REFRAMING THE WESTERN IN *BANDE DESSINÉE*:

TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION, LOCALIZATION

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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March 2020

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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Selected material included in this thesis appears in the following publications:

Martinez, N. 2018. "A Trip Down Memory Lane: Reprints and Canonization of Morris' *Lucky Luke* Series." In *Comics Memory: Archives and Styles*, edited by M. Ahmed and B. Crucifix, 211-230. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martinez, N. 2019. "How Does Lettering Color Contribute to the Representation of Sound in Comics?" *The Middle Spaces: Comics, Music, Culture* (blog). 16 April.
https://themiddlespaces.com/2019/04/16/seeing-sounds-part-three/

Thesis Abstract

This thesis builds upon research in comics translation by Klaus Kaindl (1999) and Federico Zanettin (2014a) and investigates the role of social agents— cartoonists, editors and translators, but also censors—in the framing and reframing of the Western genre in European *bande dessinée* and its translation in the United States and Spain. This research frame is also inspired by Jean-Marc Gouanvic's application of Pierre Bourdieu's work on the sociology of culture to the disciplines of Translation and Adaptation Studies. In the transnational field of comics, Western *bandes dessinées* have long been published, reprinted and translated, yet they have not received commensurate critical attention, particularly in Translation Studies. Looking beyond interlingual translation, or translation proper (Jakobson 2000), the aim of this thesis is to adopt a wider stance and to explore the *habitus* (Gouanvic 2005) of the agents of translation and the socio-cultural norms (Toury 1995) that influence translation of the Western *bande dessinée*. Such *habitus* shapes the products of translation, adaptation and localization and affects the reception of translated *bandes dessinées*. Taking Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud's iconic *Blueberry* series as its main case study, this thesis argues that the *habitus* of diverse agents of translation plays a critical role in the international circulation and the transnational reception of this Western *bande dessinée*. What might initially appear as tangential decisions can change entirely the perception of the products and their authors and their position (their cultural capital) in the transnational field of comics, as this thesis will show in relation to the *Blueberry* series.

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Acknowledgements

Translators are the shadow heroes of literature, the often forgotten instruments that make it possible for different cultures to talk to one another, who have enabled us to understand that we all, from every part of the world, live in one world.

Paul Auster (2007: 7)

Chapter 1. Introduction: Western *Bande Dessinée* in Translation

In a series of interviews with the writer and critic Numa Sadoul, French cartoonist Jean Giraud reminisced about his first journey to Mexico as a wide-eyed teenager in the mid-fifties, "[a]bout 1955" (Sadoul 2015: 20).[1] A true journey of initiation, the trip is also evoked at length in Giraud's first autobiography in which he paints a word picture of this watershed in his career:

> L'autocar roulait vers Monterrey à travers le désert mexicain. Nous venions de franchir la frontière. De tous côtés, ce n'étaient que poussière et cactus. […] Je venais de traverser les États-Unis d'une traite, le nez collé au carreau. […] À travers le cadre lumineux ouvert dans la pénombre, je voyais le désert continuer, à perte de vue. Une image absolue. C'est là que j'ai passé mon contrat avec le western, le désert infini et sa magie. C'est cette sensation inouïe, ce flash, que j'ai toujours cherché à transmettre dans mes bandes dessinées. (Giraud 1999: 89)

Some eight years after his first Mexican trip, Giraud would set about the visual translation of this "flash" (Giraud 1999: 89) to the comics grid, creating with Belgian scriptwriter Jean-Michel Charlier one of the most prominent series in *bande dessinée*,[2] a Western set primarily in Arizona, New Mexico, and the Mexican state of Chihuahua.[3] Initially titled *Fort Navajo*, the series would later be known as *Lieutenant Blueberry*, then simply *Blueberry*, and finally *Mister Blueberry*. Many more years into his career, Giraud, under the pseudonym of Moebius, would further develop his fascination with the desert

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[1] My translation. All translations are mine, unless stated otherwise.
[2] French term for comics. See Glasser (2014: 21-23) for an overview of the term's origins.
[3] The *Blueberry* series is geographically set, for the most part, in northern Mexico and in the American states bisected by the Great Divide. Only four of the twenty-nine albums are not set, at least partially, in Mexico, Arizona, or New Mexico. These are *L'Homme au poing d'acier*, *La Piste des Sioux*, *Général "Tête Jaune"*, and *Angel Face* (see Chapter 3 for a detailed overview of the series).

in his six-volume autobiography in comics form, *Inside Moebius*, in which he draws himself roaming the "Desert B" (Moebius 2018) alongside the characters of his eclectic *bandes dessinées*, including Blueberry.[4] The above citation reveals not only the genesis of Jean Giraud's career in comics, but it also encapsulates the core elements that will be addressed throughout this thesis: the question of (transnational, translingual and transmedial) border crossings, and the (re)framing of the Western genre in the medium of comics.

1. General Overview

To outsiders unaware of the French cultural exception, the national stature of *bande dessinée* authors would seem to exceed the importance generally bestowed on comics authors, in a medium that has traditionally been underestimated by high culture standards on an international scale. But apparently not so in France, a country where comics—much like in Belgium—have a long tradition and a wide readership. The works that are generally known as *bandes dessinées* in French were allegedly first created in Europe by the Swiss Rodolphe Töpffer in 1827 (Lacassin 1971). However, there is discrepancy amongst comics scholars about the origins of comics. Indeed, for many experts the landmark would be Richard F. Outcault's creation of the American comic strip *The Yellow Kid* in 1896, in the pages of the *New York World* journal (Groensteen and Peeters 1994: viii). Adding further complexity to these origin stories, researchers such as Francis Lacassin (1971), Benoît Peeters and Thierry Groensteen (1994), and Laurence Grove (2013) have also traced much longer and transnational genealogies of the comics medium.[5] As Grove (2013: 244) has remarked, "the naming of Rodolphe Töpffer as 'inventeur de la bande dessinée' is dubious at best, but the act of such naming was an important landmark in

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[4] Jean Giraud/Moebius' prolific production includes graphic narratives inscribed in diverse genres such as the Western, the Fantastic, science-fiction, superheroes, and autobiography, with characters such as Blueberry, Major Fatal, Tom Difool, the Silver Surfer, and himself. These comics are drawn in distinctive, albeit heterogeneous styles. The scope of this thesis is limited to the analysis of the *Blueberry* Western series.

[5] See Chapter 2 for further discussion on the origins of, and the intermedial influences in, (Western) comics.

the history of the form's consecration." *Bande dessinée* is labelled in French as the Ninth Art (*le Neuvième Art*)—a term attributed to Belgian cartoonist Maurice de Bevere (also known as Morris), the creator of the Western *bande dessinée* series *Lucky Luke*—and it has been highly regarded since the 1960s. At this time, there was a campaign to dignify the medium as an art form and an intellectualization of the *bande dessinée*, which was taught for the first time at the Sorbonne in 1971 by Francis Lacassin (Baudry 2015).

In the context of this research, this thesis will mainly focus on a selection of Western comics by two major figures of the Franco-Belgian school of *bande dessinée*: Jean-Michel Charlier (1924-1989) and Jean Giraud (1938-2012). They can be included in what is known as the *Pilote* generation in the Franco-Belgian school of comics, when the *bande dessinée* reached an older audience.[6] Both are canonical comics authors in France, having collaborated throughout their careers with internationally acclaimed scriptwriters and artists—like American Stan Lee—and some of their works have been translated into different languages or adapted for the screen, such as the series *Blueberry* in Jan Kounen's *Blueberry, l'expérience secrète* (2004) or *Les Aventures de Tanguy et Laverdure* in Gérard Pirès's *Les Chevaliers du ciel* (2005). Charlier and Giraud have a prolific production, although in France they are known mainly for their collaboration on what has become perhaps the gold standard in Western comics in Francophone Europe: the *Blueberry* series, one of the most iconic series in a rich tradition of Western *bande dessinée* that blossomed after the Second World War. To name but a few of the main writers and artists that cultivated this genre beyond Charlier and Giraud, there is Marijac (*Joé Bing*, *Poncho Libertas*, *Jim Boum* and *Sitting Bull*), Morris (*Lucky Luke*), Albert Uderzo and René Goscinny (*Oumpah-Pah*), Jijé (*Jerry Spring*), Derib (*Yakari*, *Red Road* and *Buddy Longway*),

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[6] Being aware of the ambiguity carried by the term "Franco-Belgian comics", it will be used sparingly throughout this thesis, and the terms "French" or "Belgian" will be preferred. When employed, however, it will refer to the so-called Franco-Belgian school of *bande dessinée*, which includes French-language comics produced in Belgium and France, but also by Francophone cartoonists from other European Francophone countries, like Derib (Switzerland), who learned or perfected their craft alongside Belgian or French cartoonists, or even by foreign cartoonists who publish(ed) in the French or (Francophone) Belgian comics markets, such as Spanish cartoonist Antonio Hernández Palacios. The "Franco-Belgian school" is indeed a complex and transnational network.

Antonio Hernández Palacios and Philippe Gourmelen (*Mac Coy*), Michel Rouge and Greg (*Comanche*), or Louis Salvérius, Willy Lambil and Raoul Cauvin (*Les Tuniques bleues*). Key aspects of some of these cartoonists' works will also be addressed in Chapter 2, although the main object of study for this thesis are the (English and Spanish) translations of Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* comics series (1963-2007). Despite the success of these Western *bandes dessinées* in France and Belgium, signed by European Francophone cartoonists who "create some of the best comic books in the world" (Byrne 2011), the widespread perception is that *bandes dessinées* have struggled "to find an international market" and "for reasons mysterious, never quite managed to 'cross over' and translate local mass-popularity into success on an international stage" (Byrne 2011).

1.1. Comics and/in Translation

As Byrne's article evidences, the translation of comics appears to generate public interest, yet it "remains an under-investigated topic within Translation Studies" (Borodo 2015: 22). It is a subject that has been tackled in a limited number of studies (see for instance Kaindl 1999, 2008, 2010; Valero-Garcés 2000; Grun and Dollerup 2003; Rota 2014; Zanettin 1998, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; Altenberg and Owen 2015), mainly revolving—due to the hybrid and multimodal nature of the comics medium—around Jakobson's concept of intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 2000). This is an approach that has been traditionally linked to forms of translation between different media and/or around the theoretical concept of constrained translation (Mayoral, Kelly and Gallardo 1988). Federico Zanettin edited a ground-breaking monograph in 2014, entitled *Comics in Translation*, which provides a comprehensive bibliography of comics in translation (2014a: 270-306) and includes chapters by international academics on the translations of different comics formats and national comics traditions and fields. Zanettin's own article 'The Translation of Comics as Localization. On Three Italian Translations of *La Piste des Navajos*' where he analysed the Italian (re)translations of the *Blueberry* album *La Piste des Navajos* (1969) is, alongside Gouanvic's work on the sociology of translation (1999, 2005, 2007, 2014), the main theoretical

inspiration behind this thesis.[7] In recent years, a number of translation scholars have devoted their doctoral theses to the study of comics. Nathalie Sinagra (2014) at the University of Geneva (Switzerland), Matteo Fabbretti (2015) at Cardiff University (UK), Pier Simone Pischedda (2016) at Leeds University (UK) and Francisco Rodríguez Rodríguez (2017) at the University of Córdoba (Spain). Sinagra's and Rodríguez Rodríguez's are the most interesting for this research as they both deal specifically with *bande dessinée* and both are also published comics translators. Rodríguez Rodríguez's thesis presents the added interest of dealing with Western *bande dessinée*, specifically with the Spanish translations of Jijé's *Jerry Spring* series, of which he is the translator.[8]

1.2. Western Comics

The scarcity of research in the field of comics translation also extends to the Western genre which remains barely explored academically in the medium of comics, as William Grady (2017: 1) has remarked. Building upon rare pioneering studies such as Maurice Horn's *Comics of the American West* (1977), Grady's Ph.D. thesis, alongside David Huxley's monograph *Lone Heroes and the Myth of the American West in Comic Books, 1945-1962* (2018) and the Ph.D. thesis of Francisco Rodríguez Rodríguez (2016), have started to fill this gap. Grady's (2017) thesis draws a comprehensive cultural history of American and Franco-Belgian Western comics and *bandes dessinées*, studied as cultural artefacts, from the late 1800s to the 1970s, whilst Rodríguez Rodríguez focuses on the Spanish translations of Jijé's *Jerry Spring* series. The present thesis geographically expands Rodríguez Rodríguez's research in Translation Studies, focusing on the American and the Spanish translations of the *other* major Western series in Franco-Belgian comics, Jean Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud's *Blueberry*. This research also builds on Grady's thesis by developing the second part of his study—

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[7] See also Chesterman (2006), Wolf & Fukari (2007) and Brienza (2016).
[8] The *Jerry Spring* series has been translated into Spanish by Francisco Rodríguez Rodríguez and Sergio España.

where he provided a general overview of Franco-Belgian Western comics grounded in Cultural Studies—and crucially analysing the intermedial and intertextual networks that bind together Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée* and American Westerns.

In the documentary film *Reel Injun* (Diamond, Bainbridge and Hayes 2009), Jim Jarmusch posits that "[t]he Western as a form is a very open form. It's a very pure kind of American metaphor, a kind of frame within which you can write or say all kinds of things." Stephen McVeigh (2007) also contends that the Western genre is much more porous and heterogeneous than generally believed and that it transcends the familiar geographical and historical landscapes that are usually associated with it.[9] In the history of cinema, McVeigh gives two distinct reasons for the importance of Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) as a stepping stone, not only for the Western genre but for films in general:

> It is the first American film to use sophisticated editing techniques to convey a more complex, multifaceted story, cutting between a number of locations in space and time, making it arguably the first example of American narrative cinema. The second reason for its importance lies in the fact that within its twelve-minute running time, while by no means the first cinematic Western […] it effectively established the form, structure and, to an extent, given its popularity, the audience for the cinematic Western. (McVeigh 2007: 61)

In his explanation for the rise of cinema at the turn of the 20th century, McVeigh posits that it coincided "with a far-reaching social phenomenon: a fresh wave of mass immigration to the United States" (McVeigh 2007: 63). For McVeigh,

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[9] Indeed, scholars such as Murdoch (2001: 12-23) have pointed, for instance, to the European historical precedents of the Western myth, and Huxley (2018: 8-9) stresses the underlying structural similitudes of the lone Western hero with the figure of the medieval knight in chivalric romance.

