NOTES

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. For important appraisals of expressions of “bad taste” and the role of “arbiters of taste” in defining such categories, see the special issue of *Journal of Folklore Research* entitled “Arbiters of Taste: Censuring/Censoring Discourse,” edited by Moira Smith and Rachelle H. Saltzman, especially their “Introduction” (1995) and Elliott Oring’s “Afterword” (1995b).

2. A parallel form of ludic provocation in an occupational setting is provided by Green 1981.

3. For another humorous death tradition of individualism associated with cemeteries, see Secretan’s account of the decorative coffins of a Ghanaian fishing community (1995).

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE (Davies)

Many people have helped me in the compilation of the jokes and other materials cited above. My thanks to Goh Abe, Anne Curry, Philip Davies, Alan Dundes, Elliott Oring, Eugene Trivizas, Roy Wolfe, and Anat Zajdman. My work in the University of California, Berkeley folklore archive was supported by a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Board. I must also thank Peter Narváez for his advice and encouragement as editor, a continuation of his kindliness to me during my visit to the Memorial University of Newfoundland.

1. Like disaster jokes, the details of the disasters are today most easily obtained from the Internet. For details of particular disasters that led to jokes see:

   www.fail.com/galley/piper-alpha.htm
   dol/eng.synysb.edu/disaster/
   www.mediasearch.org/oped/news/he19990806.html


3. It is worth noting that Diana jokes existed before the crash, though they were fewer in number and only circulated locally. Like John F.
Kennedy, Diana was largely a creation of the media, a youthful picture, glamour hedged by regal divinity, a projection of sexy extroversion, though she was not as successful in concealing the underlying depression and promiscuity. They both lived by television, were killed by television, and were canonized (see O’Hear 1998) by television. The jokes told about this camera-loving Anglo princess before her untimely death reflected her strange situation, and it is easy to see how these earlier jokes were a precursor of and a springboard for the jokes that succeeded her decease:

What’s Will Carling’s favourite film at the cinema?
Poke-your-Highness (Pocahontas).

(In oral circulation among British expatriates in Spain, and indeed Spaniards, in the mid-1990s)

Charles: I wanted that chocolate cake.
Diana: Give me a minute and you can have it back.

(In oral circulation in Spain in the mid-1990s)

Before Diana met Charles her previous partner was a full-length mirror.

(In oral circulation in Spain in the mid-1990s)

4. Some Internet websites (as of 1999) containing Diana jokes (most of the jokes appeared on more than one site):
www.deathsucks.com/jokes/diana.html
www.herald.com/tropic/docs/008947.htm
www.hjem.get2net.dk/nonline/home5/dijoke.2.htm
www.ricardis.tudelft.nl/blokkendoos/misc/Diana-jokes.htm
www.tipnet.net.av/~bpalmer/diana.htm

Japanese readers should also consult Davies and Abe (2002).

5. Known acronymically in Australia as “wowsers,” from We Only Want Social Evils Remedied, and by extension in England from We Accept No Known Ethnic Rivalry.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO (Ellis)

1. This article is derived from an Internet article of the same title in New Directions In Folklore posted on the NewFolk website (www.temple.edu/isllc/newfolk/index.html), where additional primary texts are exhibited.

3. Such material is assumed to be in the public domain; however, out of consideration for the privacy of the persons whose virtual conversations I have observed, I have in all cases omitted e-mail addresses and signatures that would allow them to be identified. (In many cases, these are bogus or unobtainable anyhow.) I have, in all cases, identified the names of the message boards on which the jokes were posted along with the dates of the messages, so that researchers can easily revisit the original postings.

4. Also alt.comedy.british, alt.comedy.improvisation, alt.comedy.standup, alt.humor, alt.humor.parodies, and no.kultur.humor.

5. Also alt.america, alt.firefighters, alt.politics.bush, alt.war, nyc.general, soc.culture.afghanistan, and talk.politics.mideast.

6. Also alt.autos.4x4.chevy-trucks, alt.conspiracy.jfk [conspiracy theories surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy], alt.dss.hack [computer programming], alt.fan.tom-servo [American TV cult show Mystery Science Theatre 3000], alt.music.van-halen, alt.prophecies.nostradamus, alt.strange.days [American cult science-fiction movie], alt.windows98, alt.writing, misc.fitness.weights, misc.survivalism, misc.transport.trucking, news.admin.net-abuse.sightings, rec.games.pinball, rec.boats, rec.motorcycles.dirt, rec.photo.equipment.35mm, rec.sport.pro-wrestling, rec.woodworking, rec.models.scale, and rec.games.pinball. Boards dealing with other cultures included alt.religion.christian.east-orthodox, soc.culture.cuba, soc.culture.czecho-slovak, soc.culture.dominican, soc.culture.indian, soc.culture.irish, soc.culture.polish, and soc.culture.russian.

7. A reference to the mass murder at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado on April 20, 1999, in which two students wearing trenchcoats, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, killed thirteen people including Cassie Bernal, who allegedly expressed her faith in God just before being shot. Bernal’s testimony became a staple of evangelical Christian responses to this tragedy. Interestingly, the Columbine tragedy seems not to have generated a cycle of jokes, though one item, a parody of the “MasterCard” advertisement, did circulate widely.

8. The allusion is to one of the recently deceased singer Aaliyah Haughton’s most popular songs, “Try Again,” from the Romeo Must Die Soundtrack. Aaliyah was killed in a plane crash on August 26, 2001. Among the jokes that circulated after her death was this one: Pilot: The engine won’t restart. Aaliyah: “Try Again.” (http://www.deathsucks.com/jokes/aaliyahhaughton.html).

9. Pacific Standard Time is three hours earlier than Eastern Standard Time, so this item was posted at 12:59:29 PM EST, about an hour and a half after the collapse of the second Tower.
10. Another version of this list, shortened to 20 items plus the “top ten” list, was spammed (sent anonymously and without solicitation) to a large number of lists on September 23 under headings like “Heartwarming story from Ground Zero WTC.” This list too had minimal impact on the tradition.


