightenment, ultrarationalist trends of science have been deconstructed in such hierarchical opposites as nature vs. culture or primitive vs. civilized: academics are recognizing the limitations and short-sighted fallacies inherent in "civilization" while discovering also the wisdom and ecologically sound principles inherent in allegedly "primitive" philosophies.

My comparative research across the fields as diverse as the history of female spirituality, comparative religion, ethnography, folklore, Native studies, Lappology and Finno-Ugric studies has led me to the following speculation: when we go back the furthest to trace the *synnyt*, the words of origin, of the sauna, we just might arrive at the bear's den, and at the site of the earliest

known ritual site: the menstruation hut.^{iv} I suggest that there are close links between the cognates sauna, bear's den, the moon, menstruation, and the origins of the most distant Finnish/Finnic sauna rituals. Of course, it can be argued that there is no possibility of proving such a gynocentric genesis of purification.^v

All these symbols or representations of the eclipse and return of fertility, growth and life have been the matrix of animistic, vitalistic cultures at their gynocentric and most earth-friendly stage. This worldview was further linked with such ancient cross-cultural myth complexes as the cosmic tree of life and the honey--the sweetness of life and interspecies connections--that the shaman-bear sought in it. Other key concepts often referred to in the Finnish ritual context are the vital substances blood and sweat and the attribute "meady" which characterizes almost anything in its sacred, positive manifestation.^{vi} One might even claim that the Finns continue to imitate the bears whom they worshipped as their totemistic forebear: not only do many seek intoxicating highs in the sauna and through beer drinking, but they also continue to practice "imitative magic," to release their free-soul by whipping themselves with birch whisks. This, after all, was done to the dead bear after ancient bear rituals by both the Finns, the Sami and even today, by Koyukon Indians, with the intention of facilitating the departure of the bear's freesoul back into the sky world from where it would, thanks to the recurrent cycles of nature, return as new game (Rockwell, 1991). As is well-known, both Native and Finnish hunters, in preparation for the bear hunt, purified themselves in a sauna or sweat ritual, both removing tell-tale odors from their bodies that might inform the bear of their presence and preparing themselves shamanistically for a successful hunt.^{vii} The original meaning of the sauna, in such a context, was not hygiene but sweating and a trance state that would allow ancestral "support" and "information" to help the hunters locate the direction of game. According to Matti Sarmela, "An excessive amount of bear meat as well as other foods was eaten at bear rituals and an abundance of beer and spirits was drunk (1983, 288), echoing today's sauna rituals.

It is clear, then, in light of such information, that the Sauna and the sweatlodge share many features; they belong to the most ancient shamanistic healing institutions and can be related historically and culturally with bear cults. The sweatlodges are obviously not one identical, shared panindian healing institution anymore than one would expect to find only one kind of a sweat bath around the world. There are many ways of building sweats and countless nation-specific uses of the rituals.^{viii}

Before elaborating on the differences and similarities of the

ritual sweats among Finns and Native peoples, I will circumscribe the original meaning of the very concept, "ritual." According to Elinor Gadon in *The Once & Future Goddess*:

The word ritual comes from *rtu*, Sanskrit for menses. The earliest rituals were connected to the women's monthly bleeding. The blood from the womb that nourished the unborn child was believed to have mana, magical power. Women's periodic bleeding was a cosmic event, like the cycles of the moon and the waxing and waning of the tides. We have forgotten that women were the conduit to the sacred mystery of life and death. (Qtd. in Owen, 1998, 17)

A major loss in the context of purification rituals, including the sweats, is the devaluation of the feminine representations of renewal.^{ix} In great contrast to modern attitudes towards the female body and biology which view them as pathologies or unhygienic processes, many early cultures understood the relationship of the cycles of the moon to the growth of plants and held special rituals linked with all of the socio-cosmic symbols of waxing and waning cycles of nature. Laura Owen, in *Honoring Menstruation* notes that in many traditions, the new moon was linked with femininity which people venerated as a time of purification (1998, 18).^x According to Duane Voskuil in "From Genetic Cosmology to Genital Cosmetics":

"Moon," "month," "mother," "mouth," "menstruation," "measurement" "math," "matter," "mammaries," and even "man" which is still pronounced more like "moon" in some dialects, are linguistic cognates testifying to a common source. Humans first defined themselves as "moon people," as creatures who saw in the moon a basic metaphor defining who they were. The linkage of these words presents the metaphorical link between human physiology and cosmogony. If menstrual blood and birth are linked, then when menstrual blood and birth are linked, cosmic birth and origin are linked. Birth, an exclusively female function, gives life to us and the cosmos. (1994, 8).

At the heart of fertility rituals is the importance of communally nurturing the creative, procreative, life-producing fires of existence--the great placenta of being. To quote Owen:

In societies with a female, earth-centered spirituality, such as that of the Native Americans, and matrifocal

Mediterranean cultures, the rhythm of the women's cycle was used as the basis for the ritual life of the culture. Rites of celebration and fertility were held during the full moon, when women were ovulating, and rites of seclusion and purification were held at the new moon, when women were menstruation. (1998, 22)

There are numerous references to women's menstruation huts or seclusion during their period in Finno-Ugric, Siberian and Native American ethnography. However, there is a dearth of positive evaluations of the meaning of such isolation: mostly it is assumed that women were "ritually" or "ceremonially" unclean during menarche and after birth, and that they needed to purify at such critical moments of their life. It is relatively clear in the Native context that the reason why women's menstrual power was held in awe and why menstruating women could not touch or approach sacred sites or objects, let alone participate, in sweats had its roots in a positive evaluation of female blood. According to Owen,

When women share their menstrual blood with the earth, either individually or in ceremony, an enormous positive collective power is unleashed that can rebalance and heal the planet. When women bleed and put their blood on the earth, they act as a conduit between the generative forces of the moon and the receptive fertile energies of the earth. Women link these two celestial bodies--The Earth and the Moon--through their lunar-related and earth-nurturing menstrual flow. (Owen, 1998, 27)

It was believed to contain extraordinary powers that must not interfere with other, for example, supernatural powers because it could neutralize or impact negatively on these. In the Finnish context, too, there is evidence that women's *väki*, their extraordinary gendered sexual essence contained special powers that had to be contained, not because it was "dirty" but because of its extraordinary potency (see Apo, Stark-Arola, 1997).^{xi} However, with the impact of Judeo-Christian denigration of matter, the body and the feminine, the views have come to prevail that instead of the menses being women's natural process of self-purification, women are inherently diseased and "impure." According to Mohawk cultural activists with whom I have discussed the matter, originally Mohawk women did not participate in sweatlodges because it was believed that they experienced a ritual purification through their menstrual cycle. Many believe that in fact the sweatlodge begun as an imitation by the men of the menstruation hut or bear's den where women withdrew during their period to get a rest and to focus on their creative/procreative

powers, to meditate and gather blood wisdom.^{xii} The natural cyclical processes of women--menstruation and birth--were thus the prototype of power, life mystery and creative energy that men imitated so they might also partake of the "vital essences," and the presence of the "mana" of life.

