

Kylpijän kymmenen käskyä

1. Käyttäydy saunalaitoksessa siivosti, sillä sauna on esi-isiemme perinnäistavan mukaan "pyhä" paikka.
2. Älä tule päihtyneenä saunaan, äläkä tuo tullessasi päihdyttäviä aineita, joista voit joutua vastaamaan kaupungin poliisijärjestyksen 8 § mukaan.
3. Ota löylyä tarpeeksesi, mutta älä pilaa toisten saunatunnelmaa "urheillemalla" liiallisella lölynotolla.
Käytä lölypuolella mahdollisimman vähän vettä — mieluummin ei ensinkään — sillä "kuiva" löyly on itsellesi sekä toisille miellyttävää.
Älä pehmitä vihtaasi kiukaalla, siitä leviää pahaa katkua ja vihtasi aromi huononee.
4. Älä käytä lölypuolella saippuaa, sillä saippua liukkaudellaan on saanut monta ikävää tapaturmaa aikaan.
Älä vie pulloja eikä muitakaan lasiesineitä saunaan tai pesuhuoneeseen, sillä ne rikkoontuessaan aiheuttavat loukkaantumisia.
5. Peseydy kunnollisesti, mutta älä käytä turhantakia tuhlaten vettä. Laske ensin sankoosi kylmää vettä ja sen jälkeen tarvittava määrä kuumaa.
Peseydyttyäsi ota suihku, mutta älä ole siinä liian kauan, sillä toiset odottavat, anna vuoro heillekin.
Älä roiskuttele pesuvettäsi toisen päälle.
6. Sylkeminen saunalaitoksessa on yleensäkin epäsiistiä, mutta vallon inhoitavaa pukuhuoneen lattialle.
Älä jätä paperijätteitä ja tupakanpätkiä jälkeesi. Laita ne sitävarten asetettuihin säiliöihin.
Noudata pukuhuoneessa kaikessa äärimmäistä siisteyttä.
7. Kun kylvettäjät palvelevat asiakkaita eri korvauksesta, niin muista maksaa saamasi palvelu.
8. Jos olet pukeutunut ja toinen odottaa, niin luovuta paikkasi hänelle.
9. Laitoksessa esiintyvistä mahdollisista puutteellisuuksista ja henkilökunnan käyttäytymisestä tee kirjallinen esitys laitoksen vastuunalaiselle hoitajalle, nimellä ja osoitteella varustettuna.
10. Noudattamalla näitä "käskyjä" teet omasi sekä toisten olon saunalaitoksessa viihtyisäksi.

SUOMEN LIKESAUNOJEN LIITTO ry.

Ten Commandments of the Public Bath

Tuomas Toivonen

Bathing Together Is the Opposite of Warfare: The Public Bath as Evidence of Civilization as an Apparatus to Produce Pleasure and Health to the Social, Cultural, and Individual Body

In the late 1940s, the Finnish Union of Commercial Saunas issued a single-page document titled "The Ten Commandments of the Bather," to be displayed at all public saunas.

The context: postwar Finland was rebuilding—modernizing through urbanization. Refugees and displaced people from lost territories were being absorbed into the rapidly growing cities, coalescing around state-orchestrated industrialization. It was a time of scarcity and rationing, with people living very close to one another, especially in urban centers. The sauna as an institution for both pleasure and health has always been essential to Finnish culture, and in cities every neighborhood had its own public saunas, serving the influx of rural newcomers along with their established clientele. All were Finns, and thus accustomed to sauna practice, but not necessarily in the setting of the public bath. Hence, the guide for bathing together.

I

Behave well in the sauna at all times, as it is a “sacred” place according to the ways of our ancestors.



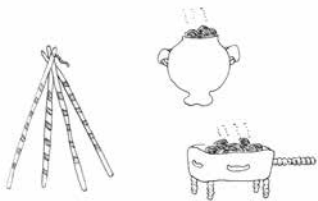
Somali refugees gather at the market at Hagadaera camp in Dadaab, Kenya, 2009.