13. A famous American stock car racer who died on February 18, 2001, when he accidentally crashed his car into a wall during the Daytona 500 race.

14. The first response to this item read “haha.. see..?? humour prevails” (alt.tasteless.jokes: September 13, 2001 01:05:01 PST). This indicates that it was indeed perceived as a joke and not simply a patriotic gesture parallel to the well-known “flag raising” photograph that was simultaneously circulating. When I showed this to a group of students on October 3, 2001, they unanimously rated it as “funny” or “very funny.”

15. dk.snak.vittighede: September 15, 2001. The early texts are dated “September 12, 2001,” which may in fact be correct.

16. “Game of whoop-ass” is a somewhat mysterious term; I’ve been unable to find any other use of this phrase on the Internet. I suspect it is not a reference to a game but an invented term derived from the more common slang phrase “open a can of whoop ass” (v): To fight; to beat someone up. See California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, College Slang Around the World. The College Slang Research Project (May 18, 1999). Available: http://www.csupomona.edu/~jasanders/slang/vocab-srch.html

17. For a history and sample texts, see http://www.snopes2.com/quotes/sinclair.htm.

18. See http://www.snopes2.com/rumors/binch.htm#add and Olsen 2001. Suggs (2002) remarked that the poem might have reached an even wider audience on radio, as he was aware of many stations who broadcast readings of it, often adding music and sound effects. WCBS-TV in New York, in fact, created a video version of children reading it out loud. The poem was posted on many websites (about 900 remained in place as of 6/02), and one site offered a short animated film version
that could be downloaded as a Real Media file and viewed on a computer screen. As of February 2002, the page noted, it had been downloaded 328,000 times. (See http://www.karcreat.com/Binch.html).

19. Dundes and Pagter 1996: 223. This letter too was updated and circulated in the post-9/11 days as a letter from George W. Bush to Osama bin Laden, though it did not gain nearly as much popularity as the burlesque speech. The most significant change is the following addition to the older text (given here in italics): “You rag-head son-of-a-camel-humping-bitch, I am going to hunt your chicken-shit ass down and feed you slowly into the engine intake of one of those passenger jets your ass buggering friends like to hijack so much. As for your bootlicking sponsoring country, I’m going to turn loose my Air Force and bomb their camel shit country back to the stone-age, followed by my Army to make what’s left into a multi-national parking lot, and then send in my Marines to paint the white fucking lines on it” (alt.tasteless.jokes: 18 Sep 2001 00:54:53 -0400 EDT).


21. Dates for these items were more difficult to determine, as it is not as easy to trace their history on the Internet as with verbal humor. In many cases, the date given is the date when the item was forwarded to me or to my source. However, earlier dates were in some cases confirmed with the help of the dated list of visual jokes at “War Gallery” Available: http://www.moviesthatssuck.com/vault/gallery.html. Other online archives of visual humor still active when this paper was written include “Current Events Humor Archive,” available: http://www.page.com/rhumor/; “Asylum Dedication to Americans Dealing with Terrorism,” available: http://asylum.subnetcentral.com/davec/terror/aaterror.htm; and “Osama Bin Laden Pictures and Jokes” 2002, available: http://www.osamayomama.com/10/10_archive.htm.

22. 200 rounds of ammo: $70 / Two ski masks: $24 / Two black trench coats: $260 / Seeing the expression on your classmates’ faces right before you blow their heads off—priceless. (rec.humor.funny: Apr. 27, 1999).

23. As rated by the appearance of “Taliban bingo,” a regular inclusion in these lists and the easiest joke to search for because of its relative textual stability.

Similarly, a recording circulated as an e-mail attachment later in October threatens to give the Taliban’s phone number to a group of telemarketers, plaguing them with a host of nuisance phone calls.

Cf. the addition in the “bin Laden” version of “George W. Bush’s Letter.”

See http://www.snopes2.com/rumors/mallrisk.htm for a sample text and history.

Compare this typical line from the “Aboriginal musical” Bran Nue Dae by Jimmy Chi and Kuckles: “I bin away for 20 years now. I bin drovin’ I bin drinkin’ I bin Christian. I bin everything but now its time I gotta go home before I die.” [Available: http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/wyrick/debclass/b bran.htm.]

The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, Australia’s governmental national security service.

An identical text was also posted the same day on rec.travel.australia+nz: October 07, 2001 11:13:57 PST.

Of course, a well documented text from before October 7 would demolish this argument. I would be pleased to hear from anyone who can attest to an earlier version of this joke that circulated outside of Australia.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE (Harlow)

Transcription symbols:

i. The symbol ◆ indicates a speaker’s laughter; ◆◆ indicates laughter of someone other than the speaker. (The use of a symbol to indicate laughter was suggested to me by Henry Glassie’s use of a diamond shape to indicate “a smile in the voice, a chuckle in the throat, a laugh in the tale” (Glassie 1982, 40).

ii. The symbol [ - ], a subtraction sign inside brackets, indicates deletions of narrators’ words, which I have made for the sake of textual clarity. Texts that are easy for the ear to follow can be confusing to the eye.

iii. Ellipses in transcriptions indicate pauses, not deletions.

iv. Words inside square brackets are my editorial clarification of speakers’ references.

v. Words inside parentheses are my attempts to offer appropriate substitutes for words that I could not make out on the recordings.

1. It should be noted that “practical joke” is an etic term.

2. In other accounts, the corpse needs to be tied down because it is deformed by rheumatism or is a hunchback.
3. Wakes in the contemporary West Indies are boisterous events as well. This is documented by Roger Abrahams in his book *The Man of Words in the West Indies* (1983, 164–186).