According to Roger Edgar in *Red Moon Rising*, "The Babylonians believed Ishtar bled around the time of the full moon, and on that day all important activity was prohibited. They called that day 'Shabathu' (or 'sabattu'), from which we get our own day of rest, the Sabbath" (1995, xxiii). Similarly in 'Her Blood is Gold: Celebrating the Power of Menstruation' Laura Owen informs us that, "the ancient Babylonian word for Sabbath, sabbatu, comes from Sabbat, and means heart-rest. In Babylon it was a day of rest, when the goddess Ishtar was said to be menstruating. Travel, work, and eating cooked food were prohibited for everyone on this day--as they were for menstruating women in many cultures (Edgar, 1995, xxiii). Women, snakes and bears are connected with the moon world and the worldview of renewal, celebration of fertility and life for obvious reasons: all embody the mystery of the return of life after the eclipse, the menstrual blood and the winter hibernation. The snake sheds its skin periodically and is reborn the same way that women renew their procreative powers after the menstrual purification, after shedding the lining of their uterus. Both Voskuil (1994) and Edgar (1995) suggest that indeed, blood-letting rituals such as male circumcision and the ritual killing of animals may well have begun as men's imitation of the female blood rituals and natural purification. From such a perspective, the subsequent exclusion of women from spiritual roles and rituals appears most ironic. Ethnographic materials point, clearly, however, to the "primitives'" different and highly positive evaluation of the female body. According to a Sami, Kirstin Madden, menstrual blood was seen to embody the creativity and fertility of the female spirit world. She notes that "In some dialects of Samigiella [Sami language] there is one word used to describe the power, sacredness, and honor of three things: the blood of the Bear, the blood-red sap of the alder-tree, and menstrual blood" (1998, 31-32). A particular detail regarding ancient bear rituals has long intrigued scholars: why, they have wondered, did women have as their role to spit red alder-juice on the men returning from a bear hunt (Reuterskiold,)? Just as the act of sprinkling water has across cultures been a religious rite serving to consecrate a space or being, sprinkling the red juice of alder most likely represented the regenerating, death-annulling power of the female blood. When, in the sauna, we sprinkle water over the hot rocks, we may well, then, re-enact a fertility rite intended to create favorable conditions for rebirth of the cycle of death and rebirth. Sami women have used menstrual

blood as offerings at their sacred stones (*siedi*) to honor and make requests of particularly the akka goddesses. Madden points out that:

The akka goddesses are associated with fertility, childbirth, and the protection of children. I have been told that some femal shamans noaidi also used menstrual blood to bind the energies of the goddesses to the shamanic drum. (1998, 31).

While this powerful symbolism of cosmic creation drama continues to provide the imagery for contemporary Native healing rituals in sweatlodges, most Finns, of course, have lost the regenerative and spiritual aspects of the cyclical world view, and the gendered aspects of purification have disappeared under the mythology of "gender-neutral" renewal rites. However, as is true of all "neutral" discourses, the neutral, in Western culture, has come to denote the masculine norm, with the feminine relegated to the status of the deviation from the norm, the special case, the exception. Recovering the female side of the divine, also in the context of sweat and sauna rituals, then, is needed so that we might redress the cosmic balance--the key concept of ancient sauna and sweat rituals of world renewal.

The Western world's biomedical, technological and other advances have, of course, contributed in undisputed ways to enhancing our life expectancy, health and comfort. However, laypeople and scholars are increasingly critical of the downside of "progress" and "development" in their most unrestrained and short-sighted manifestations. With economic globalization diminishing the importance of nation-states, uniform national cultures are being watered down with cocacolonization taking over. Social, communal and global responsibility for ethical human/woman relations and relations with nature is being replaced by a materialistic, hierarchical and highly tenuous form of accountability--deficit cutting and the kind of free trade mentality where collective, social responsibilities are becoming a mere matter of services rendered for a fee.

It is likely that the ancient context in which the sauna rituals developed had to do with the following matrix of symbols and values also shared in part by Native sweat practioners. I have listed them as a chart contrasting two world views with a different emphasis, involving dynamistic, animistic and the patriarchal, Eurocentric world views as they have impacted also on the culture of the sauna:

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| Moon (and sun) | Sun (moonworld as inferior) |
|----------------|-----------------------------|

| | |
|---|---|
| (moonkind) | (mankind) |
| <p>Extended family of humans and animals, nature</p> <p>complementary gender roles</p> | <p>Nuclear family with elite men, fathers hierarchically placed higher than woman, animals, subjugated peoples</p> <p>notion of gender complementarity masks the actual asymmetry of the private female and the public male spheres where the latter only is valorized economically</p> |
| <p>Matrix of social symbolism and rituals: the cycles of death/rebirth, menstruation, pregnancy, birth</p> <p>centrality of women and bears</p> | <p>Phallogocentricity, centrality of father-son relationships, menstruation as a "curse" (danger, pollution)</p> |
| <p>Celebration of animistic kinship relations (interconnectedness, balance, mutual dependency)</p> <p>intersubjectivity of all animate beings</p> <p>image of the circle of connection</p> <p>holistic epistemology, spirituality pervades everything, fluid boundaries</p> | <p>Hierarchy of male vs. female, human vs. animal, controlling nature as an inanimate resource</p> <p>denial of soul to (woman) nature</p> <p>separation of entities and strict boundaries (eg. nature vs. culture, story vs. history)</p> <p>primitive vs. civilized)</p> |
| <p>Image of the earth/womb privileged because of the cyclical world view and the cult of Eros, the life principle</p> | <p>Sky/phallus as the privileged site, earth/womb under male control and valorization</p> <p>Denigration of matter and of the feminine</p> |
| <p>Importance of the entire sensory order</p> | <p>Sight as main organ of knowledge</p> |
| <p>Dynamistic world view, use of imitative magic and belief in supernatural beings</p> | <p>Christian spiritual beliefs or a mechanistic world view.</p> <p>Belief in angels and devil, mockery of pagan superstitions</p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| Organic world view | as different from Christian ones |
| Nurturing interactions, bonding with nature | Science aimed at controlling nature, binding energies |
| Shamanistic rituals for direct contact with the spirit world and guardian spirits | Hierarchical religious institutions based on the authority of male leaders |
| | |
| Rituals of world renewal, microcosmic cycles of life/death, holistic healing dramas | |
| Altered consciousness and soul purification emphasized during ritual dramas | Only Christian or male-defined spiritual highs acceptable Acceptance of Christian rituals alone |
| Private and collective symbols of healing | Acceptance of institutional and commercial ritual items as part of establishment |
| Self-reliance for healing and wellness | Dependency on professional experts and male authorities |
| | xiii |