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II

Do not come to the sauna intoxicated, or bring intoxicating substances, according to the city police order law §8.

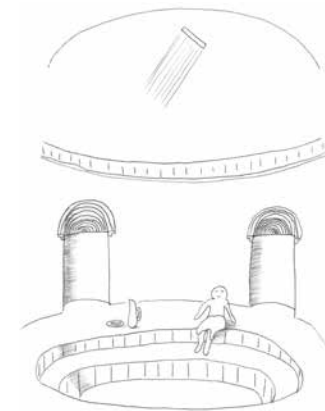


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One of the earliest written accounts of a sweat-bath can be found in Herodotus’s 5th-century BCE *Histories*. He describes Scythian traditions for burial and related bathing rituals, which take place in felt tents erected over pits with hot stones. In addition to bathing, he explains, the sweat-bath is used to induce intoxication (with the help of hemp seeds): “The Scythians, as I said, take some of this hemp-seed, and, creeping under the felt coverings, throw it upon the red-hot stones; immediately it smokes, and gives out such a vapour as no Grecian vapour-bath can exceed; the Scyths, delighted, shout for joy, and this vapour serves them instead of a water-bath; for they never by any chance wash their bodies with water.” Herodotus, who regards the Scythians as curious, uncivilized savages, reveals diverging tendencies between the character of their tribal ritual baths and the urban “civilized” bathing practice of the Greeks. This implies that already at the time of Herodotus, the Greek vapor bath was a public institution where the rule of law, strictness of conduct, and social order were imperative to the private and volatile pleasures of intoxication.

III

Take enough steam, but do not spoil the sauna of others by excessive “athletic” steam pouring. In the sauna, use as little water as possible—a “drier” steam is more pleasurable for you and your co-bathers. Do not soften your whisk on the stove, as it may produce undesirable odors and spoil your whisk’s aroma.



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More than creating a space for physical bathing, the architecture of the bath requires—and creates—a space of anti-conflict, anti-competition, and anti-hierarchy. The space of communal bathing is enclosed, civil, and polite, every bather autonomously performing his or her own version of an agreed set of practices, without interfering with others. This autarchic coexistence—and the bath as the space that enables it—is the antithesis of the space of warfare, engendered by a violent negotiation of boundaries where individuals and technology are aggregated into a military apparatus, assembled to destroy, dominate, delineate, and dictate any human, architectural, or political limits.

IV

Do not use any soap in the sauna, as its slipperiness has caused many unfortunate accidents. Do not take bottles or other glass objects into the washing hall or sauna, as they will cause injuries if they shatter.



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To bathe is to be vulnerable—naked, hot, and wet. Our bodies must enter the architecture of the bath without mediating layers of clothing, without foreign objects. In medieval Europe, harsh punishments were exacted for crimes committed within the bathhouse. Like churches, bathhouses forbade the bearing of arms, and bath keepers had the right to refuse or expel bathers for misconduct, drunkenness, indecent behavior, or failing to respect the bath rights of others.

In late Roman Empire *thermae*, bathers would undress and give their clothes to the *capsarii*, a class of slaves whose duty was to guard them. Eventually, these keepers of garments became, according to lexicographer William Smith, “notorious for dishonesty, and leagued with all the thieves of the city, so that they connived at the robberies they were placed there to prevent.” To suppress thievery, the crime of stealing in the baths was made a capital offence.

V

Wash yourself thoroughly, but do not use water wastefully. Fill your bucket first with cold water before dispensing a suitable amount of hot water. After washing, take a shower, but do not stay there too long, as there are others waiting for their turn. Do not splash or sprinkle your washing water onto others.



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The English word “bath,” originates from a Proto-Indo-European root word *-bhe*, “to warm.” Washing oneself is part of bathing practice, but bathing always involves more than the simple management of one’s hygiene. The aim of the bath is to induce a state of heat to the body. To achieve this, the bather makes an excursion into non-habitual or uncomfortable ambient conditions—hot water, steam, dry radiant heat, possibly coupled with plunges in cold water or cooling off in a light breeze, helping the body tolerate the artificial fever state, washing off sweat and increasing circulation.