5. An example of such a tale can be seen in the section of W.B. Yeats’ *Mythologies* entitled “Dreams that Have No Moral” (1969, 125–137). Yeats presents a tale collected by Lady Gregory in Galway, in which a man is both killed and brought back to life with a magic rod. For a discussion of resurrection in folktales, see Stith Thompson’s discussion of resuscitation in *The Folktale* (1977, 255).

   An Irish example of resurrection is found in Jeremiah Curtin’s *Myth and Folk-Lore of Ireland* (1890, 32). In this tale, the hero, who needs to climb a glass mountain, kills his helper and uses her bones as steps. He gathers these on the way back down, assembles the bones into a skeleton, covers it with flesh, sprinkles the bones with water from the spring of life, and the helper comes back to life.

   Lutz Röhrich discusses the motif of resurrection from bones in *Folktales and Reality* (1991, 61–64).

6. The dead are also believed to return in spirit form for reasons other than exacting vengeance. In traditional narratives, they often are benevolent spirits who are attempting to help the living or complete an unfinished task. Also, they might simply appear as an omen of something that is to come.

7. Some cultures do have terms for such beings. In Haiti, for example, they might be identified as zombies.

8. A relatively recent example of this can be seen in the case of a woman in Albany, New York, who was mistakenly pronounced dead. A morgue attendant discovered that she was alive when he noticed movement in the body bag and a breathing sound. The coroner who declared her dead (an elected official with no medical background), commented, “Actually when you come right down to it, this might be called a miracle of God.” (Robert McFadden, “They Said She Was DOA, But Then the Body Bag Moved,” *New York Times*, 18 November 1994, B7).

9. I have written about revenants elsewhere (Harlow 1993).

10. Of course, loss of autonomy can also be tragic.


13. Others have documented Irish wake games, too, such as Mooney (1888).

14. The practice of integrating a dead family member into social life recalls a painting I saw at an exhibit at the Appalachian Museum at Berea College in Kentucky, in an area settled by Irish, British, and Germans. The painting, entitled “Last Picture with Grandfather,” was a family portrait. The family was assembled on the porch of their house and Grandfather was among them, his head, adorned by a full white beard, visible from his casket.

15. Cross motif E295.2, Ghost returns to demand proper burial (Tom Peete Cross 1952).

16. As Firth points out in “The Plasticity of Myth in Tikopia” (1961), the same basic myth can be rendered in various forms by competing communities as support for their respective arguments.

17. An “information state,” as defined by Erving Goffman, is “the knowledge an individual has of why events have happened as they have, what the current forces are, what the intents of relevant people are and what the outcome is likely to be” (1986 133–34).

18. Bauman writes that practical jokes, by their very nature, involve “differential access to and distribution of information about what is going on, with the trickster having a more ‘real’ sense of the situation, while the victim has a false one” (1988, 37).

19. This notion was reinforced for me when I described the prank to Davey Whelan, and he commented, “That was a ghost.”

20. “Key” is a central concept in Erving Goffman’s Frame Analysis (1986). It is the set of conventions by which a given activity, which is already meaningful in terms of a primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity. A keying of these actions provides us with something that is not real or literal or actually occurring, but the staging of these actions is real and is actually occurring.

21. I myself experienced this after I played a practical joke on some County Waterford men, in collusion with a friend of theirs. The prank was so successful that, despite my amusement, I regretted my participation in what I then decided had been not funny, but unkind. The next day I was visiting with some acquaintances who had already heard of what I had pulled over on the lads, told me the story of it, expressed their appreciation and admiration, and asked me to tell them the story of it. When I confided that I actually felt badly about it, they reassured me that it had all been done in fun, and that the victims, who were somewhat self-important, had deserved to be cut down a bit.
22. The “narrated event” is the event which a story recounts (in this case the actual enactment of the practical joke); the “narrative event” is the event at which the story is told. For a discussion of the interrelationships between the narrated event and the narrative event in practical jokes, and for a look at the structures of narratives which recount practical jokes, see Bauman (1988, 33–53).

23. Cf. Roger Abrahams’ article, “Black Talking in the Streets,” which discusses the ways in which cursing and other verbal abuse can be either a form of play or a vicious expression of hostility. Abrahams comments that “in the most successful kinds of play, the most constant message must be the ambivalent one: this is play—this is not play. With joking activity . . . this paradoxical message is very commonly carried out by the use of the same aggressive, hostile formulaic devices found in use in real arguments, i.e., the same curses, boasts, devices of vilifications and degradation, etc.” (1991, 245).

24. “Cod” is possibly related to the slang word “kid.” The Oxford English Dictionary lists “cod” under “kid,” and defines it as “to hoax, to take a rise out of.”

25. When I mentioned to Anthony Clarke of County Down that many Irish stories have elements of trickery in them, he perked up and said almost enthusiastically, “In Irish culture we do play tricks on each other, slag each other.”

26. I did hear one Irish instance in which the corpse’s movements are not the result of a practical joke. This account, told by Ned Flynn, was presented above in the section on the humor of corpses.

27. Interspersed among Montell’s (1975) accounts of the seeming revival of the dead are three accounts of the revival of the seemingly dead. In #464, #465, and #467, the “corpse” sits up because it was never really dead.


29. The capacity of folklore to create situations can be seen in stories which themselves recount the enactment of folklore—the telling of a story or a riddle, the singing of a song. In an essay on the functions of Irish song, Breandan O’Madgáin observes, for example, that a story recorded by Lady Gregory (1974, 36) illustrates that, “For the Irish folk mind in the Nineteenth century, songs had esoteric powers of transforming any situation” (O’Madgáin 1975, 215). The story begins with the marriage of a poor couple that “was only a marriage and not a wedding” until the acclaimed bard Raftery happened to pass by. “There wasn’t a bit but bread and herrings in the house; but he made
a great song about the grand feast they had and he put every sort of thing into the song—all the beef that was in Ireland . . .” and in this way he made the marriage into a wedding. “What matters here is not the historicity of the episode,” writes O’Madgáin, “. . . but the artistic mentality revealed in the anecdote itself regarding the power of song to transform” (O’Madgáin 1975, 215–216).