"[a]lthough the film is clearly an evocation of nineteenth century America, *The Great Train Robbery* was for audiences at the time of its release 'also a contemporary crime thriller' […] For a number of years, *The Great Train Robbery* was the nickelodeon's most widely exhibited picture, and it is the film said to have ensured the permanence of the movies" (McVeigh 2007: 61).

He argues that the motives behind this growing popularity of the 7th art, particularly as "the ideal entertainment for mass immigrant communities" (McVeigh 2007: 63), were threefold. Firstly, they were "simple, uncomplicated films, accessible to all, regardless of education or literacy" (63); secondly, they were "an inexpensive activity for a group that would likely have little money to spare" (63); and lastly "and perhaps most importantly, they were silent so there were no linguistic barriers to engaging with the medium" (63). Once again, the transnational nature of the Western genre is stressed—and, interestingly, together with the question of linguistic access to its production. As McVeigh argues, the lack of linguistic barriers due to the silent nature of early Western films contributed to the medium and the genre's popularity in the early stages of the development of cinema and the construction of the American frontier's myth. At the same time, the development of comics, another soon-to-be popular medium that shared many commonalities with the language of film, was brewing. The hybrid nature of comics (based on words and images, or sometimes only images) allowed equally for the public to engage with the medium with no (or limited) linguistic barriers. Comics were also extremely popular amongst immigrants in America at that time, and the development of the medium went hand in hand with the desire of publishers to engage with the growing immigrant population, many of whom came from Europe (see Soper 2005, or Cole 2020: 69).

The influence of Western films in the comics medium has, therefore, been acknowledged and explored in several studies. This thesis, however, endeavours to perform a more complete exploration of the rich intermedial and intertextual web of influences in Franco-Belgian Western comics by taking account of the influences of Western genre painting and photography,

in addition to film, that were translated in some of the major Western *bandes dessinées*.[10]

2. Research Questions

In the approach to the question of translation in Western comics, the concept of the Model Reader, developed by the Italian semiotician Umberto Eco, proves to be of particular interest. According to Eco (1979: 7), the "Model Reader" cooperates with the author in discovering the codes of an open text that "can be read in two ways: naively and critically" (Sallis 1986: 3). As professional readers, translators (theoretically) embody the Model Reader. Since they are undoubtedly co-authors, in a modality of collaborative writing that often involves more than an artist and a scriptwriter in the medium of comics, they can be researched as agents involved in the translation of comics, considered as cultural products for foreign markets. This thesis explores how the Western genre was translated intermedially in Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée,* and subsequently travelled to Spain and (back) to America in translation, by answering the following research questions:

- How is the Western genre framed in European *bande dessinée*?

- How, why, and by whom is Western *bande dessinée* translated across comics cultures?

- What do these translations, studied as social artefacts, reveal about the international circulation of comics as cultural goods?

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the *Blueberry* series and its translations into English and Spanish from 1963 (the year of the first publication of *Blueberry* in the magazine *Pilote hebdomadaire*) to 1990 (the year of the publication of *Arizona Love*, the last album co-authored by

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[10] See Chapter 2 for detailed examples, including albums from the series *Lucky Luke*, *Les Tuniques bleues*, *Celui qui est né deux fois*, *Buddy Longway*, and *Blueberry*.

Charlier and Giraud). It will be a case study series to support answering the broader research questions posed. The thesis will closely study the role played by the various agents involved in the reception of these *bandes dessinées* in translation in the United States (in the 1980s and 1990s) and in Spain (in the 1960s and 1970s). These agents will include the translators but also the editors (and the censors in the case of Spain) in order to fully understand the reception of translated works. By analysing the evolution of the *Blueberry* comics through their American-English and Spanish translations, this thesis will try to determine the role played by transnational adaptation (United States) and censorship (Spain) in the field of comics.

This thesis will apply a combination of analytical frameworks to the study of translation as a social artefact (Gouanvic 2014) and the translation of comics (Zanettin 2014a; Kaindl 1999). This research is a contribution that endeavours to foster the academic debate on comics in academia. It will research the contexts of the production and reception of Western *bande dessinée* (focusing on Giraud's and Charlier's *Blueberry* series) and investigate how the translations are framed; how they reframe the originals on a textual and a paratextual level; and how the agents that are involved in translation influence the transmedial and transnational reception of the comics. Finally, by examining the translation strategies and choices, their differences and similarities, this thesis will shed light on how translations can—and indeed do—contribute to the construction (or disruption) of the symbolic capital of the cartoonists and their works and how they affect and shape the reception of Western *bande dessinée* in the United States and in Spain and, in turn, are shaped by the receiving polysystems.

3. Theoretical Frameworks and the Object of Study

This section will present, respectively, Jean-Marc Gouanvic's general framework for a sociology of translation and adaptation and Federico Zanettin's theoretical proposal for the study of comics translation as localization which, combined, form the main theoretical framework for this thesis. For the theoretical study and the practical analysis of the corpus, this thesis will focus on textual and paratextual (Genette 1987) levels in the

selected translations. This research will also explore the leads opened by scholars, such as Adele D'Arcangelo and Federico Zanettin (2004), Federico Zanettin (2014a), Klaus Kaindl (1999), Maria Grun and Cay Dollerup (2003) on comics and graphic novels in translation and their importance for Cultural Studies. The methodological approach that will be applied to the study of the corpus and the theoretical discussion of the comics medium is also informed by theoretical works of critics exploring the medium and aesthetics of comics and graphic novels—such as Will Eisner (1985, 1996), Scott McCloud (1994, 2000), Benoît Peeters (1986, 1991), Thierry Groensteen (2006), Jan Baetens and Hugo Frey (2015), Ann Miller (2007), Laurence Grove (2013), Francis Lacassin (1971), Blin-Rolland, Lecomte and Ripley (2017), or Hillary Chute (2016, 2017). Such insights will be combined with Jean-Marc Gouanvic's Sociology of Translation—indebted to Pierre Bourdieu's sociological research—which was developed for the discipline of Translation Studies and with the works of other translation scholars. This integrated approach is deemed to be the most appropriate framework for the study of both the translations and the context of their reception as autonomous literary works within the host literary polysystems.

Pierre Bourdieu's works on the sociology of culture have long been applied to myriad projects in various disciplines, including literature and Translation Studies. In fact, the bourdieusian approach to translation has grown exponentially alongside the increasing interest in the cultural turn in Translation Studies. In a collective volume published in 2007 (Wolf & Fukari 2007), a team of scholars applied sociological and cultural studies frameworks to various research papers about translation. Among them was the Canadian scholar Jean-Marc Gouanvic whose works on the sociology of translation (Gouanvic 1999, 2007, 2014, 2018) directly inform the theoretical framework of this thesis. His adaptation of Bourdieu's theories for the field of Translation Studies has been a work in progress since 1999 and has inspired other researchers. In his first three books published on this subject, he dissects the networks behind the production, distribution and reception of the French translations of a selection of American literary fiction books. He has worked so far on genres such as science-fiction, crime fiction, or the adventure genre. Unlike Gouanvic, this thesis will not study French

translations of English originals, but rather English translations of comics in French. The aim of this research is to apply Gouanvic's theoretical framework to a specific field of popular fiction: Western *bande dessinée*.

What is new and innovative in this approach is that this thesis builds on Gouanvic's book *Sociologie de l'adaptation et de la traduction : le roman d'aventures anglo-américain dans l'espace littéraire français pour les jeunes (1826-1960)* (2014). In this, Gouanvic adapts Bourdieu's sociology of culture for the discipline of Translation Studies and applies this framework to the study of the French translations and adaptations of American adventure novels, such as James F. Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* or Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The focus of this thesis will shift from Gouanvic's interest in the translation and adaptation of literary works—novel to novel—towards translation and adaptation in a different medium, namely comics. This thesis is thus placed at the intersection of Comics Studies, Translation Studies and Cultural History.

When faced with the self-imposed task of defining what a sociology of translation should mean, Gouanvic (1999: 17) argues that:

> Le traducteur est l'agent privilégié par lequel passe la logique objective du système de pratiques, de dispositions et de structures permanentes et générales qui sont à l'œuvre dans toute traduction. Il est cependant loin d'être le seul dans l'entreprise de la traduction. Production culturelle, la traduction ne trouve son efficace sociale que dans la logique d'un marché, c'est-à-dire lorsque la décision de traduire et le produit qui en résulte se trouvent légitimés par la réponse du public et par les différentes instances de consécration, écho critique, éventuellement prix et distinctions. Dans l'entreprise de traduction interviennent donc les mêmes agents que dans les autres productions culturelles, avec de surcroît des agents qui font circuler les genres et les discours par delà les frontières linguistiques et nationales.

It is easy to find here the direct application to the field of Translation Studies of Gouanvic's main theoretical inspiration for his sociology of translation (and adaptation): Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. According to Gouanvic's theories, translators are one of the key agents that are entrusted with the power to bestow symbolic value on literary works, thus contributing to shaping the target culture's literary field. Amongst the crucial agents in the translation of comics are evidently the translators, although publishers and editors have a strong leverage that usually overrides the agency of translators in decision-making (*illusio*). In his sociological study of the French translation of the American realist novel, inspired by Bourdieu's works on the sociology of art (Bourdieu 1998), Gouanvic (2007) asks the following question: "Comment un agent de la traduction (traducteur, directeur de collection) acquiert-il son *habitus*, ou, dit autrement, comment la disposition à (faire) traduire est-elle intériorisée ?" (Gouanvic 2007: 151). Gouanvic defines, describes and analyses the distinct *habitus* of translators and editors, establishing a hierarchy of translations in the French literary field after having defined Bourdieu's concept of habitus in the following terms:

> Les conditionnements associés à une classe particulière de conditions d'existence produisent des *habitus*, systèmes de *dispositions* durables et transposables, structures structurées prédisposées à fonctionner comme structurantes, c'est-à-dire en tant que principes générateurs et organisateurs de pratiques et de représentations qui peuvent être objectivement adaptées à leur but sans supposer la visée consciente de fins et la maîtrise expresse des opérations nécessaires pour les atteindre, objectivement "réglées" et "régulières" sans être en rien le produit de l'obéissance à des règles, et, étant tout cela, collectivement orchestrées sans être le produit de l'action organisatrice d'un chef d'orchestre. (Bourdieu 1980: 88-89)

The present thesis builds on this theoretical body of knowledge with a focus on the *habitus* of the main agents involved in the translation, adaptation, and localization of the *Blueberry* series in the fields of American and Spanish comics. An innovative contribution of this research will be the study of the Western genre in *bande dessinée* as intermedial translation. The use of the

terms "Western comics" or "Western *bande dessinée*" throughout this thesis refers to the Western genre, as opposed to the term "Western comics" as used by Valerio Rota (2014) to differentiate European *bande dessinée* and American comics formats from Japanese manga formats. Although three recent Ph.D. theses have recently explored topics directly or indirectly related to Western *bande dessinée* (Dandridge 2017; Grady 2017; Rodríguez Rodríguez 2017), the present Ph.D. thesis is distinct and original in two main aspects: it deals exclusively with European Western *bande dessinée*, focusing mainly on the *Blueberry* series; and it explicitly studies the processes of translation at work in Western *bande dessinée* through a sociological study of the main agents involved.

Working on such a combination of topics—comics and Westerns—is far from being a popular subject. As Scott Simmon (2003: xiii) states in his book on the cultural history of Western films "admitting that I'm writing about Western movies can be an excellent conversation stopper." For him, the "range of reasons" behind this aversion to Westerns can be broadly categorized as either a "dislike of the retrograde cultural attitudes carried by Western films, not only their treatment of non-European races but also their ways of representing gender," or a "dislike of the tedious repetitiousness of the tales told over and over again" (Simmon 2003: xiii-xiv). Ironically, these are also for Simmon the very reasons that allow for a structured investigation of the Western genre, precisely because:

> all of that cultural baggage carried by Western films should allow them to be unpacked through a cultural history, by [...] examining film aesthetics within a wide context of literature and visual arts, of social histories of the eras depicted and of the years when the films were produced, and of the ideologies propounded by the films. (Simmon 2003: xiv)

The second of Simmon's category, the repetitive nature of the Western genre, allows the researcher to work with a limited corpus and still elaborate a concise yet relatively complete history of the genre (Simmon 2003: xiv). This set of cultural prejudices could well prove a fertile ground for innovative research, if only because many people would disregard this field as unworthy

of sustained intellectual interest.

As previously stated in the general objectives section, to add to Westerns the comics medium—another field widely frowned upon by some academics and intellectuals—results in an object of study that situates itself outside of mainstream research. This alone can be a valid and sufficient basis to develop this Ph.D. thesis and to expand our knowledge of the cultural constructs of the American frontier myth, as conveyed in Western *bande dessinée* and its translations, and their circulation beyond (and, in English translation, back to) America. As central as Western films have been to the creation and development of the genre in America—and worldwide, particularly with the prolific production of spaghetti westerns in European countries like Italy and Spain—it could be argued that *bande dessinée* has had a similar role and impact in France and in Francophone countries beyond Europe. Thus, the set of assumptions suggested and applied to film studies by Simmon (2003) could be productive to provide a model for case study analysis when analysing predetermined tropes in select case studies of the thesis corpus.[11]

To conclude this opening section on theoretical frameworks and the object of study, this thesis aims to study the cultural translation of the Western genre in comics and *bandes dessinées* across the Atlantic in the case study of the *Blueberry* series. It will look first at the translation of the Western genre from the United States to Francophone European countries (mainly France, but also Belgium and Switzerland) after WWII and then back from France to the United States and to Francoist Spain in the case of the *Blueberry* series. For a macrotextual analysis (transfer across genres, cultures and national boundaries), the thesis will apply Gouanvic's (2014) and Zanettin's (2014b, 2014c) frameworks for the sociological study of translation, adaptation and localization. For the microtextual analysis of comics in translation (the intratextual transfers and exchanges), this research will rely on the analytical model of Translation Studies scholar Klaus Kaindl (1999) which is inspired, like Gouanvic, by Bourdieu's sociological theory of the cultural field and

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[11] See Section 3 in Chapter 2 for a classification and analysis of main tropes in Western *bande dessinée*.

which will be outlined in a later section.[12]

3.1. Translation in Dominant and Dominated (Comics) Cultures

For the sociologists Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro (2007: 95), cultural exchanges are "unequal exchanges that express relations of domination," and translations "should then be re-situated in a transnational field characterized by the power relations among national states, their languages, and their literatures." Heilbron and Sapiro's research is inspired by Bourdieu's works on the international circulation of cultural goods (see Bourdieu 2002). For them, the sociology of translation calls for an analysis of translations "as embedded within the [political, economic and cultural] power relations among national states and their languages" (95). Heilbron and Sapiro make a very relevant point for my research:

> In general, the more central a language is in the translation system, the lower the proportions of translations as compared to non-translated texts. While the dominant countries "export" their cultural products widely and translate little into their languages, the dominated countries "export" little and "import" a lot of foreign books, principally by translation. (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007: 96)

According to data by Valérie Ganne and Marc Minon (1992: 79) and Joseph Jurt (1999), translated books in the early 1990s made up for less than 4% of the book market production in the United States, while this figure rose to "between 14 and 18%" in France, and to a considerable 24% in Spain (cited in Heilbron and Sapiro 2007: 96). Thus, the United States would be clearly positioned as a dominant country, whereas France would stand in the middle of the table by proportion of translations in the national book market and Spain would emerge as a dominated country. The data suggests that "[t]he

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[12] For a description of Kaindl's methodological framework, see Section 4 below.

more the cultural production of a country is central, the more it serves as a reference in other countries, but the less material is translated into this language" (Heilbron and Sapiro: 96-97). This assertion appears to be transposable to the transnational field of Western comics. It would explain why Western *bande dessinée* (and *bande dessinée* in general) is not widely translated in the United States, whereas American Western comics were massively exported to Europe and translated before the Second World War. Conversely, *bande dessinée* would be expected to be widely translated in the (weaker) Spanish polysystem. The question that remains is *how* were the Western *bandes dessinées* translated that crossed the border to the United States and to Spain, the former being a dominant country and the latter a dominated country, according to Heilbron and Sapiro's sociological study of translation.