Sunbathing is the simplest form of the bath, with the body absorbing solar heat and occasionally dipping into a nearby body of water. In cold, sunless climates, alternative practices have been developed. Ethnographer Sakari Pälsi describes how the Inuit “bathe” by stripping naked and running in the arctic wind until breaking a sweat. Pälsi compares this to an old Finnish tradition: in early spring just when the lake ice starts to melt, a large bonfire is built, allowing people to swim in the cold lake, and then dry in the radiance of the pyre. Beyond this point, architecture becomes the primary device for creating and controlling the climatic conditions necessary for bathing. Several typologies and techniques have developed throughout the world:

- A wooden building containing a large stationary mass of fire-heated stones that give off stored heat after the fire has been extinguished (a Finnish smoke sauna, Estonian *suitsusaun*, or Russian black *banya*).
- Hot stones from a bonfire are brought in to heat a tent (Lappish *kota-sauna*, Scythian tent, Native American Inipi sweat lodge)
- A stone room where an open fire is extinguished once the walls are sufficiently heated (Irish sweathouses, Korean *hanjeungmak*, ancient Greek cave baths, Mexican *temazcal*)

VI

- A bathing space with a stone boundary sectioning off the fire, which is kept going until the stone boundary radiates heat (Roman hypocaust, Turkish hammam, Korean *ondol*)
- A natural source of heat with a structure built around it to trap or regulate it (Japanese *onsen*, Icelandic saunas built on top of hot springs, Italian volcanic cave baths)

Spitting is disgusting in general, but particularly offensive on these premises. Do not leave behind any paper trash or cigarette butts; place them in their correct receptacles. In the dressing room, practice utmost cleanliness in all conduct.



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The bathhouse has been the continuous locus of debate and drama, both comedy and tragedy, on hygiene and morality. During the Middle Ages, laws were passed to close bathhouses, as they were suspected of being a vector of the plague. At other times, baths and nudity were regarded as indecent (in some places, bathhouses are synonymous with brothels); while in other contexts and times, the institution of the public bath and bathing traditions were celebrated in religious propaganda and imagery.

A curious example can be found in certain depictions of Adam and Eve, who cover themselves with what appear to be sauna whisks, very similar to those still used in Scandinavia, the Baltics, and Russia. The origins of this iconography are in medieval processions: in many towns, the bath keepers—typically a man and a wife—would play the parts of Adam and Eve. In the eyes of a mostly illiterate audience, the image of bath keepers became synonymous with the biblical first man and woman, and this whisk-bearing representation of Adam and Eve sprung up in altarpieces and church frescoes. However, by the 16th century, European urban bathing culture had waned, and the bath had retreated to the edges—to islands, mountains, to the north and the east, where it was folded into local sweat-bath traditions like the Finnish sauna, the Baltic *saun/pirtjes*, or the Russian *banya*.

VII

When bath keepers offer beverages or services, remember to pay for them on your way out.



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It seems natural to expel transactions of “dirty” money from clean spaces, enhancing the public bath’s essence as a space of trust—and therefore also potentially as a space of debt. Before homes had bathrooms, public baths were solid businesses, and in many instances being a bath keeper was a restricted trade.

There are numerous cases of medieval European cities and thrones that established bathhouse monopolies to fund public buildings and institutions. In fact, the bathhouse-as-business plays a significant part in the origins of Uppsala University in Sweden. The university was established in 1477, with Pope Sixtus IV granting it operating rights. At the time, public baths were owned and operated by the same ecclesiastical order as the university. In 1570, after the Reformation, during which the crown seized control of all the church’s properties, the crown allocated the profits of the public bath to cover the costs of maintaining the city’s public buildings. This could be regarded as an early model of the Nordic welfare state, linking the establishment of state monopolies, education, and public infrastructures that frame the daily lives of citizens.