30. Stories are told, songs are sung, dances are danced, and rituals are performed to create a response in cosmic forces, supernatural beings, or human beings, to create an ambiance, to create diversion, to create intimacy, to create fellowship and community, to create awareness of alternative social orders, to create a distinction between self and other, to create divisiveness, to create a contingency supportive of one’s ideology. If the function of folkloric forms were primarily referential, they would not be an artistic form. Verbal art can effect change in the world both by moving people emotionally and by moving them to action; people respond to it at practical, psychological, emotional, moral, cultural, and aesthetic levels.

31. Brian applied the concept of “creating situations” in regard to genres other than practical jokes. In discussing a curse that had been uttered against a cruel landlord, decreeing that for seven generations no Lord Waterford would die a natural death, Brian commented that the members of the community “were waiting for the lord to die mysteriously. And it happened in each case. And ye know that possibly created a situation where he probably did go a bit insane. Everybody was watching and waiting to see when it was going to happen.”

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR (Narváez)

This essay is updated from its original publication (Western Folklore 53 [1994]: 263–93). Earlier versions were presented as papers for meetings of the American Folklore Society and the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (Narváez, October 1991, July 1992). In addition to the friends, students, and collectors cited throughout, I would like especially to acknowledge the helpful assistance and commentary of Linda Ballard, Angela Bourke, David Buchan, Kenneth Goldstein, Robin Gwyndaf, Philip Hiscock, Martin Lovelace, Wolfgang Meider, James Moreira, Sandy Morris, Helen Peters, Gerald Pocius, Barbara Rieti, and John D.A. Widdowson. I am very appreciative of the availability of the resources of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, particularly the finding tools prepared by Violetta Halpert, mechanisms which greatly expedited my work.
1. All archival sources here derive from the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) and are cited by an accession number (e.g., 72-12) and a page number of a manuscript or the number of a tape recording, the latter recognizable as such by being preceded with “C” (e.g., C187).

2. Besides archival citations, many interactions are cross-referenced to Ó Súilleabháin’s seminal *Irish Wake Amusements*.


   - E200 Malevolent return from the dead
   - E238.1 Dance with the dead
   - E422 The living corpse
   - E431.4 Coffin carried through hole in wall to prevent return of dead
   - E431.15 People touch corpse before burial to avoid seeing ghost of dead person after burial
   - E463 Living man in dead man’s shroud
   - E542.1.4 Ghost strikes man on face
   - E545 The dead speak
   - E545.19 Addressing the dead
   - E547.1 The dead groan
   - E554 Ghost plays musical instrument
   - E555 Dead man smokes pipe
   - E556.1 Ghost drinks liquor
   - E577.2.1 Playing cards with a dead man
   - E752.10.1 Corpse must be watched carefully before burial
   - J1769.2 Dead man is thought to be alive
   - K2320 Deception by frightening
   - K2321 Corpse set up to frighten people

**NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE (Meyer)**

For their varying types and degrees of help in compiling the materials used in this essay, I wish to particularly thank the following individuals: Jean Carlin, Keith Cunningham, “Dawnette” in Indiana, Joe Edgette, Jim Jewell, Lise Larsen, Tom Malloy, Fred McKinley, Lotte Larsen Meyer, Terry Padrta, David Quiring, Jeanne Robinson, Vera Short, Paul Swank, and Barre Toelken. All photos are by the author.
1. Conversations in 2000 with Mr. Terry Padra of Independence, Oregon, who claims, on the basis of family genealogical research, that his own immediate family represents “. . . the only Padtras in Oregon,” revealed no knowledge of the Henry Padra commemorated on the stone, and a thoroughgoing search of the normal resources used in gravestone research (newspaper obituaries, census records, probate records, etc.) was similarly unsuccessful.

2. The examples of modern American graveyard humor I shall be discussing in this essay are all genuine: the vast majority are based upon my own fieldwork (i.e., I have actually seen and, in most instances, photographed them), while the few which are not are reported in reputable sources are duly cited.

3. Though this practice may seem odd, it is a frequently employed, almost necessary, technique in cemetery and gravemarker fieldwork. Landscapes and artifacts convey so many details that one is forced to learn to “unfocus” most material not related to his/her particular area of interest, else the distractions become overwhelming. I know one sociologist, for instance, whose successful fieldwork in nineteenth century cemeteries is quite dependent upon his ability to “see” one esoteric feature, the placement and configuration of individual markers within family plots, while at the same time effectively filtering out virtually all others.

4. Carl Lynn, who outlived his wife by a number of years, erected this doublesided marker shortly after her death.

5. Robert Mitchum, playing a broken-down ex-rodeo star in the 1952 movie *The Lusty Men*, quotes a variant of the expression in a perfectly contextualized moment of the film’s action: “There never was a horse that couldn’t be rode, never was a cowboy that couldn’t be throwed.”

6. It appears fairly likely that in choosing to provide as an inscription a favorite expression of this deceased teenager (a quite common practice on contemporary markers), those who designed the monument may not have considered all possible interpretations. But then, on the other hand . . .

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX (Kugelmass)

Research for this essay was made possible, in part, by a grant for summer support from the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin, Madison. I would like to thank *Journal of American Folklore*’s anonymous readers for some excellent suggestions, and Marc Kaminsky and Robert Lavenda, with whom I discussed many issues within this article.
1. Curiously, Lawrence (1982, 1987) makes no link between “alternative parades” and gay culture. As I shall argue below, even a cursory reading of the Village Halloween parade’s iconography suggests a significant gay presence. Indeed, many New Yorkers refer to the event as “the gay parade.”