3.1.1. Translation Strategies: Domestication and Foreignization

The American translation scholar Lawrence Venuti coined the terms domestication and foreignization to describe what are, in his view, the two main translation strategies that are used by American literary translators.[13] For Venuti (1995: 20), domestication is the strategy employed by translators to perform an "ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values." Foreignization, by contrast, consists in an "ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text" (1995: 20). In Venuti's terms, producing a domesticating translation would "[bring] the author back home," whereas applying a foreignizing strategy to a translation would instead "[send] the reader abroad" (1995: 20). Venuti's own theory is inspired by Antoine Berman's research in literary translation where he describes translation strategies as inscribed in ideologies of either *ethnocentrisme* or *décentrement* (Berman 1984: 16-17). For Venuti, the domestication strategy would correspond to Berman's concept of *ethnocentrisme*, whereas the foreignization strategy would

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[13] For a discussion of the concepts of domestication and foreignization, and translation strategy, see, respectively, Paloposki (2011), and Gambier (2010).

achieve a similar effect to the concept of *décentrement*, which for Berman embodies "la visée éthique du traduire" (Berman 1984: 16).

Berman's translation theory was, in turn, inspired by polysystemic theories of translation initially developed by Itamar Even-Zohar, himself drawing inspiration from the works of Formalists, such as Roman Jakobson, Boris Eikhenbaum or Jurij Tynjanov (Even-Zohar 1990). According to Even-Zohar's hypothesis, and depending on the central or peripheral position taken by translated literature in a given literary polysystem, translators will apply different translation strategies. In Even-Zohar's terminology, Venuti's domestication strategy would be equivalent to a *non-adequate translation*, whereas Venuti's foreignization strategy would correspond to an *adequate translation*. Even-Zohar posits that when translated literature "takes a central position [...] the chances that translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy [...] are greater than otherwise." By contrast, when translated literature "occupies a peripheral position [...] the result tends to be a non-adequate translation" (Even-Zohar 1990: 50-51).

The polysystem hypothesis has gained ground in Translation Studies since its formulation in the 1970s. However, there is also widespread criticism among translation scholars who argue that this hypothesis isolates texts from "the 'real conditions' of their production" (Gentzler 1993: 123), and who advocate for a renovated approach to translations that takes into account the social conditions of their production (see Brisset 1990; Pym 1998; Lefevere 1992; Hermans 1999; or Gouanvic 1999, 2005, 2007, 2014).

3.2. Reframing Comics: Translation, Adaptation, Localization

Further to Heilbron and Sapiro's study presented in Section 3.1, the main theoretical framework that will be applied in this thesis was developed by Jean-Marc Gouanvic (1999, 2007, 2014) in his research on the sociology of literature and translation studies and labelled as Sociology of Translation.[14]

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[14] See also the works of other translation scholars, such as Simeoni (1998), or Chesterman (2006).

Drawing on Gouanvic's application of Bourdieu's theories to translation, this thesis aims to expand the object of study to include not only interlingual translation but also the intermedial translation process from other forms of art into comics and the whole process at work in the multimodal translation of comics (Borodo 2015), by virtue of the medium's hybrid nature. Gouanvic's methodology can arguably be transposed and adapted to a study of comics in translation, as the comics field shares many of the characteristics of the literary field. This is the main methodological originality of this thesis, insofar as Gouanvic's theoretical model—contrary to some theories of the sociologist who inspired him, Pierre Bourdieu—has not been previously applied to the study of comics.[15] Gouanvic's research has recently dealt with literary adaptations in addition to his earlier research on translation but his sociological framework has not been used for the study of comics in translation. This thesis will adapt his latest framework for research on the sociology of adaptation and translation to the study of a corpus of Western *bande dessinée*.

Gouanvic (2014: 28) posits that Bourdieu's notion of *illusio* is central to the theory and the practice of adaptation and, in *Sociologie de l'adaptation et de la traduction*, he explores it by examining how it is related to the notion of *homology*—understood as "une ressemblance dans la différence" (Bourdieu 1997: 167-168). For Gouanvic, it is precisely this concept of homology that sets adaptation apart from translation. Indeed, and as posited by Griggs, adaptation is not "a neat painting by numbers exercise [but] a complex process that involves complex transitions, both cultural and ideological, in response to [...] adaptive intent" (2016: 257). This adaptive intent is also considered by Gouanvic when he incorporates to his theory another bourdieusian concept, that of *habitus*. The *habitus* of translators or adapters could be defined, for Gouanvic, as

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[15] As early as the 1970s, pioneering comics scholars had already applied Bourdieu's theories about the sociology of art and literature to the field of comics, such as Luc Boltanski's (1975) "La constitution du champ de la bande dessinée". Amongst more recent studies are the noteworthy monographs *The Greatest Comic Book of All Time: Symbolic Capital and the Field of American Comic Books*, by Bart Beaty and Benjamin Woo (2016), and Casey Brienza's (2016) *Manga in America: Transnational Book Publishing and the Domestication of Japanese Comics*.

cette manière de faire qui s'impose [au traducteur ou à l'adaptateur], remontant à la surface mentale, sans que cela soit nécessairement conscient, et qui repose sur les acquis techniques *et* sociaux obtenus dans la pratique dans les espaces concernés, ces acquis prédéterminant la position qu'il occupe dans ses activités. (Gouanvic 2014: 28) [original emphasis]

In his seminal work that laid the foundations of the academic field of Translation Studies, Jakobson (2000) distinguishes between three main types of translation: intralingual translation, interlingual translation and intersemiotic translation. More recently, Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz (2015: 11) have observed that intersemiotic translation,

has been called adaptation (Clüver 2011), intersemiotic transposition (Clüver 2006), medial transposition (Rajewsky 2005) and so on. Each term emphasizes a slightly different aspect of the phenomenon […] first defined by Roman Jakobson (2000 [1959]: 114) as "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems." Currently, the term designates relations between systems of different natures, and it is not restricted to the interpretation of verbal signs. Consequently, this process is observed between several semiotic phenomena, including literature, cinema, comics, poetry, dance, music, theater, sculpture, painting, video, and so on. (Aguiar, Atã, and Queiroz 2015: 11)

Adding to this terminological complexity, Zanettin (2014b: 201) posits that "translated comics can be usefully analyzed within a localization framework" that goes beyond the generalized, yet restrictive, use of the concept of localization as "the 'translation' of electronic products" (200) and includes translated comics, since "a number of aspects involved in the localization industry can help explain how comics published in translation are different from what they were when originally published in another language" (201). Zanettin highlights, in a close reading of three Italian translations of *La Piste*

des Navajos, "how republication practices and translation strategies concur in the localization of comics" (208), in a "localization phase in which the product is adapted to local norms, as concerns target readership culture and comics reading habits" (202).

This thesis agrees that translation, adaptation and localization are intimately intertwined in the operation of transnational comics publishing (see Brienza 2009, 2016), and, inspired by Gouanvic and Zanettin, posits with Yves Gambier that "blurring the traditional borders" in Translation Studies may "allow us to go beyond the usual dichotomy (literal/free translation, translation/adaptation, etc.) and take target audiences into consideration more directly" (Gambier 2003: 178).

4. Methodology

After a comprehensive review of previous scholarship in comics translation, and given the characteristics of this thesis' corpus of *bandes dessinées*, the forms of microtextual analysis presented by Kaindl (1999) in his article "Thump, Whizz, Poom: A Framework for the Study of Comics under Translation" is deemed as the most appropriate for a descriptive translational study. It is not the aim of this thesis to make a contrastive, evaluative analysis of translation, pointing out alleged rights and wrongs, but rather to carry out a descriptive analysis of the English and Spanish translations from a sociological viewpoint, describing how the target texts function in the receiving comics field and in the target culture. This methodology will be applied to the analysis of a corpus of Western *bandes dessinées* that has been constituted through transnational (traditional and online) archival research by consulting the library collections of Cardiff University and the archives at the British Library (United Kingdom), the library and the archives of the *Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image* in Angoulême (France), the archives of the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, and selected private archives of rare comics collectors in Spain. Selected translations of *bandes dessinées* that were unavailable in traditional archives or libraries

were located in online archives.[16] For the detailed microtextual study of select case studies and panels from this corpus, the thesis will turn to Klaus Kaindl's (1999) work which is meant as a Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) approach to complement the macrotextual sociological analysis of translation. As this section will explain, research interest lies in the semiotic aspect, and particularly in visual semiotics.

In his framework for the study of comics in translation, Kaindl distinguishes between three groups of signs: linguistic, typographic and pictorial. As he argues, every single one of the elements contained in these groups are liable to be modified in the process of translation. The following sub-sections will give an overview of his typology of translation procedures in the medium of comics and Kaindl's proposal for "a translation-relevant anatomy of comics" (Kaindl 1999: 273). For his proposal of a set of procedures relevant to the analysis of comics in translation, Kaindl relies on Delabastita's (1989) analysis of film translation. As this thesis posits, comics and film have many similarities, as has been convincingly defended by prominent comics scholars such as Benoît Peeters (1986). If comics and film can be successfully studied in a comparative light, it makes sense that the translation of both media has a number of commonalities. Recognising the positives of applying a framework from film studies to comics, Kaindl (1999) borrows Delabastita's rhetorical approach to the analysis of film translation. This comprises six categories of translation shifts named as: *repetitio*, *adiectio*, *detractio*, *transmutatio*, *substitutio* and *deletio*. Kaindl's analytical model for the study of comics in translation presented in this section will be applied in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 for the descriptive analysis of representative examples of the *Blueberry* series in English and Spanish translation. It will be combined with research on paratexts in translation and studies about censorship in comics to create a multimodal, sociological and transnational approach.

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[16] The main corpus of this thesis is detailed and commented in Section 5 below.

4.1. Textual Analysis

In his proposal for a set of procedures relevant to the analysis of comics in translation, Kaindl (1999) develops a framework for the classification of translation strategies that is "also suitable for pictorial features" (275), drawing on the analysis of film translation by Delabastita (1989). Borrowing Delabastita's rhetorical approach to the analysis of film translation, Kaindl (1999) adapts this theoretical model, which comprises six categories of translation strategies: *repetitio*, where "source language, typography or picture elements are taken over in their identical form" (275); *adiectio*, "in which linguistic/pictorial material which was not there in the original is added in the translation to replace or supplement the source material" (278); *detractio*, or omissions in which "parts of linguistic/pictorial/typographic elements are cut" (277); *transmutatio*, which involves "a change in the order of source language or source pictorial elements" (281); *substitutio*, or "translation procedures in which the original linguistic/typographic/pictorial material is replaced by more or less equivalent material" (283); and *deletio*, which "refers to the removal of text or pictures" (277). In Kaindl's framework for the study of comics in translation, these categories of translation strategies may be applied in a "translation-relevant anatomy of comics" (1999: 273) that distinguishes between three groups of signs: linguistic, typographic and pictorial signs. As he argues, every single one of the elements contained in these groups is liable to be modified in the process of translation.

4.1.1. Linguistic level

At the linguistic level, Kaindl (1999) includes the following elements: titles, narrations, dialogue texts, onomatopoeias and inscriptions in the pictures. This is the level of analysis that has been traditionally researched by translation scholars that have studied the comics medium. However, the linguistic elements in Kaindl's list will not all be equally applicable to the comics analyses in this thesis, due to the characteristics of the corpus. For example, the translation of the titles of the *Blueberry* series into English is usually rather literal, whereas the Spanish translations sometimes show

greater variation. Interestingly, the comparative analysis of *Blueberry*'s *bandes dessinées* and their English and Spanish translations shows, as initially expected, that most translation shifts occur at the linguistic level in the English translations. The Spanish translations, however, differ from the English translations, as the shifts at the linguistic level are only predominant in the translations published in album form, whereas the early translations serialized in comics magazines present a balanced distribution of shifts at the linguistic, pictorial and typographic levels. All in all, however, most of the translation shifts observed in the corpus of this thesis fall into this level. This corroborates why the linguistic level has been privileged by translation researchers working in the comics medium, since it appears to yield the highest quantity of researchable data. Nevertheless, this thesis contends that a lower amount of data may perhaps produce more interesting results, as the analyses of the typographic and pictorial levels in Chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate.