The root differences between the ancient and modern world views regarding the culture of the sauna consist in the values that stress the items on the left as opposed to those on the right; life-enhancing vitalistic healing dramas as opposed to attitudes and rituals that reflect more specifically a Christian, androcentric and more mechanistic attitude. While the two world views need not be dualistically opposed and mutually exclusive, and may even partially overlap, their MAIN emphases are different, as women scholars and Native writers have increasingly pointed out. The matrix of the former is imagery and symbols that privilege the fertile cycles of growth of women and mother earth while the latter is rooted in patriarchal values, beliefs,

scientific formulas and a linear, mechanistic world view bearing the traces of social-darwinistic and colonial ideologies.

Whereas the key words for the most ancient sauna rituals would have been balance and renewal of the cycles of death and life, those of the modern techno-economic context more likely stress or express themselves through the discourse of "catharsis," "release of tension," "stress-reduction" and other more clinical concepts, or deficit terms, such as "prevention of illness." Whereas for ancient Finns (and modern Natives) the sauna was a potent ritual of confession, catharsis, decision-making, and direct communication with sacred beings, today's wellness rituals limit themselves to bonding with friends, family or professional partners.^{xiv}

Various scholars have suggested that the sauna and sweat rituals were and are for Natives even today rituals of cosmic world renewal. For example, according to David Rockwell in *Giving Voice to the Bear*,

The purpose of the ceremony was to celebrate the unity of all creation and the renewal of the earth. This ceremony, they said, ensured that the cycle of the seasons could be maintained and that the world would never depart from its accustomed ways. This rite reenacted creation and emphasized beginnings: the beginning of a new year and the beginning of a new earth. Delaware mythology taught that the supreme being created the world and its life anew every day. For them, creation was a continuous, never-ending process. The World Renewal Ceremony guaranteed that it would continue. (Rockwell, 1991, 165)

In order to "stay alive well," to refer to the Cree term for health and wellness as a life attitude (Adelson, 1992), one had to ensure balanced relations between the members of a kingroup, nature and animals, and one would have to heal or retain the wellness of the entire ecosystem, the extended family of humans and nature. The sweat ritual was nothing less than a recapitulation of cosmogony. To heal oneself, one had to maintain the health of the entire ecosystem.^{xv}

For both Natives and Finns, the sauna has been a microcosmic wheel of life; a place where cyclical rituals to do with birth, death, marriage, puberty and communal landmarks would be celebrated, consecrated and marked. Although sweat traditions are as diverse as the numerous Native cultures, and although the sweats in the past and present have and are being poured for a

great variety of purposes (confession, healing, as preparation for ceremonies etc.), one can detect a red thread running through the diverse practices and the building materials themselves of the lodges. The sweatlodge is built in the image of the womb^{xvi}, a turtle,^{xvii} or the bear's den, even though it serves as a centre for a cosmic renewal drama where all dualities are cancelled out in the liminal space.^{xviii} To the extent that the *inipi* is completely dark--day consciousness and daylight are eclipsed--it is evocative of the moon, the bear's den and the menstrual hut.

It was the role of ancient shamans, and still is that of sweat leaders today in Native North America, to help bring back the lost soul of the sweat participants. This was done thanks to the intervention of helping spirits and ancestors, and today, thanks to a modernized healing context which has not for all that lost its connections with past holistic healing beliefs. Jürgen Kremer, a German scholar of Indigenous studies, feels that

People of European descent or people who have entered the eurocentered process of consciousness have split themselves off from this ongoing interaction of place, ancestry, animals, plants, spirit(s), community, story, ceremony, cycles of life, and cycles of the seasons and ages. This dissociation has created a conceptualization of social evolution, in which a major shift has occurred from prehistory to history, from oral tradition to writing civilization, from the immanent presence of spirit(s) to the transcendence of god(s). (Kremer, 1996a, 1994a). (1997, 6).

He further notes that we can only be proper participants in shamanic exchange and dialogue if we know who we are as people rooted in our own indigenous cultures. Otherwise we should take our hands off of other cultures. My recovery of the ancient Finnish sauna traditions is in part motivated by my interest in reconstructing the prechristian Finnish world view. In line with Kremer's philosophy, I feel that purification means becoming cleansed also from alien "bodies" and values, being able to shake off the "impurities" of vulgar materialistic and vulgar technological (one-sided) trends. "Healing" or maintaining "wellness" in this sense has to do with the renewal that flows from being increasingly more connected with one's own elements, whatever they might be.

Traditionally, the ancient Finns, like Native Indians, worshipped the four elements, air, water, fire, earth in the sauna; the sauna was a microcosm of the three levels of the universe: the upper realm, the skyworld, the middle realm, the

earth, and the underworld of the dead. All of its core symbolism replicated the cycles of growth, interconnection and symbiosis with the end goal of altered states, consciousness and rejuvenation. If the first temples were menstruation huts, as Voskuil (1994) and Edgar (1995) suggest, it is sobering for women to reconsider the way their sacred bodily processes have been appropriated and turned into something requiring them to purify themselves.^{xix} For many Natives, the pit in the sweatlodge, echoing the Finn_ ' *kiuas*, was the womb of the earth with the red hot glowing rocks in it being the grandfathers or grandmothers. The water thrown on the rocks greeted by sweetgrass or other herbs (tobacco, cedar etc.) transmits the prayers or thanks of the participants to the upper realm, to the ancestors, bringing about at the same time a transformation of the primal elements of creation--masculine and feminine forces; water and air, earth and rocks, hot and cold. According to Jordan Paper, in his discussion of the Native (*Midewiwin* or Ojibway sweatlodge):

The fire in which the rocks are heated, burning to the east of the lodge, represents Grandfather Sun, the most potent power of the male Sky. As the female rocks become red-hot in the fire, they are transformed into Grandfathers, the male sacred persons. When they enter the lodge's pit, Earth's vagina, under the canopy of the dark night, the female Sky, cosmogony is recapitulated. As the glowing red Grandfathers are sprinkled with water, the fluid of life, hissing steam shoots forth, surrounding the act of cosmic coition with hot vapour. The lodge dome becomes a womb in which grows the seed of new life. Both the cosmos and the participants are recreated. (1990, 87).