3. See Dean MacCannell’s (1976, 3) discussion of the meaning of tourism for contemporary culture.

4. The existence of the promenade may have diverted the most blatantly oppositional elements away from the parade, thereby enhancing its benign image for New Yorkers in general. At the same time, the promenade’s physical proximity to their residences may explain the negative view of some Greenwich Village inhabitants. The tension between bourgeois notions of order and civility and oppositional behavior is by no means particular to the Greenwich Village Halloween celebration. Lavenda (1980), for example, discusses the transformation of Carnival in nineteenth century Caracas from a disorganized “rite of reversal” among the lower classes to a “civilized” and highly organized display.

5. The fear of possible eruption did become acute just before the 1989 parade, because of various acts of violence that had taken place in the weeks before the event. Roving gangs had been “wilding” just north of Greenwich Village, and there was considerable fear on the part of the parade’s organizers that they would return on Halloween. Both the organizers and the police were relieved that year when rain kept the crowds to a fraction of what they had expected.

6. As Abner Cohen (1980, 83) argues, “Culture generally is expressed in terms of symbolic forms and performances that are by definition ambiguous. . . . Once the symbols are reduced to either politics or existential issues alone, they become unidimensional signs, lose their potency and hence their social functions.” Cohen argues that both hegemony and oppositional orientations are present in every carnival in some state of balance:

To the extent that that balance is seriously disturbed, the nature of the festival is changed and is transformed into a different form altogether. If the festival is made to express pure and naked hegemony, it becomes a massive political rally of the type staged under totalitarian systems. On the other hand, if it is made to express pure opposition, it becomes a political demonstration against the system. In either extreme case it ceases to be carnival. (1982, 37)
7. See Stoetlje (1987) for a discussion of this issue in rodeo culture.

8. Amy Waldman, a *New York Times* reporter, described the event as follows:

   The parade was a tapestry of stories and a tableau of images. Members of one leather-clad group stopped periodically along the route for demonstrations of sadism and masochism, whipping one another. The police officers lining the route watched them stoically, as they did the women who marched topless. The sounds of the parade—a variety of music, including salsa and reggae—told another story, that of the growing number of immigrants for whom coming out is an American rite of passage.

9. Two comparable examples come to mind. Denise Lawrence’s account (1982) explains the origins of the Doo Dah parade as a rebellious response to developers encroaching on an artists’ enclave in Pasadena. Michael Hughey (1983) has reinterpreted W. Lloyd Warner’s material on Memorial Day celebrations in Newburyport as an attempt on the part of an old elite to assert symbolically a status that, at least in economic terms, is a thing of the past.


**NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN (Congdon)**

1. 1950 was the year of the original Spanish ed. *El Laberinto de la Soledad* (México D.F.: Cuadernos Americanos).

2. This information comes from a 1989 interview reported in Elizabeth Carmichael and Chloe Sayer’s 1991 book, *The Skeleton at the Feast: The Day of the Dead in Mexico*. Sanchez de Escamilla believes her views are in keeping with general middle class belief in Puebla State. Along with her students, she participates annually in the competitive exhibition of creating a Day of the Dead *ofrenda*, or altar-like offering for the deceased.

3. Albert Camus believed that our angst comes from our strong wish to live, which is frustrated by our knowledge that we certainly must die (Garcia Godoy 1998:186).

4. *Papeles picado* are cut paper banners, usually made from colorful tissue paper. Tradition says that because they are light, airy, and lacey, spirits can easily fly through them.

5. In the first few pages of her novel, *So Far from God*, Ana Castillo described an event in New Mexico where a wake for a baby was taking place. Everyone was crying, and the mother was asking God why she had to lose her daughter, when someone lets out a shriek. Everyone becomes silent and the priest goes over to the baby’s coffin, which has
been pushed open, “and the little girl inside sat up, just as sweetly as if she had woken from a nap, rubbing her eyes and yawning.” Father Jerome is amazed and says prayers. As the child grows up, she claimed “that all humans bore an odor akin to that which she had smelled in the places she had passed through when she was dead” (1993:22-23).

6. Chicanos are Mexican-Americans, mostly from the west coast. The term is usually associated with individuals who take a political position with their identity.

7. For Mexican-Americans, as well as any other emigrant group, the car is seen as a symbol of the American dream. Dave Hickey called it “an icon of Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness” (1997:70).

8. Dave Hickey discusses the reversal that takes place with bad and good taste, pointing out that Liberace cultivated them both. Hickey claimed that “bad taste is real taste, of course, and good taste is the residue of someone else’s privilege . . .” (1997:54).

9. Victor Turner defined ritual as “prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in invisible beings or powers regarded as the first and final causes of all effects” (1982:79). David Morgan notes that ritual engages all the senses: smells, tastes, sounds, and sights. These sensations trigger the memories which helps participants face an unpredictable world (1998:54).

10. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett pointed out that the famous art critic Clement Greenberg even went so far as to argue for wealth as a precondition for being cultured. Kitsch was to be associated with the lower classes and was the opposite of aesthetic quality promoted by the avant-garde (1998:278). Greenberg would certainly have scoffed at the use of artificial flowers on graves and altars, the eating of sugar skulls, and perhaps, even the ephemeral material of the papier-mâché calaveras.

11. According to Brenner, writing in the 1960s, revolution meant “loyalty to native values,” and confronting messy political situations. This meaning of revolution values honesty and a strong respect for work. The native is elevated as is the peasant and the laborer (1967:185-86). These are the kinds of values that Posada embedded in the character of the calaveras he illustrated. They are values that are also at the heart of the Day of the Dead celebrations. Politics, good living, and death are all intricately intertwined.