4.1.2. Typographic level

Although, as stated in the previous section 4.1.1, most of the translation shifts in the series fall in the linguistic category, it is perhaps the typographic group of signs that yields the most interesting results in the American translations. Kaindl (1999: 274) argues that typography is "the technique of shaping characters at the interface between languages and pictures". This semiotic bridge, thus, represents—or *should* represent—a privileged element in comics that ought to require attention in the translation and editing processes. According to Philippe Marion, one of the characteristics of the comics medium is the graphic continuity between the pictures and the text, in what he refers to as the principle of graphic homogeneity (Marion 1993: 61). Theoretically speaking, there should be no reason for this graphic homogeneity to be disrupted by the translation process, although the facts often show us otherwise. In Kaindl's framework, typography "in the widest sense also includes graphemes (e.g. pictograms, which are often found in comics), whose function is to give visual representation to a number of aspects of the communicative situation" (Kaindl 1999: 274). Beyond the use of graphemes in comics, fonts usually carry a significant amount of

information, for they are the visual vehicle of one of the major elements that separate comics from film, as stated at the beginning of this section: *sound*. A variety of sound effects that are naturally present in film—the silent film era being an exception—require a visual representation in comics, often represented with onomatopoeias. This thesis respects Kaindl's original framework by including onomatopoeia in the linguistic signs, but there is a typographic aspect to it as well as, for instance, "proportion, size and extent can indicate the intensity of an emotion or a noise" (Kaindl 1999: 274). A modification of any of these elements might not seem important, although it will certainly change the reader's perceptions of the narrative or at least the visually literate reader's perspective. Typography, for instance, shapes comics characters so what might seem a minor change devoid of major significance might well reach far beyond our intentions with the use of different colours in text balloons.

Typography, or lettering, is perhaps the aspect of comics writing least appreciated by the untrained eye. It can be argued that it is, however, the crux of the multimodal nature of comics (Marion 1993). Typography communicates the 'soundtrack' in comics; it is the audial channel of the semiotic process—in an otherwise mainly (but only apparently) 'silent' medium.[17] Typography is the meeting ground of image and text, being sometimes entirely iconographical while still retaining its textual nature. Lettering embodies the interaction between the script and the images, thus being an integral part of both the art and the script, a symbiotic element that—much like the gutters—conveys meaning in an unconventional way. Much as the gutter represents the passage of time, typography often represents sound and emotions, ideally complementing the image (or being

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[17] In an interview with *The Guardian*, Amanda Palmer describes her perception of the audial and the visual in comics: "I love that graphic novels can do what film, books and music can't do: they can express silence and thought and pondering. You can't show a pause of feeling in song; you'd just have a confused and angry listener after a few moments. But with graphic novels you can have a whole page of action with silence and your eye is forced to reckon with that silence. Books can't do it either; you can't have a few blank pages of silence where you're forced to confront the silence of a character, and a film always has to fill the spaces. But a graphic novel can do that, and it's a force unlike any other." (Palmer 2017)

complemented by it? The hierarchy is not as simple as it might seem). Lettering can be constituted in equal parts by written, visual and audial codes. It is not necessarily bound by rules, hence being able to make the most of the endless possibilities and combinations of fonts, colours and space.

4.1.3. Pictorial level

Kaindl's last group of signs includes an entirely non-verbal category that is of crucial importance in the comics medium, namely pictorial signs. Kaindl (1999) proposes two basic sets of signs in the composition of the picture: spatial signs, which represent the scene of the action, and action signs, whose function is to carry the story forward. According to Kaindl,

> the pictorial part of the comic also offers various means of providing information: panels, colour, speedlines, perspective, format, etc. But these do not necessarily lend themselves to functional analysis. Rather, the general composition of the picture can be used as the most suitable starting point for differentiating between the various elements. (Kaindl 1999: 274)

This assertion would, nevertheless, disregard the combination of the pictorial and typographic aspects, of colouring and lettering. These are two key elements in comics, indeed so much so that in the American comics field they are often taken care of by specialist colourers and letterers. The layout of the comics page and the panel determines the space available for balloons and this is established by the artist, taking into account the distribution of the elements in each panel and according to the storyboard and the script and the scriptwriter's guidance. Text balloons are generally divided into two main categories: speech balloons and thought balloons. The speech balloons convey the information contained in the script, and precisely the character's *voices* that embody the action and the plot of the story. General descriptions

of places, situations or atmospheres are typically displayed in caption boxes, generally at the beginning of an album or comic book/strip in order to set the scene or in some panels to account for important information that cannot be inscribed in speech (or thought) balloons since it does not pertain to a character's speech or thoughts. Speech balloons can alternatively be replaced—and oftentimes they are—by raw text inscribed in the panel with the other pictorial elements, mainly for onomatopoeias.[18] This is an element that can be noted when analysing the *Blueberry* main corpus—and translated *bande dessinée* in general—as it is clearly one of the places where translation shifts can be observed.[19] It has, however, raised rather limited scholarly analysis, mainly theorized through the concept of constrained translation.[20] However, it is arguably a central element to comics and worthy of further analysis and increased attention. Speech balloons are the representation of the single element that is reportedly absent from the comics medium: *sound*. As Scott McCloud states in *Reinventing Comics* (2000: 2), "in relying on *visual sequence*, comics substitutes *space* for *time*". In similar fashion, it can be argued that comics substitutes *colour* for *sound*.[21] Akin to the use of colour codes in subtitling and accessible subtitling to represent sound effects in film subtitles, the comics medium makes use of typography and colour symbolism to represent speech and soundscapes.

4.2. Paratextual Analysis

The iconotextual situation in communication described in Section 4.1.3 above also applies to comics paratexts, and to comics paratexts in translation, given the heterogeneity of formats and publishing traditions in the transnational field of comics. Kaindl's methodology, however, is intended

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[18] For a detailed study of sound symbolism in comics, see Pischedda (2016).

[19] Sinagra (2014), both a translation scholar and a professional comics translator, has set out in her doctoral thesis a comprehensive theoretical proposal for the translation of *bande dessinée*, where she analyses translational levels.

[20] Applied mainly in audiovisual translation and film translation, the concept of constrained translation has also been successfully applied to comics translation by theorists such as Grun & Dollerup (2003) or Borodo (2015).

[21] For a discussion on how the combination of pictorial and typographic aspects may contribute to the representation of sound in comics, see, for instance, Khordoc (2001).

for textual analysis, yet the thesis corpus shows that paratextual analysis raises relevant questions and would complement the results of my textual analysis. Therefore, this thesis will turn to paratextual models of analysis for the study of literary texts and will apply them to the study of comics. As Sylvain Lesage (2014) states in his comprehensive study of French comics formats:

> Les études sur la bande dessinée posent en effet rarement la question du support, et ce d'autant plus étrangement que, dans le cas d'un médium visuel comme la bande dessinée, les effets de sens induits par la forme sont sans doute plus marqués encore que dans le cas de la littérature. (Lesage 2014: 35)

Gérard Genette (1997: 17) posits that the "most all-embracing aspect of the production of a book—and thus of the materialization of a text for public use—is doubtless the choice of format," and Vincent Jouve (2001) asserts that the reception of a novel is contained within the novel itself:

> Le texte romanesque programme en grande partie sa réception. Tout roman, d'une certaine manière, propose à la fois une histoire et son mode d'emploi. Une série de signaux indique selon quelles conventions le livre demande à être lu. L'ensemble de ces indications constitue ce qu'on appelle le "pacte" ou le "contrat de lecture". Il se noue à deux emplacements privilégiés: le paratexte et l'incipit. (Jouve 2001: 11)

This applies not only to the novel but, as critics such as Genette (1997) have demonstrated, to all text types and both the paratext and the incipit are central to the reception of a text since, as Jouve explains:

> Toutes les indications données par le texte avant que ne commence

la lecture dessinent un champ de possibles que le lecteur intègre plus ou moins consciemment. Si cet horizon d'attente est déçu par le texte, il y a violation du pacte de lecture et la communication ne fonctionne plus. (Jouve 2001: 13).

The question of format in comics, despite this lack of (apparent) interest pinpointed by Lesage and other critics such as Jan Baetens (1990) or Pascal Lefèvre (2000), is a major feature of their transnational circulation and arguably even more so in the comics medium than in other literary fields. In his analysis of the American comics market, Gabilliet (2004) stresses the transnational cultural differences in the very approach of the medium:

Là où l'usage anglais a retenu la nature anciennement humoristique des contenus (funnies puis comics), allant jusqu'à préciser la présentation dans la presse (comic strip), l'allemand parle d''histoires en images' (Bildergeschichte), le hollandais a à sa disposition plusieurs expressions dont la plus répandue signifie littéralement 'bande' (strip), l'italien leur donne un nom qui désigne en fait les phylactères (fumetti), l'espagnol en fait des petites histoires (historietas) ou, encore plus couramment, les désigne par le titre d'une des premières revues illustrées publiées en Espagne (tebeos), quoique l'usage de l'anglicisme cómics se soit répandu ces dernières années. (Gabilliet 2004: 11)

As shown by Gabilliet, national languages in themselves are revelatory of the diverse critical and theoretical approaches in the apprehension of the medium. However, current terminology in France tends to reserve the term *bande dessinnée* for the Francophone comics production, using the term *comics* exclusively for the traditional American comic-book production and formats (and mainly for superhero comics). This difference in use could arguably be attributed to the context of the comics markets and national production in the United States, France and Spain where both the American and the French (or Franco-Belgian, in this instance) productions are

considered as dominant markets, whereas the Spanish production is still much more dependent on imported and translated products than the American and Franco-Belgian markets. Spain is therefore a dominated market.[22]

Genette's paratextual theory, as posited in *Seuils* (1987), presents interesting categories of paratextual elements that have a visible application in the translation of comics and their localization, as defined by Zanettin (2014b: 200-219). One of the purposes of this thesis is to explore the application of Genette's paratextual framework to the transnational localization of comics based on their characteristic formats. Indeed, the pioneering works in Comics Studies cited above could be linked to the exploration and the study of research questions that are gaining momentum and relevance in Translation Studies, such as whether "the covers of […] books be seen as 'intersemiotic translations' of the texts they introduce" (Mossop 2018: 1), and how "extratextual and paratextual material can be used in order to reveal translational phenomena that are either absent or only implicit in translated texts themselves" (Tahir Gürçağlar 2002: 44).

A concept that will be of interest for this research is that of the publisher's peritext. Gérard Genette gives the name publisher's peritext:

> to the whole zone of the peritext that is the direct and principal (but not exclusive) responsibility of the publisher (or perhaps, to be more abstract but also more exact, of the publishing house)—that is, the zone that exists merely by the fact that a book is published and possibly republished and offered to the public in one or several more or less varied presentations. The word zone indicates that the

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[22] A great number of Spanish cartoonists who have an international reputation and symbolic capital as a whole, work directly for the American or the French comics markets, more viable financially than the Spanish market. Most of them are skilled and sought-after artists or scriptwriters whose work is later imported, adapted and translated for the Spanish market (e.g. Ana Miralles or Juan Díaz Canales and Juanjo Guarnido in the French market, and Carlos Pacheco or Emma Ríos in the American market).

characteristic feature of this aspect of the paratext is basically spatial and material. We are dealing here with the outermost peritext (the cover, the title page, and their appendages) and with the book's material construction (selection of format, of paper, of typeface, and so forth), which is executed by the typesetter and printer but decided on by the publisher, possibly in consultation with the author (Genette 1997: 16).

As Tahir Gürçağlar (2002) has demonstrated, Genette's paratextual theory can constitute a useful framework for the study of translated texts and this thesis will look at the following peritextual elements in the analyses of the translations of the *Blueberry* series: the authors' names (with a particular interest for the use of pseudonyms), the titles, the prefaces and post-faces, and the (translators') notes. Chapter 3 will also explore Genette's concept of the functional "véridicité" of the authorial preface (see Genette 1987: 209-210), its application(s) to the *Blueberry* series, and its interest for the reception of the series. This analysis will be further developed in Chapter 4 and applied to the (American) English translations of the series.

Another interesting concept is that of the epitext. Gérard Genette (1987) defines an epitext as any paratextual element that is situated "*anywhere out of the book*" (Genette 1987: 346 [original emphasis]). For Genette, the fundamental distinction between peritexts and epitexts is thus of a spatial nature, although he acknowledges the caveat that an epitext can of course be later integrated in a peritext (346). Different types of epitexts would fall into two main categories: public epitexts—including publishers' allographic and authorial epitexts, auto-reviews, public responses, mediations, interviews, conversations, colloquia, discussions, and delayed autocommentaries—and private epitexts—including correspondence, oral confidences, diaries, and pre-texts—(Genette 1987: 346-406).[23]

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[23] The use of Genette's terminology in English in this thesis follows the translation by Jane E. Lewin. In: Genette, G. 1997. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 344-403.

The epitexts that inform this research integrate interviews with some of the main agents involved in the translation of the *Blueberry* series into the English and Spanish languages, i.e. the translators, the editors and the publishers.[24] The agents to be interviewed have been selected on the basis of two criteria, namely: their relevance for this thesis and their availability and/or their willingness or ability to contribute to this research. Their input sheds light on and enriches the paratextual reading of the thesis corpus. Additionally, Numa Sadoul has also been contacted for interviews in his quality as a *bande dessinée* expert and his knowledge of and close relationship with the late Jean Giraud/Moebius. Further attempts have been made to contact other key personalities and institutions related to the *Blueberry* series and its English and Spanish translations, unfortunately without success, for a variety of reasons.[25] Therefore, the availability of relevant epitexts is one of the determining factors in the composition of this thesis corpus which will be presented in the following section.

5. Corpus

The delimitation of the corpus is a central question in any research. There is an abundant production of Western comics in many countries and, in European Francophone countries, we find two of the main comics markets in the world: France and Belgium. There is also the case of Switzerland—much like Belgium, a rich and multilingual country—that will be considered in

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[24] These interviews were all conducted via e-mail or telephone (telephone interviews were subsequently transcribed).

[25] Several attempts have been made to contact further agents with involvement in the publication of the *Blueberry* series (e.g. key agents at Dargaud), yet these queries were declined. The British translator Anthea Bell, who signed the British translations of the first four *Blueberry* albums (see Table 1 in Section 5.1), sadly passed away recently; Derek Hockridge, who co-translated these albums with Anthea Bell, died in 2013. Thus, and for obvious reasons of access to epitextual material, the analysis of the English-language translations will focus on the American editions. For similar reasons, the epitextual analysis of the Spanish translations will be focused on contributions by Andreu Martín, the main translator of the *Blueberry* series in Spain (see Table 2 in Section 5.2).

Chapter 2 of this thesis.