Ancient Finns likewise poured the first and last round of *löyly* to their ancestors. In the liminal space of the sweatlodge/sauna differences of sex and species are/were annulled so that self and other would merge into the idea of "all my relations"--the cosmic coitus and renewal of life (or more superficially, return of mental and emotional health for the community). According to Allan Konya:

Many superstitions are connected with the sauna. The ancient Finns believed that fire came from heaven, and therefore was sacred: for this reason they looked upon the sauna as a holy place. It was a place for the worship of the dead, a place where diseases and evils of the body were driven out, and even a place where unhappy love affairs

could be settled. Some people consider that the pile of stones on top of the sauna stove is a relic of an altar used in pagan times and that the throwing of water over the stones was a form of sacrificial ceremony to supernatural beings. The Finnish word *löyly* (the vapour which rises from the stones) originally signified *_pirit* or even *_ife* and the word corresponding to *löyly* in languages related to Finnish is *lil*, which means *_oul*.
(1987)

According to Johnson and Miller in *The Sauna Book*:

Sweat lodges were used much as saunas are. After the hot stones had been placed in the lodge, the bathers would enter. Ordinarily an attendant, outside, would then seal the lodge. Typical activities inside included meditation, prayer, and chanting. In many places the bathers would scrub or beat their bodies with whisks made from branches (most frequently, fir), eagle, wings, of buffalo or horse tails. Participants sometimes rubbed themselves with aromatic herbs. Often a pipe would be smoked by the bathers, with each person praying and smoking as the pipe was passed. In ... in many cases, water was poured or sprinkled on the rocks according to a ritualized practice... plunge into coldwater was nearly as standard in the indiana sweatlodge tradition as it is in sauna. (Johnson and Miller, 1977, 23)

For the Indians, according to Johnson and Miller, "Location of the lodge was often of considerable importance. Proximity to cool running water was often desirable, as was a location that would afford quiet and privacy. In some tribes the entrance to the lodge had to be on the east, the direction of the birth of th new day. (1977, 22). However, location is not just a matter of physical space but of symbolic, spiritual location. Miller and Johnston write:

With the use of the sweat lodge, there was generally a strong ritual element in its construction and use. The sweat lodge brought together the four elements-earth, air, water and fire-thus helping the bather be purified and in harmony with the universe. To the Cherokee, for example, there was strong solar symbolism in the sweat lodge. The heat in the lodge was actually the sun's heat (wood was burned to heat the stones for the bath; wood

exists only because the sun shines on trees and makes them grow), and the vapor produced by sprinkling water on the stones gave sun power to the bathers, power that enveloped them and was inhaled by them. The burning of fragrant herbs on the hot stones further increased the sun power present. (1977, 21)

Also, it is important to consider that the sweatlodge facilitates the emergence of a different state of awareness and consciousness--that of the third eye, the multisensorial being where the privileged organ of knowing, sight, is displaced as other modalities of knowing get activated.^{xx} The ancient Finns may have growled like bears--not because they were primitive but because they were as much in touch with and tuned in with the healing power of primal sound therapy as the Natives have always been.

Contemporary attitudes regarding women, bears and menstruation are a clear indication of the degree to which the androcentric, biomedical, dissociative sciences have become self-alienated, alienated also from their own rejuvenating earthy and feminine self. This is linked with the loss of soul and of vital essence also in the culture of the sauna, for the increasing mechanization and secularization of the sauna has resulted in increasing severance of our ties with psychic balance and the sensory wellness that the ancients and today's understand to be an important part of health.^{xxi} The manufacturers and promoters of artificial, monocultural, massproduced rocks and other sauna "advancements" and (non)-enhancements fail to consider the healing that resides in the ancient attitudes towards rocks and water, and consecration rituals. As Native Americans continue to teach, rocks contain sacred messages, knowledge and cannot be purchased and mass produced if and when used in their function as transformers of natural forces, as images of nature communicating its ancient wisdom. The following example of a sacred attitude towards rocks is from an interview my Cree student Ella Saganash published on Cree sweat rituals in "Sweatlodge: Getting to the Bottom of the Barrell: Interview with Diane Reid":

We all pick rocks. A rock also tells you stories of what you need to heal from. When you are in a healing circle and you hold a rock, everything that comes out that is negative of the people will not go into you, it will go into the rock and you have to put the rock in water after to remove all of that. Every rock has a spirit and when you see a rock that has sparkles and is shiny that means that the rock has a water spirit. But this is a

grandmother bear, if you look at it, it is a grandmother and that is why it has a bear on it and it has a bear spirit. It is a healing rock because it is black and it has a lot of strength for healing. This was given to me by a young girl. This rock is a living rock, and it tells you stories. We use it in the healing circle and we pass it around and each person has to discover a spirit in the rock and recognize themselves. We use bigger rocks to heal the shoulders, swelling joints. Rocks could tell you a story that goes way back. If we can learn to read rocks we will be able to tell stories to people to share history. (1997, 207)

In the mechanistic world view, rocks are just rocks and can be man-made; in the vitalistic, animistic world view, rocks are animate and carry the soul of their past and the healing power of the respectful attitude one brings to them.^{xxii} The mechanistic Finns also have given up rituals of consecrating the place, the preparatory acts before a sauna. To gather birch whisks and decorate the sauna were understood by ancients to be healing in itself; it established a connection with nature and the elements and nurtured the relationship between humans and the non-human world. The consecration of sacred place and ritual preparations were as central an aspect of sauna rituals as bathing itself. They helped put the bather in the appropriate state of mind, to begin to concentrate on renewal and spiritual wellness.

Technosaunas with remote control buttons and plastic whisks in Canada further the separation of humans and nature while also depriving them of the healing effects and essences of natural herbs and essences, all, of course, in the name of efficiency and a tenuous philosophy of the rat race and stress-reduction.^{xxiii} I am not suggesting that there are no traces of the ancient holistic, world renewal rituals. The sauna honey, for example has made a comeback in Finland, and indeed echoes the ancient Finnish belief in the connective, life-enhancing, spirit-altering effect of this cosmic and divine ointment referred to already in Finnish folklore.^{xxiv}

I argue that when Finns make so much of "honeyed sweats" even today, it was because during early sauna rituals, they became the bear through imitative magic. By becoming "bears" they could not only fathom the bear's movements and better catch it, but they could experience their own bearlike powers of hibernation and rebirth. Bees and honey are what shamanbears seek in the tree of life; bees are considered in Finnic mythology the divine messengers, honey is the divine ointment *par excellence*, used by goddesses of resurrection for the promotion of life, return of

life after death. The sauna is not just a womb in the psychoanalytic sense, but it is precisely a moist, hot, den where Finns became bears without consciously knowing it.