12. As Masuoka notes, the Judas figure is associated with the Holy Week between Palm Sunday and Easter. Traditionally during this time, papier-mâché Judas figures were lit and burned. The Judas figures, of course,
are specifically Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Jesus. However, Judas figures can vary in form. Two common images are the devil and the skeleton. Like the *calavera*, the Judas figure can be used to mock public figures. In this manner, Judas is not only Judas Iscariot, but the figure also represents wealthy landowners and unsavory businessmen. Masuoka points out that recent examples have “included Mexico City’s former police Chief Arturo ‘El Negro’ Durazo, who ostentatiously misused public funds, and Fidel Velazquez, Mexico’s long time labor leader, who was perceived as having served the interests of the decision-makers of the ruling party over those of his constituency” (1994:3). In 1991, Miguel Linares created a Judas figure of Saddam Hussein that was burned in response to the Iran-Iraq war (1994:4).

13. Although the Linares family is now internationally well known as the most famous papier-mâché artists in Mexico, and support themselves as full-time artists, they are by no means wealthy. Masuoka explains that, in the early 1990s, as an hourly wage, they made less than the minimum wage in the United States. Until 1991 they did not own a car, and when she wrote about them in 1994, they did not have a bank account (22).

14. Pedro Linares makes molds from plaster-of-Paris for some of his pieces. Figures are often constructed piece by piece. Some larger one-of-a-kind figures are made with bamboo armatures. Sometimes objects to be used as molds are purchased from markets. Plastic dolls, for example, help in constructing some of the figures. Brushes are made from cat hairs, which the Linares family claims are better than store-bought brushes (Masuoka 1994:12-15).

15. Leonardo Linares won the National Youth Prize for Folk Art in 1986. He said that it is his responsibility to not only make *cartonería*, but to teach classes throughout Mexico on how to make them. Masuoka reports that he clearly enjoys teaching (1994:24).


NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT (Brandes)

I give special thanks to the National Endowment for the Humanities, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, and the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego, for providing me the
resources necessary to complete this project. To write this paper, I consulted libraries at Harvard University, the University of California, Berkeley, the University of California, San Diego, the Colegio de México, CONDUMEX, the Archivo de Indias in Seville, and the Escuela de Estudios Latinamericanos in Seville. I wish to express my gratitude to staff members at all these institutions. Individuals who have provided me with bibliographic and other assistance related to this project include Liza Bakewell, Jonathan Inda, Peter Cahn, Jorge Klor de Alva, James Taggart, Waltraud Leiter, and William Taylor. I thank all these scholars for their assistance and support.

1. An obvious impossibility in medieval Ireland, since Europeans of the time had not yet discovered American tobacco.

2. In some parts of the Republic, most notably the state of Morelos in central Mexico, a third day, which falls anywhere between October 28 and October 31, depending on village, is dedicated to the “matados” (murder victims) or “accidentados” (accident victims). This custom might well reveal pre-Columbian influence. For the ancient Aztecs it was the manner of death, rather than the behavior of the deceased while alive, which determined his or her fate in the afterlife.

3. The verse refers to Francisco Madero, President of Mexico during the early stages of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920).

4. This practice resembles other competitions recently introduced during the Day of the Dead, particularly contests that give cash prizes for the best outdoor altars (see Brandes 1998).

5. The reference is to “Don Juan Tenorio,” a Spanish classical drama by José Zorilla, which is widely performed throughout the Mexican Republic during Day of the Dead season. A large part of the play takes place in a cemetery, which makes the work particularly relevant on this occasion.

6. Halloween symbols and customs have become increasingly integrated into the Day of the Dead. Many high-profile intellectuals, journalists, and other public figures vehemently oppose this trend as contrary to Mexican national interests. It is also perceived as symbolic of North American imperialism (Brandes 1998, García Godoy 1998). This is the meaning that the author of this calavera wishes to convey.

7. President Fox is so insistent on wearing cowboy boots, in fact, that during his inaugural ball on 1 December 2000 the normal practice of wearing tuxedos had to be suspended. It was deemed unacceptable to combine a tuxedo with riding boots. Since Fox himself would not dress in a tuxedo, male guests were instructed to wear dark colored suits instead.
NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE (Cosentino)

1. I have conducted field work in Haiti since 1986 with the generous support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Rockefeller Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Academic Senate of the University of California-Los Angeles, and the Fowler Museum of Cultural History. Mesi ampil a tou!

2. In May 2001, this British tradition of parody expanded to include an HBO “dramedy” series entitled “Six Feet Under,” based on the foibles of a family run funeral parlor located somewhere in the old heart of L.A. In keeping with the theme of this essay, series’ scripts skillfully wove death, sexuality, and laughter into a seamless whole.

3. In keeping with the spirit of the novel, it was later transposed to a movie starring, inter alia—Rod Steiger and Liberace!

4. How many Gede brothers are there? Metraux says there are at least thirty Gedes, and differentiates such bizarre manifestations as Captain Zombi; Gede Double; Gede the Spider; Gede Linto (who walks like a baby, babbles, and cries for food), Gede Caca (mercifully not further defined), and Suffering Gede (1972,115–16). In this last guise, the lwa is represented by chromos of Jesus Crowned with Thorns. I found such chromolithographs in several Vodou shrines, sometimes called “Bawon,” sometimes “Jezy,” sometimes “Diable.” The parallels between these sacred figures seemed obvious to the serviteurs. Such proliferation is no doubt inspired by the corollated proliferation of praise names for the saints and the Virgin in Catholic litanies. But parallel manifestations of Gede are also a refraction of the confounding range of his powers: tattered and chic, sensual and brutal, mixing even life and death.

5. By way of a biblical explanation for the Bawon’s finality, André Pierre had this to say, “The Bawon Samdi is Christ. Lord over the dead. Because Christ is the beginning of the dead who was resurrected on the third day. He died in the flesh, but was resurrected in the spirit. Everyone dies in the flesh, and is resurrected in the spirit.” Or to put it in Old Testament terms, he used a second analogy, “[Bawon] is Adam. Guardian of the cemetery. Guardian of all the dead. Everyone’s father. And Gran Brigitte is Eve” (personal conversation, Port-au-Prince, 1987).