The link between academia and the bath can be traced back to the Greek *gymnasion*, a school or, literally, a place for “exercising in the nude.” In its simplest form, the *palaestra* contained the necessary spaces for physical and intellectual exercise. The southern side housed the intellectual realm, with colonnades and alcoves for learning and conversing; the northern side housed the athletic facilities, *xysti* and stadiums for running and wrestling; in between the two, uniting mind and body, was the bathhouse. Both sport and debate are competitive in nature, but as the arrangement of the bath suggests, bathing is a unifying, common practice; it is a personal ritual that necessitates a noncompetitive space of reconciliation.

The spatial arrangement of the Greek bath and gymnasium influenced the Roman bath’s layout, which expanded both the spatial sequence and apparatus of bathing and the number of other adjoining functions—halls and courts for sport, reading, entertainment, philosophy, debate, music, drama. As

imperial public baths, *thermae*, grew in scale, their plans became elaborations of possible choreographies of bathing and sequences of spaces with different atmospheric and calefactory qualities. These baths were open to all, free of charge, and each emperor tried to eclipse his predecessors with newer, bigger, more luxurious buildings. As Rome expanded, the empire needed new sources of water, and so they built aqueducts crossing the landscape into the city, terminating in enormous bath complexes. These were total environments, providing a site for a new form of public social life: hedonism, hygiene, culture, and entertainment. They were concretizations of the emperor’s benevolence, and became an architectural device for the fabrication of political power and popularity: *there is no such thing as a free bath* (or bread or circus).

VIII

If you are dressed and ready, and others are waiting, let them have your place.



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If you are dressed, you no longer belong to the space of the bath. In the earliest depiction of the Finnish sauna dating from 1799, Italian explorer Giuseppe Acerbi places himself into the drawing of the bathing scene he witnessed. He depicts himself as a bold adventurer who courageously enters the exotic and extreme environment of the sauna. However, Acerbi rather appears as the uncivilized intruder, entering the space in taboo fashion—with his clothes on. He remains at the doorway, holding the door open, letting both cold air in and steam out. His intrusion reveals him to be an ignorant oaf, spoiling the sauna for the other bathers.

IX

Concerning possible issues, shortcomings or problems in the bathhouse, or about the conduct of staff, compose a written letter including your name and address.



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During the Roman Empire, *aediles* were citizens appointed to be in charge of the upkeep and operation of public institutions. *Aediles* responsible for baths would ensure and test the proper heating of water and air, the cleanliness and repair of the building, and general adherence to rules and laws in the bath.

In Tacitus’s *Annals*, a passage describes how *aediles* test the water temperature of pools by hand, the “old-fashioned way.” Vitruvius dedicates a short chapter of *De Architectura* to the construction of baths. He describes the bathhouse’s orientation and spatial arrangement in relation to the furnace, the structure and materials of the hypocaust heating system (a raised floor with fire or hot smoke below), the materials and construction technique of vaults for hot and humid spaces, the dimensioning of the bathhouse and its individual rooms, and the technical devices used to control the heat in the dry sweat-bath of the *laconicum*. We can imagine Vitruvius visiting a bath, frustrated by the rotting wood in the vaults of the *caldarium*, or the too tight dimensioning in washrooms that resulted in crowds forming around freshwater basins, or light falling from the wrong direction. However, Vitruvius does not voice his complaints to the *aedile* in charge, but includes his observations in his treatise, as instructions directed to future builders of baths, or as advice for owners—perhaps the emperor—to not tolerate such mistakes and incompetence.

X

By following these commandments, you will make both your and your co-bather’s stay in the sauna bath comfortable.