Jürgen Kremer, a scholar focussed on the recovery of indigenous roots for all, coined the term "dissociative Schismogenesis" to describe the "objective," aloof, fractured, fragmented world view of Western culture. It is a schizophrenic perspective, a form of "double-think", for Westerners are both a fundamental part of the world (as humans), but also live completely alienated and isolated from it. Not only do most westerners live as if they were not a part of a greater whole, they also ignore the roots of their own consumerist emptiness and existential desire. But why was the cosmic tree of growth with the bear's den at its roots been replaced by the cross of death and resurrection, and now, by the trees of economic growth resulting in more cutting down of trees? As is well-known, menstruation, instead of being seen as a sacred essence linking us with the placenta of the cosmos and the cosmic tree of life came to be reverted into its opposite; women are now told it is a curse and a marker of their impurity and unhygienic gender. For Owen, "It is likely that male envy of the blood released by women has fueled many of the negative taboos around menstruation. The concept that menstrual blood is a pollutant is a distortion of the ancient idea that it was a sacrament" (1998, 26).^{xxv} Many people have lost their instinctual relationship with the ground beneath their feet. The Westerners' overanxious hustle for ever greater material wealth may in part result from this loss of connection with the source of our physical nourishment and well-being.

My research on the sauna rituals has a pragmatic and academic goal: I hope to provide both men and women with magico-mythical knowledge about the old ways as a part-solution to the world's dissociative trends. I have collected healing recipes and ritual information which might be applied, reapplied in the Finnish culture of the sauna as a counterforce to the trends that risk further alienating Finns and other bathers from the best healing properties of the sauna as a ritual of self-centering and being alive well. The Finns have lost the rich ritual practices surrounding wedding preparations, the raising of erotic powers, the uses of various types of plants and flowers as raw materials for the *vihta* or *vasta* (bathing switch). In pre-patriarchal times, many religions had female deities who in various ways represented the relationship of women to the moon and to a woman-positive sense of renewal, wisdom and purification, thus allowing women a sense of the divinity of their bodily processes. We are at a disadvantage today in that in most religions we no longer recognize, let alone worship, female deities. Women are therefore

denied reassurance of the 'rightness' of their cyclical, moon-related physiology, depriving them of the wellness that flows from loving their bodies and biology. For women, the recovery of the earth and woman-positive rituals betokens a deep emotional and psychological healing, a getting rid of objectification; but for men, too, it promises a return to psychic "hygiene." It promises the possibility that those of them who have lost the "feminine" connectedness might honor and reconnect with the vital essences of life and matter rather than denigrating the very source of their own biological life.

I see the sauna as the mind-altering womb of new being--a Sensorium for multidimensional wellness and healing--as we approach the millenium; the world is in serious need of renewal as the continuing wars remind us. The conflicts echo ominously the historical repetition compulsion of the return of the periodic cycles--not of life, but of death. We need to rethink the mythologies and values we live by--the cult of violence, hierarchical conceptions of self and other, defensive and fragmenting notions of ethnicity, nation, gender relations, relations with nature--and crawl back into the womb of life. This is what ancient Finns practiced for several millenia before the myths of primal hordes and the primal murder of the father (Freud) replaced the myth of life's eternal return, rooted in nonviolent female blood rituals.^{xxvi} According to many scholars the primal ritual was that of women bleeding into the earth--giving back to the earth what it gave every spring--the tokens of life. By being open to the fact that ancient world views and attitudes of ecological reciprocity were far from "primitive," we may help redress the world's balance and reown the sauna and sweat rituals as that which originally they appear to have been--recapitulations of divine cosmologies, cosmogynies, maintaining collective and individual wellness.

In the past, Finns would look it upon a sacred sauna ritual to wash their sauna partner's back. Today, business saunas are becoming sites where those with the most power and resources are merely scratching each others' backs. What has happened to the more noble aims of shedding our skins and baring our deepest being? In my view, "löyly" has gone out of the technosauna rituals where we are passive consumers of sauna gadgets and neo-pagan items rather than active participants in our own "being alive well" rituals of periodic renewal. For me, the sauna is not at its best a mere site for hygiene and damage control after we return home from the rat race. It is more than a perspiration box where one size fits all: before the church took over the Finns' spiritual guidance, it was, after all, the sauna-Sensorium that was the temple of wellness and connected everyday spirituality.

The point of the sauna ritual is not only to increase knowledge about physiological processes (itself of course an important goal) but rather to generate and regenerate the world and be generated and regenerated by it in return.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aaland, Mikkel. 1978. *Sweat. The illustrated history and description of the Finnish Sauna, Russian Bania, Islamic Hamman, Japanese Musibvuro, Mexican Temescal and American Indian & Eskimo Sweat Lodge.* Santa Barbara: Capra Press.

Abercromby, John. *Pre- and Proto-historic Finns. Both Eastern and Western. With the Magic Songs of the West Finns.* London: 1898.

Acerbi, J. 1953 [1799] *Travels through Sweden, Finland and Lapland to the North Cape in the Years 1798 and 1799.* Helsinki, n.p.

Adelson, Naomi. 1992. "'Being Alive Well': Social and Political Construction of Health Among the Whapmagoostui Cree." Dissertation. McGill University.

---. 1998. "Health Beliefs and the Politics of Cree Well-Being." *Health* 2(1): 5-22.

Alanen, Viljo. 1940. "Suomalainen sauna ikivanhojen uskomusten pyhäkkönä." *Saunakirja.* Helsinki. 215-220.

Anttonen, Veikko. 1992. *Interpreting Ethnic Categories Denoting 'Sacred' in a Finnish and an Ob-Ugrian Context.* **Temenos** 28.92.

Apo, Satu. 1995. *Naisen väki. Tutkimuksia suomalaisten kansanomaisesta kulttuurista ja ajattelusta.* Hämeenlinna: Hanki ja Jää.

Apo, Satu. 1999. "Myyttinen nainen." *Suomalainen nainen.* Apo et al. Otava, Helsinki, 1999.

Badermann, Elmar. 1976. "Aesthetic and Physiological Perceptions in the Original Finnish Sauna." *Sauna Studies.* Papers Read at the VI International Sauna Congress in Helsinki, August 15-17, 1974.

Helsinki.