6. According to Melville and Frances Herskovits, this connection between sex, laughter, and the god of death goes all the way back to classic masquerade traditions for Legba (Gede’s progenitor) in Dahomey:
On the last of a ten day public ceremony Legba manifested himself in the body of a young girl dressed in a purple raffia skirt and a purple straw hat. The girl came towards the drums sounding the Legba’s rhythm. When she reached the drummer, she put her hand under the fringe of raffia about her waist . . . and brought out a wooden phallus. This was apparently attached in such a way that it would remain in the horizontal position of the erect male organ, and as she danced . . . toward a large tree where many women were sitting watching the ceremony . . . they ran from her, shrieking with laughter, and they were made the butt of many jokes by the spectators. (1958, 125–126)

7. Maya Deren describes a memorable instance of Gede’s love and mercy. A girl near the point of death was brought to a ceremony. Agreeing to intervene, Gede possessed a female priest who placed the child on a tomb, and rubbed her body with the blood of a sacrificed goat. Then singing fervently, Gede reached between [her/his] legs and brought forth, in [her/his] cupped hand, seminal ejaculate. Although it seemed impossible, since Gede was possessing a female body, cup after cup of semen was brought forth to bathe the child, while others at the ceremony sang and wept with gratitude for this act of mercy. And though there was no reasonable way to account for it, the child lived (1953, 113–14).

8. Deren 1953, 102n. She then concludes, “Sexual obscenity and the breaking of taboos is characteristic of the death figure in many mythologies, including that of the American Indians.”

9. “But Gede is a good advisor too. He tells the truth. Gede could give you a number to go to the borlette, but he doesn’t do that. Gede can make you lose money too. When you don’t follow his rules. Because in everything there is rules” (Gladys Maitre, conversation, 1987).

10. TonTon Macoute is translated as “Uncle Straw-Bag,” an allusion to the bogeyman in Haitian folktales who steals away naughty children in such a sack.


13. A popular etymology says the Chaloskas are named after a pompous nineteenth century general named Charles Oscar.

14. This description of Carnival is excerpted from Cosentino 1992, 23–29.
15. But François Duvalier was an equal opportunity dictator. He also appeared in posters next to Jesus, whose arm was draped over the dour little man, saying, “He’s my choice.” To even that score, a generation later images of the Virgin Mary appeared with Aristide nestled in the middle of her Immaculate Heart. Modesty and dictatorship don’t seem to go together.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER TEN (Roth)

1. A version of this chapter can be found as part of a larger essay entitled “‘The Psychedelic Happy Hippie Zone’: Living Museum of Deadhead Material Culture” in Shakedown Street: The Art of Deadheads, forthcoming from the University Press of Mississippi.


3. The following definitions derive from Shenk and Silberman’s Skeleton Key: A Dictionary for Deadheads:

   
   Tour - v. - To follow the band from venue to venue, seeing as many shows as possible in a series. Most band itineraries are from ten to twenty shows long. Deadheads “tour” or “do tour,” as in “Did you do Spring Tour ’87?”

   Tourheads - n. - The especially “deadicated” class of Deadheads who follow the band for most or all of a tour, living along the way in tour buses, inexpensive motels, friends’ homes, or local student housing. Deadheads on tour watch the band’s repertoire unfold, and hear songs and jams develop from city to city. Familiar faces are met at each destination, so that the shows themselves—rather than the towns they happen to be in—are “home.”

   Tour Rats - Hardcore tourheads who live in the parking lot, earning road costs by vending, and waiting—or scamming—for a “miracle.” The term is used with outlaw pride when describing oneself, and sarcasm when describing others.

4. Shenk and Silberman note, as do others, that “Like members of the Native American Church, some Heads prefer not to call marijuana and psychedelics ‘drugs,’ with that term’s connotations of illness, abuse, and law enforcement. They prefer the word ‘sacraments,’ appropriate to the respect and gravity which they use these substances” (1994, 252).

5. For more information about the impact events during the 1940s and 1950s had on Deadhead culture, refer to Roth (Shakedown Street, forthcoming).

7. Neal Cassady served as the inspiration for Dean Moriarty, the hero of Jack Kerouac’s novel On The Road.

8. Deadhead material culture was presented through the eyes of its members in a documentary exhibition entitled “Dead on the Wall: Grateful Dead and Deadhead Iconography From 30 Years on the Bus,” which opened June 1996 at the Huntington Beach Art Center, Huntington Beach, California.

9. Shenk and Silberman present an excerpt from an interview with John Perry Barlow, lyricist for the Grateful Dead, which discusses the nature of the founding “acid heroes.” Barlow states, “There were basically two psychedelic camps—the West Coast Ken Kesey manifestation, and the East Coast Timothy Leary manifestation” (1994, 18). Although the West Coast camp drew upon ideas from the East Coast camp (e.g., those of Leary) and vice versa, the two remained relatively distinct groups.

10. Wavy Gravy, a.k.a. Hugh Nanton Romney—clown, poet, and activist—was given his nickname from B. B. King at the Texas Pop Festival in 1969. Whenever Gravy appeared at Grateful Dead gatherings, he did so dressed in full clown regalia. Shenk and Silberman describe Wavy Gravy’s history with the Grateful Dead:

   Wavy earned the original passing grade at the Acid Tests by navigating through the smoldering psychedelia to assist a tripper who had begun yelling “Who cares?” into a microphone, establishing a compassionate model for talkdown still used today by the Rock Med emergency medical personnel. Wavy and the Hog Farmers [a collective household/community in Oregon founded by Wavy] have maintained a long relationship with the Dead, and act as tribal elders, helping to set up campgrounds at venues and taking care of the kids of band and crew backstage at shows, surfing the chaos on a sea of bubbles and face paint. Wavy was a founding member of SEVA [a foundation for compassionate social action], and organizes Camp Winnarainbow in Mendocino, where kids learn clowning, music, yoga, and how to be a good citizen of the planet . . . (1994, 307)

11. The “Thunder Machine” was a percussive instrument built by metal sculptor Ron Boise.
12. In some versions of the narrative, Garcia used a 1955 Funk and Wagnall’s Dictionary (Brightman 1998, 80). Former manager Jon McIntire reports that it was the Oxford Companion to Classical Music that Garcia opened at random to find “grateful dead”—an “English folk song about people who are grateful to be released into death” (Greenfield 1996, 104).