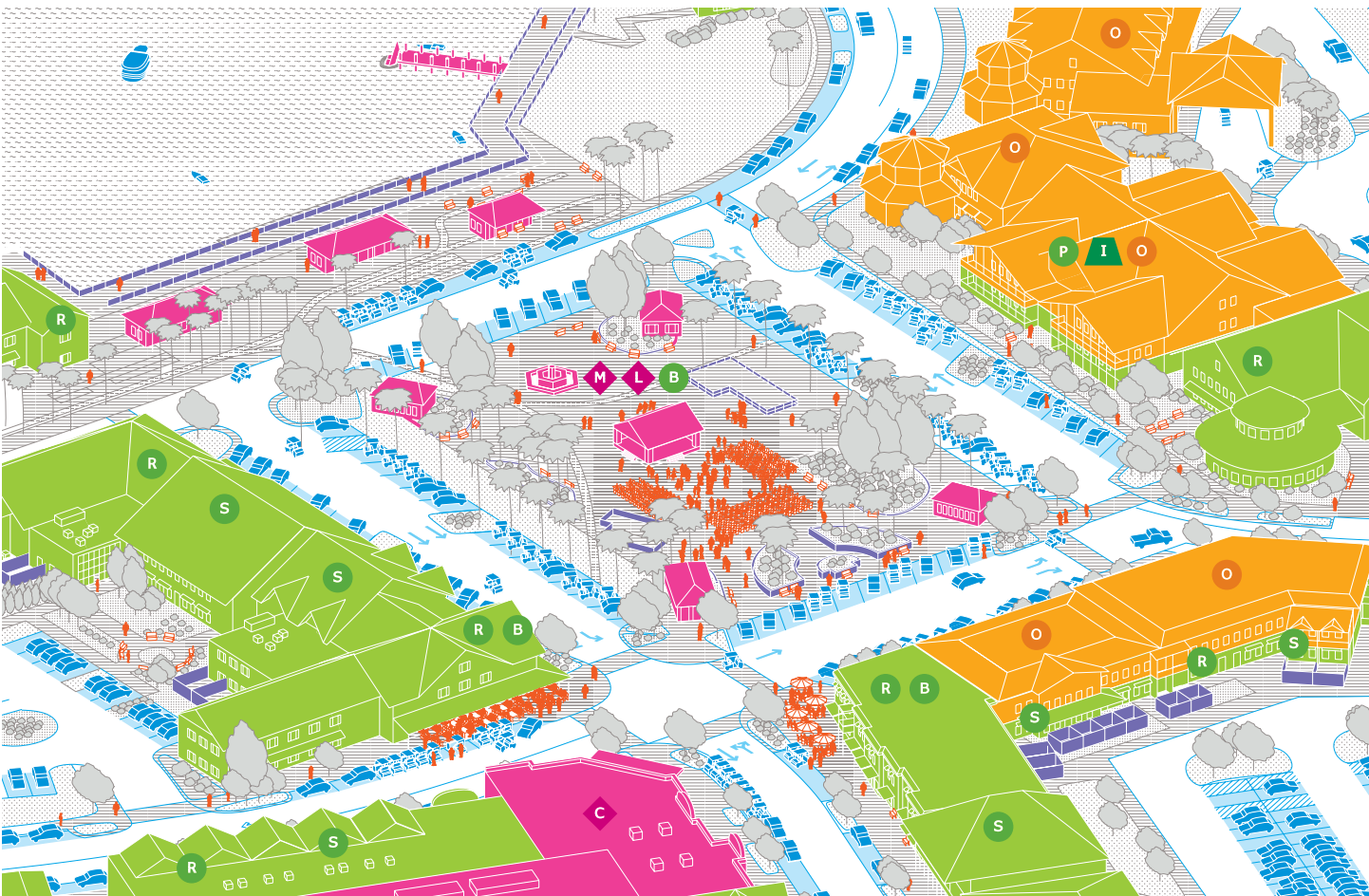
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The idea of common rules establishing a commons—or *public space*—is clearly articulated. The earliest cities were places for trading, where the tax and laws enabled transactions inside city limits by minimizing the threat of violence or robbery. With commerce being more efficient than looting or bartering, the city became a successful streamlined script and form for mercantile interactions. Within the relative peace of the city, other spaces could be established with further elaborated limits and freedoms. The public bath appears as a stage where individuals can participate in a collective performance of edification, and can reach a state of mental and physical well-being. The sophisticated social contract of mutual respect, sharing of space, and quiet togetherness become manifest evidence of civilization.