Bruchac, Joseph. 1994. *The Native American Sweat Lodge. History and Legends*. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.

Branch, Michael, Senni Timonen and Lauri Honko. 1993. *The Great Bear. A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugric Languages*. Pieksämäki: SKS.

Colorado, Pamela. 1988. "Bridging Native and Western Science." *Convergence*. XXI, 2/3: 49-67.

Cunningham, Donna and Andrew Ramer. 1988. *The Spiritual Dimensions of Healing Addictions*. San Rafael, Calif: Cassandra Press.

Danaher, K. Lucas, A.T. 1952. "Sweathouse, Co. Tyrone." *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. LXXXII, 2. Dublin.

Eaton, Evelyn. 1978. *I send a Voice*. Wheaton, Ill.: Theosophical Publishing House.

Edelsward, L.M. 1991. "We are More Open When We are Naked" by L.M. Edelsward, *Ethnos*. 56: 3-4. 189-198.

---. 1991. *Sauna as a Symbol: Society and Culture in Finland*. New York: Peter Lang.

Edgar, Robin. 1995. *Red Moon Rising. Menstrual Symbolism in the Total Lunar Eclipse*. Verdun, Quebec.

Fernberg, Harold. 1987. Kääntänyt Erno Kosonen. "Apassien löylyt." *Sauna* 1. 15-18.

Hallowell, A. Irving. 1926. "Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere." *American Anthropologist*. 28, Vol. 1: 1-175.

Hammerschlag, Carl A. 1988. "Shamanistic Healing. What Heals? Native Healing Beliefs." *The Dancing Healers: A Doctor's Journey of Healing with Native Americans*. New York: Harper & Row.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1978. *Native Religions of North America*. San

Francisco: Harper.

Hunnisett, Stanley Frank. 1988. *From Pohjanmaa to the Shores of Gitchee Gumee: Finns & Indians in the Northern Lake Superior Region*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of Iowa.

Ihalainen, Olli. 1994. "Suomalaisia kylpemismuotoja." *Sauna*. 2: 6-14.

Itkonen, Erkki. 1965. "Zur Etymologie von fi. Sauna." *Studia Fennica*. 11-12.

Irwin, Hadley. 1980. *We are Masquakie. We are One*. Old Westbury: The Feminist Press.

Jilek, Wolfgang G. 1992. *Indian Healing: Shamanic Ceremonialism in the Pacific Northwest Today*. Blaine: Wa., Hancock House Publishers.

Joe, Rita. 1966. *Song of Rita Joe: Autobiography of a Mi'kmaq Poet*. Charlottetown, PEI: Ragweed Press.

Johnson, Tom and Tim Miller. 1977. *The Sauna Book*. New York: Harper & Row.

Jordan, Terry and Matti Kaups. 1989. *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kailo, Kaarina. 2000. "Suomalainen sauna ja intiaanien hikimaja uudelleensyntymisen kohtuna". *Sauna* 4. 8-13.

Kailo, Kaarina. 1998a. "Indigenous Women, Ecopolitics and Healing--'Women who Marry Bears.'" *Minorities and Women*. ed. Robert Jansson. Mariehamn: Åland Fredsinstitut, Åland Peace Institut. 85-121.

---. 1997. "Beyond the Clinical Couch and the Patriarchal Gaze. Healing Abuse in the Finnish Sauna and Through Holistic Sweats." *Simone de Beauvoir Institute Review/Revue de l'Institut Simone de Beauvoir*. Vol. 17: 89-115. (Special Issue on Healing Politics:

Violence, Culture, Alternative Health).

---. 1996. "Steamy Stories from the Finnish Sauna: Healing the Feminine Through Soulful Sweats." A Panel on the Finnish Sauna." Simone de Beauvoir Institute. Feb 12th.

Kentish, Edwaerd. 1808. *Essay on warm and vapour baths; with hints for a new mode applying heat and cold for the cure of disease, and the preservation of health.* London, n.p.

Kivimäki, Sanna. 1996. "Nainen ja Sauna." *Sauna*. 50: 1: 5-17.

Konya, Allan. 1987. *Finnish Sauna*. London: the Architectural Press.

Kremer, Jürgen W. 1996. "The Possibility of Recovering Indigenous European Perspectives on Native Healing Practices. Developing the Basis for Respectful Knowledge Exchanges." *Ethnopsychologische Mitteilungen* 5 (2): 149-164.

---. 1997. "Are There 'Indigenous Epistemologies'?" *Revisions. Journal of Transformation and Consciousness*. San Francisco: California Institute of Integral Studies.

Lopatin, Ivan A. 1960. "Origin of the Native American Steam Bath." *American Anthropologist*. 62.

Malloch, Lesley. 1992. "Indian Medicine, Indian Health Study Between Red and White Medicine." *Canadian Women's Studies*. 10: 23: 105112.

Owen, Laura. 1998. *Honoring Menstruation. A Time of Self-Renewal*. Freedom: Calif., The Crossing Press.

Paper, Jordan. 1990. "'Sweat Lodge": A Northern Native American Ritual for Communal Shamanic Trance." *Temenos*. 26: 85-94.

Pepper, Floy C. and Steven L. Henry. 1991. "An Indian Perspective on Self-Esteem." *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 18:2.

Rockwell, David. 1991. *Giving Voice to Bear*. Toronto: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1991.

Saganash, Ella. "Sweatlodge: Getting to the Bottom of the Barrel: Interview with Diane Reid." *Simone de Beauvoir Institute Review/Revue de l'Institut Simone de Beauvoir*. Vol. 17: 197-215. (Special Issue on Healing Politics: Violence, Culture, Alternative Health).

Sallamaa, Kari. 1981. "Sauna suullisessa kansanperinteessä." *Sauna*. 3: 22-27.

Sallamaa, Kari. 1991. "Nouse lempi liehumahan." *Sauna*. 1: 18-24.

Salmela, William David. 1995. *The Sauna*. Minnesota: Otso Press.

Siikala, Anna-Leena. 1994. *Suomalainen samanismi: mielikuvien historiaa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

---. & Mihály Hoppál. 1992. *Studies on Shamanism*. Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society.

Stark-Arola, Laura. 1998. *Magic, Body and Social Order. The Construction of Gender Through Women's Private Rituals in Traditional Finland*. Helsinki: SKS, 1998.

Stolzman, William, SJ. 1991. *The Pipe and the Christ. A Christian-Sioux Dialogue*. Chamberlain, South Dakota: Tipi Press, 3rd ed.

Swartz, Lise. 1988. "Healing Properties of the Sweatlodge Ceremony." *Health Care Issues in the Canadian North*. Ed. David E. Young, Boreal Institute for Northern Studies. 102-109.