13. The belief that Lewis Carroll, author of Alice in Wonderland, included coded references to psychedelic trips in the book is prevalent among Deadheads.

14. Jackson (1983) asserts about the name “Grateful Dead”: “It is said that LSD offers a sort of transitory immortality and concomitant ego-death for the user, since the massive perceptual changes it induces frequently lead to a certain feeling of timelessness and a feeling of oneness with the tripper’s surroundings. In that way, the ‘best’ LSD experiences seem to mirror descriptions of ecstatic religious experiences in literatures; the conventional signposts we use in day to day life to measure ourselves disappear, leaving pure experience—devoid of intellectualizations or time and space considerations—in their wake.”

For specific information regarding the role of hallucinogens in Deadhead rituals, refer to such works as: Furst (1976), Kotarba (1993), Leary, Metzner, and Alpert (1964), Reist (1997) and Sardiello (1990).

15. “The moment that you realize you are a Deadhead is sometimes called ‘getting on the bus’” (Shenk and Silberman1994, 210). This phrase is taken from the Grateful Dead song “The Other One,” which in turn refers to the saying used on Ken Kesey’s bus (Wolfe 1968).

16. Augustus Owsley Stanley III was the chemist who helped distribute LSD to the masses in the ’60s. He also served as a sound engineer for the Grateful Dead.


NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN (Koven)

1. In fact, Thompson identifies this motif, not as the European “Frankenstein” story, but as an Inuit monster called the “Tupilac.” Thompson’s description of this monster is thus: “Monster made of parts of corpses of animals and vivified” (Thompson 1955–58, III: 353).

2. Freud notes, regarding the taboo against the dead (and this is particularly relevant to a discussion of horror cinema), “the most obvious
explanation would point to horror roused by dead bodies and by the changes which quickly become visible to them” (1950, 57).

3. There are subtle differences between Thompson’s “living dead” motif and Romero’s “living dead” zombies. Thompson defines his “living dead” thus: “Revenant is not a spectre but has the attributes of a living person. He wanders about till his ‘second death,’ complete disintegration in the grave” (Thompson 1955–58, II: 445). One can see by this description why Thompson chose to file this motif under “the dead” category, rather than under “ogres.” However, Romero’s “living dead” also continue to wander about until their “second deaths,” in this case, the destruction of the monster’s brain, usually in the form of a gunshot to the head.

4. Say the title aloud.

5. In Romero’s Dawn of the Dead, the only explanation for why the dead are coming back to life, used as the film’s tag line, is that when there is no more room in Hell, the dead shall wander the earth. As a satirical commentary on American consumerism, Romero is also implying that when there are no more products to consume, Americans will begin to consume each other.

6. For a consideration of tale types and motifs and how they are used in horror films, see Julia George 1982.

7. This category also includes witches (for example, G259.4—“Witch’s [corpse is] heavy”) and giants (G691.1—“Giants keep [corpse] on hand to eat”). It is interesting to note the similarities between the latter motif regarding giants and the above-mentioned motif regarding vampires: both monsters use the human dead as sustenance, but because one is terrestrial and the other aerial (giant and vampire, respectively), they appear under different Motif Index categories.

8. Aarne and Thompson, on the other hand, uses tale type 1536 as a category for the variations A–C, and identify the larger tale type number as being essentially the same as motif K2151, noted above (1981, 441–442).

9. A film representation of “The Runaway Grandmother” legend occurs in Harold Ramis’ National Lampoon’s Vacation (1983), where the Griswold’s family vacation is almost disrupted by the death of the much-disliked Aunt Edna (Imogene Coca) and the inadvertent theft of her corpse (see Brunvand 1981, 103–123).

10. Rich complains that he always gets yelled at when he “just lies there.”

11. Thompson defines “J1769.2.1—Dead mistaken for the living” as “Man with abhorrence for corpse sleeps with one thinking it alive” (IV: 145).

13. There is an implication that the more traditional message Larry’s character demonstrates is that it is fine to be a slob, so long as you have hard-working friends. As for Rich’s character, it is fine to be a “stick-in-the-mud” so long as you have a friend who will take you to parties.

14. Presumably, even screenwriter Robert Klane, who wrote both Weekend at Bernie’s movies and directed the second one, forgot that Larry and Rich found and kept the money at the end of the first film.

15. In my own experience as both a writer and reader of movie reviews, the position of “film critic” (as they like to be called) goes to the editor of the “Arts Section” of various newspapers. Therefore, the local movie reviewer has established himself or herself an elite role within the newspaper work culture.

16. Linked with this formulaic psychodynamic, “oral structures often look to pragmatics (the convenience of the speaker . . . ) . . . [as opposed to literary] structures [which] look more to syntactics (organization of the discourse itself)” (Ong 1982, 37–38).

17. Rich, particularly as played by Jonathan Silverman, is encoded as “Jewish.” On his first date with Gwen, who is equally encoded as “Gentile,” he takes her to “Hymie’s Hunan,” a strictly kosher Chinese restaurant in the heart of New York’s Hasidic community. However, despite the inclusion of this situational joke, Rich and Gwen’s ethnicity is largely ignored.