Tuomas Toivonen is an architect. He is the proprietor and operator of a public sauna in Helsinki, Finland.

Youthfulness without Youth

Deane Simpson



Deane Simpson, The Villages of Florida, Lake Sumter Landing Market Square, 2015.

- High cultivated green
- Mid cultivated green
- High surface
- Water
- Communal / Recreational
- Leisure / Tourist site
- Cinema
- Meeting place
- Information center
- Retail
- Shopping
- Restaurants
- Bar
- Real estate sales
- Commercial (non-retail)
- Office
- Planting
- Security
- Parking areas

Deane Simpson is a Copenhagen-based architect, researcher, and educator teaching at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts School of Architecture and at the Bergen School of Architecture. He is the author of *Young-Old: Urban Utopias of an Aging Society* (2015); coeditor of the forthcoming *Atlas of the Copenhagen* (2015) with Kathrin Gimmel, Marc Jay, Anders Lonka, and Joost Grootens; and coauthor of *Diller + Scofidio (+ Renfro): The Ciliary Function* (2007) with Guido Incerti and Daria Ricchi.

In 2006, an Orlando, Florida, news station ran a story entitled, “STDs Running Rampant in Retirement Community.” The article cited a gynecologist at the world’s largest retirement community, The Villages, stating that she saw more patients with diseases like herpes and HPV there than at her Miami practice.

Health professionals attributed this surge to three factors: the use of Viagra, the low risk of pregnancy, and the dearth of sex education among residents. This explanation brings to the fore characteristics of a cohort whose formative years occurred prior to the first sexual revolution and the emergence of HIV—a cohort representing a new market segment referred to as the “ageless consumer.” In article “New Sex for Old: Lifestyle, Consumerism, and the Ethics of Aging Well,” sociologists Stephen Katz and Barbara Marshall relate this ideal—a posthuman subject emancipated from decline—to “broadening connections between the new and sexually fit aging; the marketing, pharmaceutical, and consumerist industries that cater to it; and the concurrent neoliberal political agendas that require people to adopt risk-averse, active, self-reliant lifestyles.” This emerging ethos, they say, “liber- at[es] sexual performance from whatever limits the aging body might impose on it through disease, genetics, or physical deflection.”

This explanation, however, neglects the role played by the spatiotemporal construction of the community. When new residents buy a home in The Villages’ sprawling exurban development of predominantly single-“family” detached houses, they also buy an idealized lifestyle that reconciles two previously irreconcilable utopias—those, to borrow sociologist Marco d’Eramo’s terms, of

“low suburban density and the abundant services typical of cities.” These services are injected into extensive recreational and entertainment infrastructures—the latter centered on three “downtowns,” which function as social hubs, offering nightly happy hour, free live music, entertainment, and dancing.

Designed by one of the architects of Universal Studios theme park, the downtowns are conceived to embody the developer’s slogan “Florida’s Friendliest Hometown.” The design strategy is based on emulating the small towns from which many of the residents originate—in both architecture and programming. There are late 19th-century-themed buildings and fabricated ruins of railway stations paired with classic car shows, cheerleading performances, and 1950s-themed drive-in diners. This construction of “resilient time” is underwritten by age restrictions in the 55+ community’s bylaws (visits by guests under age 19 are restricted to 30 days per year). It is in these terms that The Villages functions as a spatiotemporal scaffold for a utopia of youthfulness—one paradoxically predicated on the elimination of youth and the suppression of the new.

This evokes Ellen Langer’s 1981 “Counter-clockwise” study, where eight men in their 70s were immersed in the environmental cues of 1959. After five days, she documented remarkable psychological and physiological improvements. Just as Langer’s group temporarily reinhabited their younger selves, the self-described “rebirth” of many of The Villages’ residents operates at a range of levels, including that of a new found promiscuity among a group Marshall refers to as “sexy seniors.”