Sykiäinen, Rudolf. 1981. "Karjalainen morsiuksauna." *Sauna* 4: 10-13.

Tooker, Elizabeth, ed. 1979. *Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands*. New York: Paulist Press.

Tarkka, Lotte. 1994. "Other Worlds--Symbolism, Dialogue and Gender in Karelian Oral Poetry." *Songs Beyond the Kalevala*. Anna-Leena Siikala and Sinikka Vakimo, Eds. Helsinki: SKS. 250-301.

Vahtola, Marjut. 1994. *Health, Illness, and Healing Beliefs Among*

the Thunder Bay Finns. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Department of Anthropology, Lakehead University.

Valtakari, Pirkko. 1996. "Naisnäkökulma saunaan." *Sauna*. 1: 3-4.

---. 1990. Kari Pylkkänen, Inkeri Repo, Helinä Siikala, Pirkko Vilppunen. *Psyykinen, biologinen ja yliluonnollinen vaihtoehtolääkinnässä*. Helsinki: Suomen Mielenterveysseura.

Vuolle-Apiala, Risto. 1991. *Savusaunakirja*. Jyväskylä: Kopi-Jyvä Oy.

Voskuil, Duane. 1994. "From Genetic Cosmology to Genital Cosmetics. Origin Theories of the Righting Rites of Male Circumcision." A paper presented at the Third International Symposium on Circumcision. University of Maryland, Washington, May 24.

Williams, Shirley. 1992. "Woman's Role in Ojibway Spirituality." *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 27: 3: 100-104.

Young, David E. Grant Ingram and Lize Swartz, eds. 1989. *Cry of the Eagle: Encounters with a Cree Healer*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

i. There is no homogenous "Native" culture but numerous, culturally divergent tribal nations with their own names for the sweat bath. "Inipi" refers to Lakota sweatlodges and serves here as an example of a Native institution which does, however, have some "panindian", shared elements. As I cannot specify these cultural differences in this context, I refer to Native sweatlodges essentially as sites of cosmic world renewal without focusing on differences of ritual practice inside this broad definition.

ii. My translation from Finnish.

iii. For my comparison of woman-friendly, Native and mainstream approaches to therapy, see Kailo (1997).

iv. For a lengthier discussion of the role of bears and women in ancient bear hunting cultures, see Kailo (1998, 2000).

v. For example, Erkki Itkonen writes in *Studia Fennica* that the word sauna comes from the Sami term "suodgne", meaning a hole dug in snow, where people sought refuge or spent the night. According to the most recent speculation in 1972, a Lapp would have dug a sauna in the snow and would have pulled a reindeer skin as his or her cover, thereby revealing the link between the sauna and a dug-out hide-away. According to Sakari Pälsi on the other hand there were saunas in Finland already during the Iron Age.

vi. In the Finnish magico-mythical animistic worldview, the key attributes of the interconnected kinship relations were sweat and honey; linked with the vital essences and fluids and connected with the divine bees, these purifying fluids were literally the cosmic glue animating, bringing life to the social body. Löyly was to be "metinen", "meady," "honeyed," and even waves of the water were described with these attributes. Sweat was not linked with germs and hygiene but rather, with the kinds of mysterious life substances that could help raise one's love, luck, erotic powers and attraction. Therefore men and women would collect drops of sweat in the sauna and try to feed it to the one they wished to have fall in love with them. According to Lotte Tarkka, "In the hunting incantations, the keepers or spirits of the forest are most often addressed as women, in affectionate terms: as "honeyed mistress of the forest" (SKVR I: 4, 1249) (1994, 258).

vii. My sources for the link between the bear's den and the sweatlodge are mostly oral. They include conversations with noted scholars of Native studies, particularly the Cree, such as Colin Scott of McGill

University and Adrien Tanner.

viii. On the Native North American Sweatlodge or *inipi* (Lakota term), see, for example, Bruchac (1996); Eaton (1978); Hammerschlag (1988); Jilek (1992); Joe (1966); Saganash in Kailo (1997); Lopatin (1960) Paper (1990); Stolzman (1991); Schwartz (1988).

ix. For my discussions of the feminine and the sauna, see Kailo (1997) and (1998). A journal I edited on "Healing Politics: Violence, Culture and Alternative Health" (1997) likewise addresses the links between women, abuse, healing and the sauna. For women's approaches to the sauna culture, see Valtakari (1996) and Kivimäki (1996).

x. According to Plutarch the priests of Ancient Egypt called the Moon the Mother of the Universe, because the moon 'having the light which makes moist and pregnant, is promotive of the generation of human beings and the fructification of plants' (Owen, 1998, 18).

xi. According to Stark-Arola, "Female *väki* [refers to] the dynamistic force located in the female genitalia and reproductive organs. If female *väki* had a general name among the folk, we do not now have record of it--only in its most dangerous form it directly referred to, as *vitun vihat* (the virgin's wrath), *ihmisen viha* (person's wrath) *naisten viha* (women's wrath); or *hävyn viha* (wrath of the female genitals).the magic rite descriptions in which an animate being or object was protected or affected, or a harmful force was warded off, when a woman's genitalia were purposefully exposed near it" (1998, 121). For Stark-Arola, "Female *väki* was powerful: it was strong enough to ward off the evil eye ... and there is no evidence that women themselves could be exposed the the evil eye while protecting others from it. "The 'wrath of women' infects, when women are bathing with you at the same time or if they otherwise simply *harakoi*. Similar to *väki* are two other folk concepts which I have inferred from my analysis of the women's magic material: these are *personal essence* and *gendered essence*. These also represent a type of dynamistic force but their primary function was to *attract* or *bind* the source of the essence to its target rather than infect it. In other words, whereas *väki* might be viewed as a sort of supernatural energy charge ... personal and gendered essence might be seem as a sort of supernatural 'glue'.