The selected corpus for this thesis is presented as a representative sample of Western *bande dessinée*, yet it equally represents a particular case study, mostly because of the presence of Jean Giraud—and the complexity of his works—as one of the authors. Nevertheless, the *Blueberry* series has the advantage of being translated into English—and most major European languages for comparative purposes—while retaining interesting and unique characteristics that add to its interest as the object of this research.

The corpus is split into two distinct sections: the main corpus and a larger, secondary and contextual corpus. The purpose of the latter is to provide the necessary perspective on the field of Western *bande dessinée*. Claiming to carry out a close analysis of this extensive production would fall far beyond the scope of a Ph.D. thesis, and this thesis will limit the case studies to a select choice of *bandes dessinées* included in the main corpus. The selection criteria for this choice is based on the production of two of the main European *bande dessinée* authors, one Belgian and one French: Jean-Michel Charlier (a prolific scriptwriter) and Jean Giraud (mainly known as a comics artist but also a productive scriptwriter). Their production is by no means limited to the Western genre, although they redefined Western comics and the international comics scene. They did it with a number of *bandes dessinées*, although the one that was most revolutionary—from a visual, narrative and cultural viewpoint—is the *Blueberry* series.[26] Most readers and critics alike agree on this: there is a before and after *Blueberry* in (Western) comics (Pizzoli 1995: 19-20; de la Croix 2007: 19). The main corpus includes all the albums of the original *Blueberry* series co-authored by Charlier and Giraud (1963-1990). Other albums of the series *La Jeunesse de Blueberry* and the *Marshal Blueberry* and *Mister Blueberry* sub-series will be occasionally referenced in this thesis. The *Marshal Blueberry* and *Mister Blueberry* sub-series represent Giraud's first autonomous production in the series and the

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[26] Jean Giraud's production as Moebius is arguably more revolutionary than any album of the *Blueberry* series, although it has been discarded in the present study for two main motives: (1) it is not inscribed in the Western genre; and (2) it was not co-authored with Jean-Michel Charlier. However, Moebius' production is analysed and compared to Jean Giraud's works in Chapter 4.

series *La Jeunesse de Blueberry* is included as a necessary complement to the authors' (and by the authors) main *Blueberry* series. A secondary corpus will be referenced only in the intermedial analysis of Chapter 2, and includes references to Hergé's *Tintin en Amérique* and the album *Camargue Rouge* and select albums of the Western series *Buddy Longway, Celui qui est né deux fois*, *Lucky Luke* and *Les Tuniques bleues*.[27]

The chapters 3, 4 and 5 in this thesis will analyse the *Blueberry* series through the original series authored by Charlier and Giraud, except for the last few albums created single-handedly by Giraud after the death of Charlier. This is the central case study to this thesis for the following reasons: Firstly, the scope of a Ph.D. thesis does not allow for the detailed analysis of all Western *bandes dessinées* (and their translations/adaptations). Secondly, the purpose of this thesis is to study the translations and adaptations of Western *bande dessinée* and a case study was needed that could be analysed from these two perspectives. Charlier's and Giraud's *Blueberry* series is interesting in the context of this thesis as it ticks all the boxes, having been translated and adapted for the American and Spanish comics markets. Lastly, the translations of the *Blueberry* series present irregularities in their publication history that are investigated in successive chapters of this thesis, for which purpose the theoretical framework presented in the first chapter should prove particularly fruitful.

Chapter 4 will analyse the *Blueberry* albums' translation into English—with occasional reference to translations in other European languages (Italian, Spanish, Dutch and German)—and Chapter 5 will deal with the Spanish translations. There are several reasons for this choice of languages. The reason for the choice of the Spanish and American translations is based on national traditions and markets of comics. It is usually accepted that there are three major traditions and markets in world comics: American comics, Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée* and Japanese manga. This thesis reviews

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[27] The examples included in Chapter 2 by no means represent an exhaustive analysis of intermediality in Western *bande dessinée*, but rather attempt to provide a diverse yet representative sample of intermediality in classic Western *bande dessinée* series, including *Blueberry*. A more comprehensive sample and analysis would fall beyond the scope of this thesis.

the translation from one major tradition/market to another, which has—according to Gouanvic's translation theories, based on bourdieusian sociology—a number of implications. Nevertheless, there are other markets/traditions of (relative) importance. To limit the thesis to the European context, Italian *fumetti* would constitute a comics field with a relatively long tradition and a sizeable (domestic) market. Spanish comics (traditionally and originally branded as *tebeos*), have a well-established market with established publishers that have long relied on the translation of foreign comics (American, Franco-Belgian, Italian, etc.) but in the last few years have been publishing an increasing domestic production—often of considerable quality—that have received critical acclaim at international comics festivals. The Western genre has also been traditionally very popular in Spain in a variety of media (Western literature, films and comics).[28] Another reason explaining the choice of the Spanish over the Italian translations is that the Italian translations of the *Blueberry* comics have already been (partially) researched by Federico Zanettin (2014b, 2014c).

This main corpus is listed, for ease of reference, in the two chronological tables provided below in Sections 5.1 and 5.2, which compile the twenty-nine titles of the *Blueberry* series of *bandes dessinées* alongside their English and Spanish translations (when available), which will be used as the basis for analysis in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively. As will be explained at length in Chapter 3, the first twenty-three comics were created by Jean-Michel Charlier (scriptwriter) and Jean Giraud (artist), whereas the last six were authored single-handedly by Jean Giraud (scripts and art).[29] The following two sections will comment on the basic data included in the tables, whilst more detailed aspects such as the time frames, patterns, trends and key features that these tables reveal for analysis will be studied and interpreted in Chapters 4 and 5.

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[28] Spain, like Italy, has long provided the geographical setting for a considerable number of European (and American) Western films, as well as entire crews of extras and secondary actors (usually playing Mexicans or Native Americans) as well as some iconic leading characters (see Frayer 2014).
[29] Except for the colouring by Scarlett Smulkowski and Claudine Blanc-Dumont. This will be explained and analysed in Chapter 3.

5.1. English Translations

Table 1 lists the English-language translations and the original French albums with their respective publishers. The publication dates correspond to the first editions in album form, whereas the English-language translation of the album *Fort Navajo* also includes in brackets the serialized first translation, published in the United Kingdom in the magazine *Valiant*. The albums that remain untranslated to this day are signalled as such in brackets, and the albums that have not been published in English, but have been scanlated, are also signalled.[30] The first four *bandes dessinées* were published in the United Kingdom by the imprint Egmont/Methuen in collaborative translations by Anthea Bell and Derek Hockridge. The fifth *bande dessinée*, *La Piste des Navajos*, remained untranslated for several years (and still is unpublished in traditional form, yet scanlated versions are available online). From the sixth to the twenty-third *bandes dessinées*, the production of English-language versions shifted overseas to Canada, first, and later to the United States. Indeed, the majority of the *Blueberry* series has been published in English by Epic Comics (a creator-owned Marvel imprint that run from 1982 to the mid-nineties) in the United States, and simultaneously distributed in the United Kingdom by Titan Books. Epic Comics' (and thus Titan Books') translations were all co-authored by Jean-Marc and Randy Lofficier, while the translation of *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*, published in Canada by Dargaud International in 1983, was signed by Robert Whitener.

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[30] Scanlation is "the process of translation and adaptation of visual narrative texts [and] specifically, [...] a practice comprising of a set of specific tasks or activities carried out by an online network of fans. Through the process of scanlation, physical texts are converted into digital images, transmitted over the internet, translated, edited, and finally shared online for free" (Fabbretti 2014: 1). For further details on the practice of scanlation and the concept of participatory culture, and on the scanlated *Blueberry* albums, see Section 2.2 in Chapter 4. All the scanlations included in this corpus have been obtained from the website European Classic Comic Download, available at the following address: http://europeanclassiccomic.blogspot.com. [Last accessed on 27 October 2017]

French	Publisher/ Year	English	Publisher/ Year
Fort Navajo	Dargaud (1965)	*Fort Navajo*	Egmont/Methuen (1978) [*Valiant*, 15 May-21 August 1965 (15 issues)]
Tonnerre à l'ouest	Dargaud (1966)	*Thunder in the West*	Egmont/Methuen (1978)
L'Aigle solitaire	Dargaud (1967)	*Lone Eagle*	Egmont/Methuen (1978)
Le Cavalier perdu	Dargaud (1968)	*Mission to Mexico*	Egmont/Methuen (1978)
La Piste des Navajos	Dargaud (1969)	*The Trail of the Navajos*	[Scanlation]
L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent	Dargaud (1969)	*The Man with the Silver Star*	Dargaud (1983)
Le Cheval de fer	Dargaud (1970)	*The Iron Horse*	Epic Comics (1991)
L'Homme au poing d'acier	Dargaud (1970)	*Steelfingers*	Epic Comics (1991)
La Piste des Sioux	Dargaud (1971)	*The Trail of the Sioux*	Epic Comics (1991)
Général "Tête Jaune"	Dargaud (1971)	*General Golden Mane*	Epic Comics (1991)
La Mine de l'Allemand perdu	Dargaud (1972)	*The Lost Dutchman's Mine*	Epic Comics (1991)

Le Spectre aux balles d'or	Dargaud (1972)	*The Ghost with the Golden Bullets*	Epic Comics (1991)
Chihuahua Pearl	Dargaud (1973)	*Chihuahua Pearl*	Epic Comics (1989)
L'Homme qui valait 500.000$	Dargaud (1973)	*The Half-a-Million Dollar Man*	Epic Comics (1991)
Ballade pour un cercueil	Dargaud (1974)	*Ballad for a Coffin*	Epic Comics (1989)
Le Hors la loi	Dargaud (1974)	*The Outlaw*	Epic Comics (1989)
Angel Face	Dargaud (1975)	*Angel Face*	Epic Comics (1989)
Nez Cassé	Dargaud (1980)	*Broken Nose*	Epic Comics (1989)
La Longue marche	Fleurus (1980)	*The Long March*	Epic Comics (1990)
La Tribu fantôme	Hachette (1982)	*The Ghost Tribe*	Epic Comics (1990)
La Dernière carte	Hachette (1983)	*The Last Card*	Epic Comics (1990)
Le Bout de la piste	Novedi (1986)	*The End of the Trail*	Epic Comics (1990)
Arizona Love	Alpen (1990)	*Arizona Love*	*Cheval Noir* (1990)
Mister Blueberry	Dargaud (1995)	*Mister Blueberry*	[Scanlation]

Ombres sur Tombstone	Dargaud (1997)	*Shadows over Tombstone*	[Scanlation]
Geronimo l'Apache	Dargaud (1999)	*Geronimo the Apache*	[Scanlation]
OK Corral	Dargaud (2003)	*OK Corral*	[Scanlation]
Dust	Dargaud (2005)	*Dust*	[Scanlation]
Apaches	Dargaud (2007)	[Untranslated]	[Untranslated]

Table 1. English-language translations of the *Blueberry* series.

5.2. Spanish Translations

Table 2 lists the Spanish-language translations and the original French albums, with their respective publishers. The publication dates correspond to the first editions in album form, whereas the Spanish translations of the first sixteen albums also include in brackets the serialized first translations, published in the comics magazines *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito*, *and Mortadelo*. The publication history of the *Blueberry* series in Spain includes uncredited translations as well as translations by Jordi Bayona, Andreu Martín and Anna Maria Palé. As can be inferred from the reading of Table 2, the publication history of the *Blueberry* series in Spain is considerably more complex than that of the English translations in spite of the fact that having to deal with only one country (and comics field) instead of two (or three) would theoretically suggest the opposite.[31] Chapter 5 will study these translations, yet the main object of analysis of this second part of the corpus will not be the translations published in album form, but the serialized translations in *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito*, and *Mortadelo* between 1968 and 1974. The reason for this is

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[31] Unlike the first case study of English-language translations, there have been multiple retranslations and re-editions of most titles of the *Blueberry* series in Spain. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, Chapter 5 will deal only with the censored Spanish translations (1968-1975).

that, after an initial comparative analysis carried out on the translations published in album form (similar to that of the English-language translations), the results would corroborate the hypotheses of Even-Zohar (1990) and Heilbron and Sapiro (2007). However, thorough transnational (and traditional) archival research and a second comparative analysis of the translations serialized in *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito* and *Mortadelo*, revealed myriad translation shifts and multimodal adaptation strategies, attributable to Francoist censorship, that challenge the polysystem hypothesis. They opened up a translational reading of the corpus which will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 5. Finally, as Tables 1 and 2 show, all the *Blueberry bandes dessinées* have been translated in Spain, contrary to the United States which corroborates the theories of Heilbron and Sapiro (2007) and Even-Zohar (1990) discussed in the previous Sections 3.1 and 3.1.1, on dominant and dominated translation cultures.