Personal essence was used to bind a person or an animal (dogs, cows, etc.) to oneself, and was the 'force' operating in love magic. Personal essence was manifested in the bodily substances and clothing worn by that particular person, but female *väki* could also be a form of personal essence, as can be seen in love magic rituals in which female *väki* was applied to a cake which was baked and then fed to

desired husband-candidate...Gendered essence was similar in principle to personal essence, but gendered essence made the target person both more attractive and attracted to a gendered *category* of persons rather than an individual. *Väki* has been compared to or equated with the Melanesian concept of *mana*, the Iroquois concept of *orenda* (Haavio 1942:51; Hautala 1960:13; Honko 1960:88), and its closer Old Scandinavian counterpart *meginn* (Siikala 1994:173, 220), although the semantic field covered by the term *väki* seems to have been narrower than that of these other concepts. According to the earliest descriptions of the nature and function of *mana* and *orenda*, those which formed the basis for the concept of dynamism in religious studies (see Mauss 1974/1904:108-121, van Baal 1971:64-75), each of these terms covers more conceptual territory than the Finnish folk concepts of *väki*, *onni*, *pyhä* (the sacred), and *luonto* (a *tietäjä*'s supranormal power, life force, or soul) put together" (1998, 98).

xii. According to Owen, "In the Native American tradition a woman is considered to be at her most powerful, physically and spiritually, when she is menstruating. Resting during menstruation is seen in the context of one's attention being elsewhere. Your energy is focused on the spiritual plane, on gathering wisdom" (1998, 31).

xiii. This chart is my own synthesis of the contrasting worldviews, and are influenced by similar charts created, among others, by Faith Fjeld (during a lecture at Simone de Beauvoir Institute, 1997), and Lesley Malloch (1992), 105-106. See also Colorado (1996).

xiv. Of course, there is no reason to idealize the past and denigrate the present in a strictly dichotomous way. The past was brutal as is the present. Still, ecological cosmovisions had a very different impact on the future of the ecosystem than the more short-sighted values of today, despite all the progress modern era has brought about.

xv. For Kremer: "To heal" is etymologically connected with the German *heilen*, and the indo-european root **kailo-*, referring to a state and a process of wholeness ("whole" also being related to this root). But "to heal" is also connected to "holy" (as in *heilen* to *heilig*), which gives an ancient root to the reemergent wholistic and transpersonal perspectives on healing. Lincoln (1986, 118) concludes in his analysis of "healing" in the indo-european context by saying "that it is not just a damaged body that one restores to wholeness and health, but the very universe itself. ... The full extent of such knowledge is now revealed in all its grandeur: the healer must understand and be prepared to manipulate nothing less than the full structure of the cosmos" (1997, 8).

xvi. For a Finnish-American poem describing the sauna as a womb, see Salmela (1995).

xvii. For the imagery of turtles and the sweatlodge, see Stolzman, (1991).

xviii. As I had a chance to witness, the participants crawl inside the *inipi* on all fours, imitating bears, and saying "all my relations" as they enter the womblike, moist, cramped lodge where people, the sweat leader, spirit animals and ancestors are summoned to be present. During the 2-4 hour sweat, consisting of four rounds (invocation of spirits and ancestors, confession or the round where the participants bear witness to their personal dramas or traumas, the round focussed on healing, and the final giving of thanks), the participants are in a liminal state--bearlike--experiencing a kind of spiritual-physical-emotional rebirth in imitation of the sacred bear--the most important shamanistic animal healer of native cultures. To participate in the sweat is to return, rather than regress to the womb of being where one might get the visions and the strength to remake oneself, alter one's perspectives, repair one's hurts and destructive actions, and to re-emerge supported and strengthened by the collectively cathartic, renewing experience.

xix. According to Duane Voskuil in "From Genetic Cosmology to Genital Cosmetics", "Both the tavern and tabernacle (tent) are derived from the menstrual hut. They were places where minds were altered. The temple was also a place of orientation for complex measurements of space and time. Quoting Grahn, "The word `temple' has roots in `time'---as do `tempo,' `temporary,' and `contemplation'---from Latin *tempus*, `time' and *templum*, `space marked out for the observation of auguries.' It is related to *tempestas*, `season' or `storm'. What besides time has been kept in temples? Orientation, statuary, ritual paraphernalia, fire, water, books, grain, fruits, cattle, money, and crafts. As temples became centers of trade, the earliest known cities grew up around them" (1994, 8).

xx. Again, in contrast with the epistemic biases of androcentric Western science and healing, Native people value intuitive knowledge and the enhancement of the senses that occurs as the external stimuli are reduced and one can concentrate on the inner gaze, on feeling, touching, sensing, hearing, listening, singing. Unlike in modern hygiene-oriented saunas, in Native sweats giving verbal expression to one's soul is yet another powerful ritual means of healing or being alive well; modern Western healers are only beginning to discover the healing power of touch, sweat and the resonances in sounds.

xxi. According to Paper, "The physical and ritual features of the sweat lodge engenders common physiological effects. The intense heat effects the metabolism and sweat pours off the participants, leading to dehydration. The increased metabolism of the participants in the small sealed structure reduces the oxygen and carbon dioxide builds up, causing hypoxyventilation. The total darkness of the lodge engenders partial sensory deprivation. The scalding steam is a times painful, and the hours spent tightly confined in the tiny space and unmoving, because of the danger of burns from the hot rocks creates discomfort, possibly leading to the production of endorphins (for the uncertain role of endorphins in shamanism, see Prince 1982). Drumming and chanting with the use of shakers may lead to auditory driving....

Mental imagery is intensified through ritual procedures for inducing altered states of consciousness that manipulates both physiological and psychological variables through the auto-hypnosis of the participants (Noll 1985, 447)" (1990, 89).

xxii. The Christian androcentric world has severed its roots from nature and is one of few religions to deprive first women, then nature of a soul. Natives and ancient Finns, instead, venerated nature as an ensouled and equally important entity.

xxiii. The computerized world no longer understands the vital fluids and essences. To quote Laura Owen now "Blood is seen as gore; people faint at the sight of it; we hide it on tampons and throw it down the toilet; we associate it with injury and death. Yet, in ancient times (and still in the Tantric tradition) menstrual blood was viewed as a sacrament symbolizing the wonder of life. As this is probably the most ancient of human sacraments, it is in all likelihood the origin of the Christian sacrament of the Blood of Christ" (1998, 16-17).

xxiv. For examples of the importance of honey in Finnish folklore, see Abercromby (1898), 128, 192, 195).

xxv. She further notes that "In Judeo-Christian tradition, the Snake has been assigned the most evil place of all the animal kingdom, as the cause of the fall from grace from the Garden of Eden. It once held power as the great symbol of death and rebirth, the magical one who brought knowledge of sexuality, of life and death, whose bite sent priestesses into visionary states and whose appearance presaged mystical and powerful events" (1998, 17).

xxvi. Freud was wrong to suggest that the primal scene of western

culture was the primal murder by the sons of their father so they could have access to the women he hoarded for himself. Rituals of atonement and expiation of guilt are only necessary when there is a primal murder. In the mythical, unprovable but psychologically uplifting myths of the animistic past, it is possible that there was no need for expiation rituals if there was no killing, no murder, of women, the earth, the bear.