French	Publisher/ Year	Spanish	Publisher/ Year
Fort Navajo	Dargaud (1965)	*Fort Navajo*	Bruguera (1968) [*Bravo* nos.1-11]
Tonnerre à l'ouest	Dargaud (1966)	*Tormenta en el oeste* [*Tempestad en el oeste*]	Grijalbo-Dargaud (1982) Bruguera (1969) [*Bravo* nos.12-23]
L'Aigle solitaire	Dargaud (1967)	*Águila Solitaria* [*El águila solitaria*]	Grijalbo-Dargaud (1985) Bruguera (1970) [*Bravo* nos. 24-31]
Le Cavalier perdu	Dargaud (1968)	*El jinete perdido*	Grijalbo (1985)

			[*Bravo* nos. 32-40]
La Piste des Navajos	Dargaud (1969)	*La pista de los Navajos* [*La ruta de los Navajos*]	Grijalbo-Dargaud (1983) [*Gran Pulgarcito* nos.1-23]
L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent	Dargaud (1969)	*El hombre de la estrella de plata*	Grijalbo (1983) [*Gran Pulgarcito* nos. 23-34]
Le Cheval de fer	Dargaud (1970)	*El caballo de hierro*	Junior (1977) [*Gran Pulgarcito* nos. 35-46]
L'Homme au poing d'acier	Dargaud (1970)	*El hombre del puño de acero*	Junior (1978) [*Gran Pulgarcito* nos. 46-57]
La Piste des Sioux	Dargaud (1971)	*La pista de los Sioux* [*La ruta de los sioux*]	Junior (1978) [*Gran Pulgarcito* nos. 58-69]
Général Tête Jaune	Dargaud (1971)	*El general "Cabellos Rubios"* [*El general Cabellera Rubia*]	Junior (1978) [*Gran Pulgarcito* nos. 69-81]
La Mine de l'Allemand perdu	Dargaud (1972)	*La mina del alemán perdido*	Junior (1979) [*Mortadelo* nos. 0-22]

Le Spectre aux balles d'or	Dargaud (1972)	*El fantasma de las balas de oro* [*El espectro de las balas de oro*]	Junior (1979) [*Mortadelo* nos. 23-48]
Chihuahua Pearl	Dargaud (1973)	*Chihuahua Pearl*	Grijalbo (1980) [*Mortadelo* nos. 49-71]
L'Homme qui valait 500.000$	Dargaud (1973)	*El hombre que valía 500.000 dólares*	Junior (1979) [*Mortadelo* nos. 72-94; Extra de Primavera de 1972]
Ballade pour un cercueil	Dargaud (1974)	*Balada por un ataúd* [*Por un par de botas*]	Junior (1979) [*Mortadelo* nos. 95-126]
Le Hors la loi	Dargaud (1974)	*Fuera de la ley* [*El fugitivo*]	Grijalbo (1980) [*Mortadelo* nos. 154-175]
Angel Face	Dargaud (1975)	*Angel Face*	Grijalbo-Dargaud (1980)
Nez Cassé	Dargaud (1980)	*Nariz Rota*	Grijalbo-Dargaud (1981)
La Longue marche	Fleurus (1980)	*La larga marcha*	Junior (1981)
La Tribu fantôme	Hachette (1982)	*La tribu fantasma*	Junior (1985)

La Dernière carte	Hachette (1983)	*La última carta*	Junior (1984)
Le Bout de la piste	Novedi (1986)	*El final del camino*	Junior (1986)
Arizona Love	Alpen (1990)	*Arizona Love*	Junior (1992)
Mister Blueberry	Dargaud (1995)	*Mister Blueberry*	Grijalbo-Dargaud (1996)
Ombres sur Tombstone	Dargaud (1997)	*Sombras sobre Tombstone*	Grijalbo-Dargaud (1998)
Geronimo l'Apache	Dargaud (1999)	*Gerónimo el Apache*	Norma (2000)
OK Corral	Dargaud (2003)	*OK Corral*	Norma (2003)
Dust	Dargaud (2005)	*Dust*	Norma (2005)
Apaches	Dargaud (2007)	*Apaches*	Norma (2009)

Table 2. Spanish translations of *Blueberry*

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6. Chapter Outlines

This doctoral thesis is structured in six chapters. The present chapter sets the theoretical framework and the methodological model that will be applied in the thesis, based on Gouanvic's (2005) sociology of translation and adaptation and Zanettin's (2014b) concept of comics localization and on Kaindl's framework for the study of comics in translation and Genette's works in literary theory (1982, 1987) applied to Translation Studies. Chapter 1 also gives an overview of the main corpus of study. The sociology of translation has been chosen as the principal methodological framework because I consider it to be the most adequate methodology to answer the research questions, since it "shifts the focus from texts to the translators, their roles,

social networks, and lasting effects on society" (Berneking 2016: 265). Chapter 2 will answer the first research question, by carrying out an analysis of the intermedial translation of the Western genre to Francophone Europe after the Second World War and the development of Western tropes in *bande dessinée* in Francophone Europe. Chapter 3 will build from Chapter 2 to shift the focus entirely to the main object of study in my corpus, the *Blueberry* comics series created by Jean Giraud and Jean-Michel Charlier in 1963. Chapters 4 and 5 will provide answers to the second research question and fully delve into the core corpus of this thesis by studying the translations of the *Blueberry* comics which fully exposed these works to a wider audience than the traditional domestic readership of *bandes dessinées*. These chapters will apply Gouanvic's and Kaindl's analytical frameworks to place a strong emphasis on the treatment of the interaction between visual and textual elements in a microtextual analysis and on the sociology of transnational exchanges in the cultural field of Western *bande dessinée* in a macrotextual and paratextual analysis. Chapter 4 will study the American translations of a selection of *Blueberry* albums and Chapter 5 will analyse the Spanish translations of the abovementioned comics. Finally, Chapter 6 will answer the third research question and summarize the main findings of this thesis before providing suggestions for further research projects that arise from this research. A more detailed overview of chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 is provided in the following paragraphs.

Chapter 2 will set the scene by exploring the crucial questions of intermediality and the canon in Western comics. It builds on and expands some of the concepts developed by Chute (2016) and it can be read as an exploration of the cultural history of the Western genre that informs *bande dessinée* as revealed by close analysis of selected albums and panels. Western *bande dessinée* can be divided stylistically in two major trends: the cartoonish and realistic styles. The former is represented most notably by Morris and Goscinny's *Lucky Luke* series, whereas the latter is famously embodied by Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry*. Both series are important and have outlived their creators in a tendency that has been pinpointed by Peeters (2016) as a "regressive aspect" in comics. Based on Genette's

concept of hypertextuality,[32] Western comics of these two Franco-Belgian styles are based on two different hypertextual relations: parody and transposition respectively. *Lucky Luke* caricatured almost every Western film and actor in his albums, like John Carradine and Wallace Beery in *La Diligence* (1967) and Randolph Scott in *Le Vingtième de cavalerie* (1964), and *Les Tuniques bleues* is an antimilitaristic parody based on historic military facts. Series such as *Buddy Longway* adapted in comics form many tropes from the film *Jeremiah Johnson* (Pollack 1972) and, like *Blueberry,* exemplify the realist tradition. The original authors of these series, Morris, Derib, Salvérius, Lambil and Cauvin, and Charlier and Giraud, have all used multimodal hypotexts (see note 32 below) to document their albums to different degrees.

Indeed, fact and fiction are often intertwined in Western films and Western *bande dessinée* uses this framing device often. This can be done overtly or in covert form, as in a palimpsest,[33] when the primary intention is not to document but to make use of an intermedial archive of historical hypotexts in the framing of a fictional story. These hypotexts, however, are translated to and remain in visible form in the hypertext and an attentive intertextual reading allows for an interpretation of these intermedial archives. Film, but also painting and photography, are used extensively by cartoonists such as Morris, Lambil and Cauvin, Derib, and Charlier and Giraud in *Blueberry*. The first part of Chapter 2 will reveal through three case studies how *bande dessinée* makes extensive use of, and reframes, these intermedial hypotexts. Morris' *L'Artiste-peintre* (2001), Lambil and Cauvin's *Des bleus en noir et blanc* (1975) and Derib's *Seul* (1977) will show how explicit this influence can be in *bande dessinée*. These examples are indeed explicit in their exposure of the hypotexts but many other instances, less visible, can be detected by model readers (Eco 1979). The *Blueberry* series has both

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[32] Hypertextuality is defined as "toute relation unissant un texte B [*hypertexte*] à un texte antérieur A [*hypotexte*] sur lequel il se greffe d'une manière qui n'est pas celle du commentaire" (Genette 1982: 13). For Genette (1982: 293-299), translation is one of the forms of hypertextuality.

[33] Genette defines a palimpsest as a "même parchemin [où l'on voit] un texte se superposer à un autre qu'il ne dissimule pas tout à fait, mais qu'il laisse voir par transparence" (1982: 556).

types of overt and covert influences. Whereas filmic hypotexts have been generally identified and described (Meyer 2015), examples of the more covert intertextual and intermedial references can be detected in most albums. In the second part of Chapter 2, the focus will be placed on the main case study of this thesis, the *Blueberry* series, in order to acknowledge the referential network of intermediality that has been described with regard to film and the influence of other multimodal hypotexts, namely photographs as a documentary resource that has not yet been noted in the series. A close microtextual analysis, therefore, unveils intermedial hypotexts that go beyond the realm of traditionally acknowledged influences.

Chapter 3 is focused on the case study of the *Blueberry* series and its accession to the canon of Western comics by means of the memorialization process at work in the multiple reprints (and often rewrites) of the albums. *Blueberry* was inspired by several Western movies but there is an aspect of Charlier's writing *habitus* (Bourdieu 1998) that has not been sufficiently taken in account in the analysis of the series. Charlier's documentary zeal is well documented and a close reading of many panels raises interesting questions about multimodal hypertextual influences in the series, both in the script and in the art. This can be read as an effort by the cartoonists to inscribe their series in the canon of the Western genre, by including for instance intertextual references to canonical films like John Ford's *Fort Apache* or Howard Hawks' *Rio Bravo*. Unlike Hergé (Baetens 2016), Charlier and Giraud both travelled to America, emulating the legendary (and fictionalized) road trip of Jijé, Franquin and Morris to the United States (and the north of Mexico, in the case of Giraud). Charlier later declared that he was literally fascinated by the American West and he decided to write a Western comics series. Several details in his scripts are similar to historical facts that go beyond the myths of the frontier, and the later albums reveal to readers the visual memory of historical photographs as documentation artefacts. Charlier and Giraud's extensive use of photographs in *Blueberry* as hypotextual framing devices is significant. Photographs represent powerful cultural artefacts with commonly accepted documentary value and photography is arguably a form of cultural translation where "[t]he aim is to take something distinctive, characteristic, or remarkable of a place and time […] and to offer

it in two-dimensional form either to people in the country or those beyond" (Ginger 2015: 161). As Susan Sontag (1979: 5) has written, "a photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened". Photography suggests that "someone has seen the referent […] in flesh and blood" (Barthes 1993: 79) and the photographer can be viewed as a cultural translator that "enabl[es] light to cross over from a physical entity to a negative, then to a positive" (Ginger 2015: 161).

Chapter 3 also discusses one of the distinctive features of the Franco-Belgian School of *bande dessinée*, namely the publishing format of its comics and the role of format as a publishing strategy in the canonization process of comics and cartoonists. As opposed to the American classic softcover comic-book, *bandes dessinées* are published in hardcover, typically 48 to 64-page long albums. But it has not always been so. In their inception, they were published in press supplements and magazines, very much like in America: in post-war Belgium, *Tintin* and *Spirou* enjoyed the lion's share of the market; in France, *Pilote* was created by Jean-Michel Charlier, René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo who strove in the 1960s to give *bande dessinée* cultural respectability and were instrumental in the publication of comics in album format. The chapter explores the editorial evolution of the *Blueberry* series from the first magazine strips to its canonization through successive reprints and Jean Michel Charlier's and Jean Giraud's instrumental role in the gradual canonization process of the series. Special attention is paid to commemorative editions for collectors that include rich paratextual material and which aim to contribute to a history of the genre and amass its symbolic capital like the recent Dargaud *intégrale* (2012-2018). This publication format unveils a wealth of historical and archival documents that breathe new life into the comics while taking a nostalgic look at the past.

The second part of the thesis will fully delve into the translational dimension of this research. Having established the transmedial dimension of Western *bande dessinée* in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, chapters 4 and 5 will undertake a twofold analysis. The research will focus first on the translation process or how the series undergoes a process of retranslation where it travels back to

the original setting of the Western genre (i.e. the American publishing field). The focus of this thesis will shift subsequently to the reception process of the localized product (Zanettin 2014b). The following two chapters about translation, adaptation and localization build primarily on the work of Gouanvic (1999, 2005, 2007, 2014) and Zanettin (2014b). In Chapter 4, the focus is on the work of Kaindl (1999), Lavoie (2002), and Tahir Gürçağlar (2002) and in Chapter 5, (again) Kaindl (1999), Fernández Sarasola (2014, 2019) and Sanchís (2010).

Chapter 4 will focus on selected examples from the corpus of the *Blueberry* series in English translation presented above in Table 1. By applying the analytical elements proposed by Kaindl (1999), this chapter will analyse examples from this case study to describe the process and the product of the translation of this iconic Western series. The results will show that, although Epic Comics' English translations are equivalent to the originals and successfully operate a domestication of the source texts, there is a major difference in the treatment of the original's hypotexts at the linguistic level, which disrupt the original script and blur the presence of Charlier as an author in the text. This chapter will show how, through the processes of translation, adaptation and localization, the original *Blueberry* series is gradually modified to fit the norms of the target polysystem and the *habitus* of the various agents involved in these processes is a decisive factor. There is, however, an agent who is present throughout the process: Jean Giraud/Moebius. His authorial and creative presence seems to be reinforced and magnified in/by translation, albeit generically confused. Jean Giraud (Martin 1996) famously said in an interview, "Blueberry, c'est moi." If we consider only the American comics translations of the series, this appears to be true indeed. As a result of this, unintended translation shifts blur Charlier's authorial presence in the American translations of the series.

Chapter 5 will show that this phenomenon is equally apparent in the process of adaptation at work in Spanish versions (see Table 2 above), yet it goes beyond the textual realm, also affecting the visual work of Giraud. This chapter combines Gouanvic's general framework for a sociology of translation and adaptation and Kaindl's analytical model for the study of

comics in translation already applied in Chapter 4, with studies on censorship in comics (McGlade, Fernández Sarasola, Sanchís). In a multimodal and historical analysis of the Spanish translations of the *Blueberry* series, this chapter investigates how media censorship policies and norms, enforced by a complex network of agents, affected the translations of these comics, from their first publication in Francoist Spain in 1968 until 1983, thus shedding new light on research on the history of translation and censorship practices in Francoist Spain and challenging Even-Zohar's polysystemic hypothesis of translation presented in Section 3.1.

7. Coda

This first chapter has set out the state of the fields of research in Western comics and in the translation of comics and the rationale for the thesis. The sociology of translation and adaptation, as developed by Jean-Marc Gouanvic from the theories of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, will constitute the main theoretical framework, combined with Federico Zanettin's works on the translation of comics as localization. Klaus Kaindl's methodological framework for the study of comics in translation will be adopted and applied to the (para)textual analyses of the corpus, in combination with the work of other Translation Studies and Comics Studies scholars for the analysis of specific translational features.

As described in the preceding sections, the next four chapters will examine the multifaceted processes of translation at work in the field of Western *bande dessinée*. Chapter 2 will explore the multi-layered, transmedial visual influences in the building of a European Francophone Western genre in the medium of comics. Chapter 3 will extend this analysis to the *Blueberry* series specifically, while it will also provide a historical overview of the series. The translingual and transnational processes that allowed the export of the *Blueberry* series as a product beyond linguistic and cultural borders, from the field of *bande dessinée* in France to the fields of American comics and Spanish *tebeos* or *historietas*, will be studied in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively. Finally, Chapter 6 will summarize the findings of this thesis, and provide directions for future research.

Chapter 2. Reframing the Western in *Bande Dessinée*:
Intermediality as Translation

> [T]he photograph has reversed the purpose of travel,
>
> which until now had been to encounter the strange and unfamiliar.[34]
>
> Marshall McLuhan

1. Introduction

Westerns are generally associated with films and cinema. From the classic Westerns, such as John Ford's iconic *Stagecoach* (1939), to spaghetti Westerns, revisionist Westerns and space Westerns, the genre is predominantly linked to the silver screen but is also present in other media, from photography to comics. This chapter will show that Western *bande dessinée* is, from a visual perspective, largely influenced by film, but generic intermediality goes well beyond this, including influences from the fine arts and animation. In the introduction to the first volume of the latest edition of Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud's *Blueberry* albums, José-Louis Bocquet writes that, although the motion picture *Fort Apache* has been widely acknowledged as the inspiration for the first album of the series, *Fort Navajo*, Charlier's inspiration (as the scriptwriter) is much wider and encompasses the myth of the West in all its forms: cinematographic, literary and historical (2012: 12). The historical aspect is a notion that raises a number of questions.

The first main question concerns the (re)sources used by Charlier (and Western *bande dessinée* scriptwriters at large) and by Giraud (and other Western comics artists) when working on a series, an album or a panel. Historically, French and Belgian *bande dessinée* approached the Western in different ways, often depending on the ideology of the comics magazines in

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[34] McLuhan (2001: 213).

which they were initially published in weekly strips but also on their creator's personal style. This was particularly the case for the scriptwriter, as the artist was often seen as a secondary author that gave shape to the writer's plot and dialogues, except in rare cases where the author fulfilled both tasks. For artists, cinema is generally acknowledged as a source of inspiration, but photographs are often used when looking for historical accuracy and authenticity. Scriptwriters are also inspired by Western films, yet they draw their inspiration directly from novels and academic works too. Western themes and images were established early on, as the genre slowly developed through literature and the visual arts (painting, photography, cinema). These recurrent elements can be found in dime novels and Western novels that often come illustrated, already in the early occurrences, and in paintings, photography, film and comics.

The second main question deals with the major themes and images which are predominant in Western *bande dessinée*. This chapter draws up a typology inspired by scholars of the Western and, in a selection of French and Belgian preliminary case studies, analyses their presence and representation in *bande dessinée*. As scholar Martha Zan (2010b) has stated in an article on Western comics, the field can be divided in two main traditions: the fantastic and the realistic traditions. Although it might be assumed that the latter would be concerned with the faithful representation of the historical West and the former would merely be entertainment (a general assumption about comics), it might not be so simple. *Bande dessinée* took on an educational role very early on—both in Belgium and France, yet in different ways—for a variety of reasons.

Even though Zan's fantastic tradition might suggest mere entertainment, some of the more abstract or "cartoony" (Zanettin 2014a: 13) *bandes dessinée*s—the *école "gros nez"* or *école de Marcinelle* to which *Astérix* or *Spirou* belong, for instance—are interested in portraying an accurate (yet parodic) vision of history. This will be evidenced in an analysis of the role of historical photographs in Willy Lambil and Raoul Cauvin's *Les Tuniques bleues*, a popular Belgian Western *bande dessinée*, both in its country of origin and in France and Francophone Switzerland. How, where and why are these photographs used in *bandes dessinées*? This analysis will show the

ways in which photographic documentary evidence is used by comics artists in their albums. This chapter includes a select choice of French and Belgian Western comics—beyond the *Blueberry* series—better to illustrate the intermedial nature of the genre in *bande dessinée*. Finally, the last section of this chapter will apply the preliminary analyses to select *Blueberry* pages, strips or panels in order to highlight the diverse intermedial influences at work in Charlier and Giraud's Western series before proceeding to a more detailed study of this series in Chapter 3.

2. The Field of (Western) *Bande Dessinée* after the Second World War

After the Second World War, and particularly from 1948 until the 1960s, there was an upsurge in the popularity of Western comics in the United States. This was spurred by the increasing production of Hollywood's Western films and also by a declining interest in superhero comics. Many comics publishers had a wealth of Western titles: Marvel Comics launched popular series like *Wild Western* (1948-1957) and *Rawhide Kid* (1955-1973) and Dell Comics published the popular series (originally a 1933 Detroit radio show) *The Lone Ranger* (1938-1962). Even Hollywood actors who starred in Western films had their own comic book series, from John Wayne (Toby Press, 1949-1955) to Dale Evans (DC Comics, 1948-1952). The comics industry was clearly inspired by Hollywood and capitalized on the public's interest in the Western genre. With the start of the Vietnam War (1955) and the advent of the Silver Age in superhero comics (1956-1970) came the twilight of traditional Westerns. However, the cultural revolution of the 1960s witnessed the birth of the revisionist Western film, with a strong critical stance on social and cultural issues. This trend was particularly popular in European countries, chiefly in Belgium and France, and was reflected in the Western comics production of/in these countries. The series *Lucky Luke*, *Les Tuniques bleues*, and *Blueberry* are amongst the most critical and unconventional Western comics, from a traditional American viewpoint.

The American forces that took part in the liberation of Europe in 1945 brought with them a slice of an American way of life that proved popular, including

comic books. In Belgium, Hergé was one of the first comics authors to introduce the American West in his works as early as 1932 with *Tintin en Amérique*. From the 1940s, many European Francophone comics artists and writers created their own Western comics, heavily inspired by their American counterparts—for instance, René Giffey with Buffalo Bill (1946) in the magazine *Tarzan*. Morris created *Lucky Luke*—strongly influenced by Hollywood's Western films mythology, with an increasingly satirical twist—also in 1946. One of his colleagues at the *Spirou* magazine, Joseph Gillain (also known as Jijé) is considered as the main influence on Francophone Western comics. He was the creator of Jerry Spring (1954-1990), a cowboy with a social conscience.

Other comics magazines like *Tintin*, *Vaillant* and *Pilote* followed suit and created their own Western comics series. It was in the latter where Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud launched the first *Blueberry bande dessinée* in 1963. It was both an artistic revolution and the birth of a classic. In the words of Thierry Groensteen (2015): "[i]l apporte des réponses nouvelles à quatre questions essentielles pointées par Thierry Smolderen: celles du corps, de l'espace, du rapport à la photographie et du rapport au cinéma." Giraud was himself one of Jijé's disciples but he took the Western comics genre to new heights. His art became the gold standard in Western comics worldwide and he went on to influence, and collaborate with, American comics authors such as Stan Lee in *The Silver Surfer* superhero series. As Groensteen (2015) posits,

> Pour exprimer son attachement au western, Giraud évoquera la "magie" résultant de "la conjonction d'une époque, d'un espace et d'une aventure humaine, qui relève du mythe: un peuple nouveau construisant son histoire" (Trait de génie). C'est aussi le genre par excellence où les registres de l'éthique et de l'épique sont les plus étroitement noués, celui où il est impossible de ne pas se confronter aux questions du Bien, du Mal et de la Loi, en majuscules.

The rise of Western *bande dessinée* in Europe coincides with the fall in production of Western films and comics in America after their golden age. It is as if the genre travelled to distant shores in order to renovate itself and find new inspiration in another culture and a different language. As Simmon (2003: 292-293) writes about *My Name Is Nobody* (*Il mio nome è nessuno*), an Italian, French and German co-production directed by Tonino Valerii (1973) and set in the twilight days of the frontier, the film proves the argument that "Italian styles could reinvigorate the dying American genre (something that proved true, and provided the final full flowering of the Western genre)." Similarly to the Italian spaghetti Westerns and Eastern European Osterns that subvert the mythology of the classic Westerns, French and Belgian *bande dessinée* appropriate the frontier myth to deconstruct and reinterpret it.[35] Much like Jack Beauregard (Henry Fonda) in Valerii's film as he faces his final journey into oblivion and makes "an exit from the West, from the film and—as it turned out—from the genre" (Simmon 2003: 293) aboard a ship sailing for Europe, it took Francophone comics writers and artists who returned to their homeland after living their own American dream to reinvigorate the genre and lay the foundations of what became known as the "bande dessinée Western" (Villerbu 2015). Amongst this group of pioneers was Joseph Gillain (1914-1980), widely known by his pen name Jijé and acknowledged as the precursor of Western *bande dessinée* in Francophone Belgium. His main creation in the genre is the series *Jerry Spring* whose main character presents striking visual similarities with Bonelli and Galleppini's Tex Willer, the lead character of one of the most popular Italian comics series of all time. Gillain is credited as an artistic father figure and as

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[35] Osterns, also known as Red Westerns, are a subcategory of Western films produced in some Eastern European countries that typically portrayed Native Americans more favourably than the Hollywood studios, amongst other characteristic features. In the medium of comics, in addition to Western *bande dessinée*, there are two other main European cases: Germany and Italy. In the 1960s and 1970s, Karl May's Western novels were adapted for German comics, including an eight-comic series based on his popular Apache character, Winnetou. This spawned European film adaptations popularly known as Sauerkraut Westerns. The comics series was drawn by Helmut Nickel and Harry Ehrt and published by Walter Lehning Verlag. Italian cinema is known worldwide for Spaghetti Westerns, although there is also a strong Western tradition in *fumetti*, best represented by Bonelli and Galleppini's long-standing series *Tex Willer*.

a mentor by many artists of the following generation of Francophone authors, including Jean Giraud and Derib.

Jerry Spring ran as a series from 1954 to 1990, and portrayed life on the Western frontier introducing standard characters such as Pancho, Jerry Spring's Mexican sidekick, but also tackling less popular issues at the time more akin to a revisionist view of the genre, such as a humanistic portrayal of Native Americans, as for instance in the album *La Passe des Indiens* (1957). Early European Francophone Western series or one-offs exclude early incursions in the genre like *Bécassine voyage* (1921) by Caumery and Pinchon or Hergé's *Tintin en Amérique* (1932). They include instead other acclaimed comics masters such as Jacques Dumas, best known as Marijac, who authored the one-shot *Kit Carson le héros de l'ouest* and the series *Joé Bing*, *Poncho Libertas*, *Jim Boum*, and *Sitting Bull* between 1931 and 1979.

Perhaps more surprising is the presence of the creative tandem behind *Astérix*. Whereas Uderzo is mainly associated with Astérix, Goscinny is an omnipresent figure in *bande dessinée* and beyond, having also worked in illustration, advertising and film. One of their earliest creations was *Oumpah-Pah*, an artistic precursor of *Astérix* set in the French colonies of North America in the 18th century. The series' five albums were published initially from 1958 to 1967 and belong to the cartoonish tradition of *bande dessinée*. Both *Jerry Spring* and *Oumpah-Pah* usher in an unprecedented local production of Western comics in the Franco-Belgian market after the Second World War, in the realistic and the cartoonish traditions respectively. The latter announces a wealth of cartoonish Western *bandes dessinées*, from *Yakari* to *Les Tuniques bleues*. *Jerry Spring* is a model and a loose precedent for the *Blueberry* series extending its influence well beyond the medium of comics. Section 3, below, will provide a list of the main tropes in *bande dessinée*, and Section 4 will present a succinct analysis of the realistic and the cartoonish traditions—followed by short case studies—to illustrate the importance of intermediality in the development of the Western genre in Francophone *bande dessinée*.

3. Main Tropes in Western *Bande Dessinée*

As Simmon argues, Westerns are repetitive yet at the same time they are open to diverse interpretations:

> The Western's notoriously limited repertoire of character types, situations, locations, props and actors can make the films appear "all the same", but it also allows the debates carried on through the films to be more transparent than within more flexible Hollywood genres. In a sense, each significant Western sums up the genre as it exists to that point, makes new arguments, and by its unconvincing and unresolved spots leaves questions for other films to answer. (Simmon 2003: xiv)

This repetitiveness is the very reason behind the relative ease of making a structural analysis of the genre, where "it should be possible to place a limited number of films and filmmakers at the center of our investigations and, by spinning short connections to related films and figures, still arrive at a relatively full genre history within a reasonable length" (Simmon 2003: xiv). In this section, an overview of major Western tropes will be established and applied to the close analysis of a select but representative sample of comics. This will build upon the categories as presented by Tompkins (1992), Simmon (2003), Zan (2010b) and Villerbu (2015) in their studies on Western films and comics, respectively.

Jane Tompkins' study *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns* (1992) takes into account both films and literature and provides an interesting analysis of the genre. She develops a framework that she applies to five case studies focused on the following categories: 'death', 'women and the language of men', 'landscape', 'horses' and 'cattle'. She endeavours to explore the following questions:

> Why is the Western haunted by death? Why does it hate women and language so much? What messages does the landscape send? Why

are there horses everywhere, and why don't people pay them more attention? What is implied by the fact that the raising of cattle for human consumption forms the economic basis of the life that Westerns represent? Some of the answers are problematic and raise questions about the values of Westerns. For Western narratives promote the view that reality is material, not spiritual; they are obsessed with pain and celebrate the suppression of feeling; their taciturn heroes want to dominate the land, and sometimes to merge with it completely—they are trying to get away from other people and themselves. (Tompkins 1992: 6-7)

A notorious omission amongst Tompkins' categories are Native Americans. While they are not always present in Westerns—there are many Westerns without any American Indians—they remain arguably one of the main (and more controversial) elements of the genre. Tompkins offers an explanation for this absence:

One of the things that lets you know you're in a Western is the presence of Indians. Yet, to the surprise of some, including myself, Indians will not figure significantly in this book. When I sat down to watch Western movies in 1986 (the novels are a somewhat different story), I expected to see a great many Indians. […] But the Indians I expected did not appear. […] The absence of Indians in Western movies, by which I mean the lack of their serious presence as individuals, is so shocking once you realize it that, even for someone acquainted with outrage, it's hard to admit. […] I never cried at anything I saw in a Western, but I cried when I realized this: that after the Indians had been decimated by disease, removal, and conquest, and after they had been caricatured and degraded in Western movies, I had ignored them too. The human beings who populated this continent before the Europeans came and who still live here, whose image the Western traded on—where are they? Not in Western films. And not in this book, either. (Tompkins 1992: 7-10)

Unlike Tompkins' assessment of the Western film genre, this thesis includes Native Americans as one of the major elements of the Western. There is one substantial difference between Western comics and films when it comes to the representation of American Indians (much like the one Tompkins herself points out between films and novels): their physical appearance. Writing about Western films in an attempt to denounce the "travesty of native peoples," Tompkins (1992: 10) writes that

> Indians are repressed in Westerns—there but not there—in the same way women are. And when they do appear they are even more unreal. […] How do you take Charles Bronson and Anthony Quinn seriously, when they're surrounded by nameless figures who *are* natives? (Tompkins 1992: 9)

This is an issue that comics, like novels, need not necessarily confront. This chapter will reflect later on the ways in which Native Americans are represented in *bande dessinée*—not only physically, but also culturally—and how these representations are respected (or not) in their translations.

Tompkins (1992: 7) also presents her study as innovative in the way her object of analysis was both novels and films, unlike most other studies,

> For when you read a Western novel or watch a Western movie on television, you are in the same world no matter what the medium: the hero is the same, the story line is the same, the setting, the values, the actions are the same. The media draw on each other: movies and television programs are usually based on novels and short stories; […] So when I say "Western" I mean everything from a comic book or a fifteen-minute radio show to a feature film or a full-length novel. […] Just as you know, when you turn the television on, whether you're

watching a science fiction serial or a sitcom, you know when you're in a Western.

As stated in Chapter 1, the object of this thesis is precisely the question of the genre's representation in Franco-Belgian comics and in their translations. Tompkins' model and typology will thus be extended to Western *bande dessinée*, combining her interests with the representation of the Western in a corpus constituted specifically of comics. This will be achieved by relying on Tangi Villerbu's (2015) foundational historical analysis of Western *bande dessinée*, presented by the author as an introduction to the historicization of the Western genre in Franco-Belgian comics. Here the author establishes analytical categories that broadly overlap with those described by Tompkins (1992) and other scholars of the genre in different media. In his monograph on the history of the Western genre in *bande dessinée*, Villerbu surveys the field of Western *bande dessinée* and the thematic evolution of the genre in the twentieth century and he posits that Western *bande dessinée* cartoonists can be divided in two main generations (2015: 200-201). A first, pioneering generation—those born in the 1920s who made their professional debut in the 1940s and 1950s and were influenced by Golden Age Western films and "traditions narratives hors de la bande dessinée" (201)—and a second generation, those born between the 1930s and the 1950s, who were influenced by the Western comics of the 1940s and 1950s and by revisionist and Spaghetti Westerns.

Unlike Villerbu who focuses on authorship and generation, Martha Zan (2010b), analyses questions of tradition and approach in Western comics and establishes a clear distinction between two different trends in Western comics: the fantastic tradition, theoretically aimed at young readers, and the realistic illustration of the American West, targeted at adult readers. Alongside many other Western scholars, she argues that the genre is defined by three major elements: the *setting*, or the Western United States where she includes a geographical extension to Alaska, Canada and Mexico but also (and less predictably) to Australia and Argentina; the *period*, which would be the second half of the 19th century; and the *characters* "who lived

in this time and place" (Zan 2010b: 685).

This thesis departs from Zan's typology with regard to the second and the third elements. If the geographical setting is extended to entirely different places, like Australia, one would therefore have to adjust the chronological period accordingly. The point here is that the elements that made the Western genre in the later decades of the 19th century in the United States are not present in other latitudes, or not at the same time in history. As for the third element (characters), if one agrees to include South America or Australia as plausible locations for a Western, a different cast of characters than the usual protagonists of the American Western genre appear. As an example, both a Texas cowboy and an Argentinian gaucho ride horses, but the cultural similarities would end there, and this is without considering debates about the breed of horses or cattle.[36] Interestingly, one of many points that could be raised here would be the importance of cultural adaptations in the Western genre as one of the elements that adds to the genre's universal appeal. Villerbu (2015) adds to Zan's (2010b) three main elements the depiction of *violence* as a common thread to be found running throughout the Western genre. Based on Martha Zan's (2010b) classification, the main framework adopted in what follows for the study of Westerns is threefold, as defined by the three major elements that she mentions: *setting, period* and *characters*. In order to provide a more nuanced and detailed prism through which to examine each of these three main categories, the following three sections link the three main tropes that can be found in Westerns (including most pulps, paintings, photographs, films and of course, comics), respectively: ethnic stereotypes (setting), lawlessness (period), and gender stereotypes (characters).

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[36] This could raise the point of the debatable historical accuracy portrayed in Westerns in general and in Western comics, with for instance, the tendencies towards the amalgamation of Native American identities, a reductionist ethnic representation of cowboys, or the ubiquitous presence of *saguaros*. The last two examples will not be addressed in this thesis, yet the representation of Native Americans will be analysed in Section 3.1 and in chapters 3, 4, and 5.

3.1. Ethnic Stereotypes

The history of the American frontier can be summarized in the Homestead Acts that legally attributed land ownership to settlers after 1862; the concept of Manifest Destiny and the famous quotation attributed to congressman and editor Horace Greeley (1811-1872): "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country" (Fuller 2004). However, "the country" was not one but many territories and the West was far from being an inhospitable wasteland or a virginal Garden of Eden only there for the taking by the new American nation. From the original thirteen colonies under the rule of the British Empire, the people now known as Americans went on to become one of the fiercest colonizers in recent history. The Western, as a foundational genre for the American psyche, is a mythical representation of this. Colonization is thus at the heart of the nation and at the core of the Western genre.[37] Who were the colonizers and what did they colonize? Colonists of the American frontier are mostly portrayed as pioneers, cowboys, soldiers. The conquest of the West is the colonization and domestication of a territory as diverse as the peoples that inhabited it. The opposition between civilization and savagery underlies the process of colonization of the frontier, as a *Lucky Luke* panel from the album *Les Collines noires* shows, reflecting the atemporal and cultural significance of congressman Horace Greeley's historical quote cited above, not only in the construction of the American nation but also beyond its borders (see Figure 1).

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[37] See, for instance, Slotkin (1973), or Langford (2009).

Figure 1. *Lucky Luke* 21 – *Les Collines noires*. © DUPUIS 1963, by Goscinny & Morris © DARGAUD ÉDITEUR PARIS 1971 © LUCKY COMICS 2019. Reproduced with permission.

Behind the epic narratives of a nation in the making, fighting for values like liberty and the pursuit of happiness, is hidden a darker story of dispossession and land exploitation, of "the ruthless despoiling of the continent, the arrogance of American expansionism, the pathetic tale of the Indians, anti-Mexican and anti-Chinese nativism" (Hofstader 1968: 103-104). Westerns often portray a gallery of popular characters, but the myth throws into oblivion a much wider diversity that goes beyond cowboys and Indians. As a reproduction of cinematic clichés, Western comics reflect for the most part Hollywood's representations.[38] Nevertheless, the spread of the genre onto European shores and the historical evolution of mentalities could have changed this to some extent.

The Swiss cartoonist Derib was, like Jean Giraud and many European artists, an advocate of a return to a simpler life, closer to nature. For Derib, Native American cultures embodied the very values of these tenets, present in scholarly works like Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes Tropiques* (1955) or *La Pensée sauvage* (1962) which advocate the richness of cultures considered as primitive by traditional western scholarship and highlight their

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[38] As the directors of *Reel Injun* argue (Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes 2009): "In over 4000 films, Hollywood has shaped the image of Native Americans. Classic westerns like *They Died with Their Boots On* created stereotypes. Later blockbusters like *Little Big Man*, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* and *Dances with Wolves* began to dispel them. Not until a renaissance in Native cinema did films like *Once Were Warriors* and *Smoke Signals* portray Native people as human beings. 100 years of cinema defining the Native American image to the world."

contributions to other societies that are supposedly more sophisticated. The interest in vanishing—or extinct—Native American civilizations was ingrained in a context of decolonization and civil rights struggles of oppressed indigenous social groups when "Native American people became a great allegorical tool to stand in for virtually any oppressed people" (Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes 2009). This led to the creation of organizations such as the American Indian Movement.[39] The lively cultural issues of the 1960s seem to persist. In 2004, Steven Conn made this pivotal reflection in his book about Native Americans and their place in history as written by the colonizer:

> In 1903, W.E.B. DuBois wrote, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," and thus penned perhaps the most enduring pronouncement on the state of America ever made. By the time DuBois wrote, America's racial "problem" had become, on a host of levels, a matter of black and white. The color line, in DuBois's view, separated white from black. [...] DuBois may have seen the world in black and white when he wrote in 1903, but when he was born in 1868, the nation's racial dynamic came in three colors: black, white, and red. (Conn 2004: 1)

Derib's Western *bandes dessinées Buddy Longway* and, particularly, *Red Road* tackle the theme of the 'color line' from a critical stance. However, this shift in ideologies is not always present. This is evident in some Franco-Belgian *bandes dessinées* which evidence that personal idiosyncrasies and the social evolution of mentalities are more of a determining factor in this evolution than the geographical setting (Figure 2). In an early representation of American Indians in the black and white first edition of Hergé's (1932: 39)

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[39] The American Indian Movement (AIM) was created by Dennis Banks, Eddie Benton Banai, Clyde Bellecourt and George Mitchell in Minneapolis (Minnesota) in 1968, to provide greater social visibility of Native Americans and defend their civil rights, organising protests such as the occupation of Alcatraz Island from 1969 to 1971, or The Longest Walk (a five-month march from San Francisco to Washington D.C.) in 1978.

Tintin en Amérique, the Native American tribe that captures Tintin is parodically identified as "les Orteils-Ficelés." A later edition of the album, redrawn and coloured in the 1940s, modifies this and identifies the tribe as "les Pieds-Noirs" (Hergé 1946: 21), in a clear iteration of intertextual references to Algeria and colonization in post-Second World War *bande dessinée* which has been addressed by scholars such as McKinney (2011). Grady too argues that "the contours of the American Indian Wars narrative could reveal conflict strategies relating to the ongoing decolonial warfare in [...] Algeria, as France tried to maintain its imperious grip upon its colonial holdings" (2017: 228).

Figure 2. *Tintin – Tintin en Amérique*. © HERGÉ-MOULINSART 2019, by Hergé. All rights reserved. Courtesy of Moulinsart.

In Western *bande dessinée*, such as in Willy Lambil and Raoul Cauvin's *Les Tuniques bleues* albums *Bronco Benny*, *Black Face*, *El Padre*, or *Captain Nepel*, the cartoonists include American Indian, African American, Hispanic, or Asian characters in the narratives. The speech balloons contribute to their ethnic characterization, with the frequent (and objectionable) use of linguistic features that aim to reflect language differences such as the phonetic transcription of stereotyped accents for the voices of African Americans, Mexicans or Asians, or the use of French *petit nègre* for Native American speech (Figures 3 and 4), a French equivalent for what Ojibway film critic

Jesse Wente dubs as Hollywood's "Tonto speak."[40] This reflects the 1930s transformation of Native Americans into brutal savages in an "ingenious act of colonialism" of the film industry that "robb[ed] [American Indian] nations of an identity and group[ed] them into one" (Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes 2009).[41]
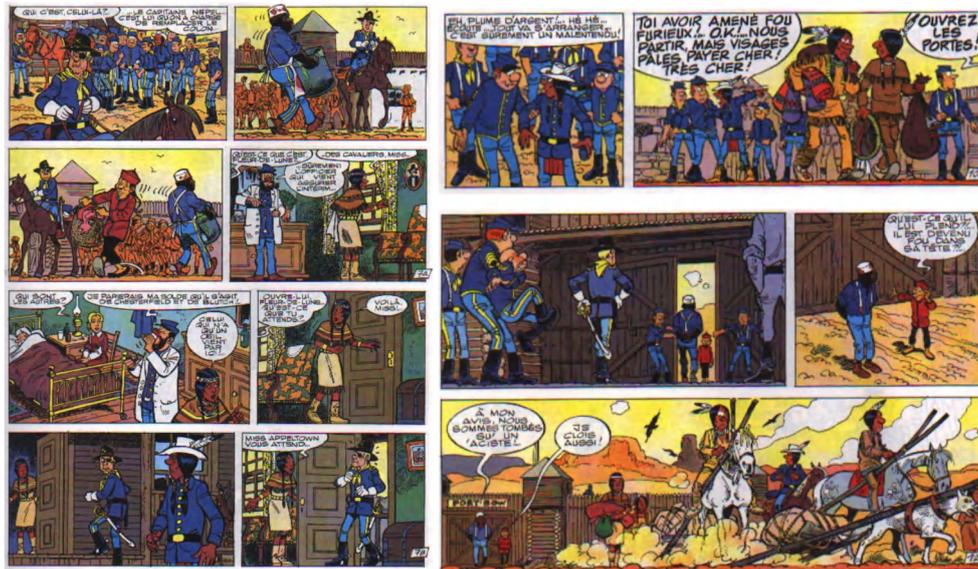
Figure 3. *Les Tuniques bleues* 35 – *Captain Nepel*. © DUPUIS 1993, by Lambil & Cauvin. www.dupuis.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

Figure 4. *Les Tuniques bleues* 17– *El Padre*. © DUPUIS 1981, by Lambil & Cauvin. www.dupuis.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

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[40] Wente's term is a reference to Tonto, the Native American sidekick of the Lone Ranger.
[41] This feature is not limited to Western *bande dessinée*; the Black pirate lookout in many albums of the popular series *Astérix*, for instance, shares the same linguistic characterization.

This linguistic representation, intended to be humorous, can however be considered as offensive or discriminatory amongst members of such communities and the translation of these *bandes dessinées* in countries such as the United States—with Hispanic, Native American, African American and Asian populations—may prove to be a socially and culturally challenging task.[42] Indeed, the panel in Figure 4 shows the English translation of *El Padre*, in which the speech of the Mexican Díaz is translated in standard English transcription (and a translator's footnote is added to explain the term "*PEONES*", kept in the original Spanish language in the speech balloon). In the *Lucky Luke* albums, differences in translation strategies are visible in the English versions of Morris and Goscinny's albums, as for instance in *La Diligence* and *Calamity Jane* (Figures 5 and 6). The album *La Diligence* (an adaptation of John Ford's film *Stagecoach*) portrays American Indians as "DE GRANDS ENFANTS" (Figure 5, panel 1). Although the English translation keeps this colonialist characterization, the translator adds a footnote to clarify that "[I]N REALITY, PLAINS INDIANS DID NOT MAKE TOTEM POLES," thus adopting a visible peritextual presence. The album *Calamity Jane* portrays a group of Apaches that do not even speak French *petit nègre*, but a combination of onomatopoeias and familiar register.[43] The English translation uses instead a combination of equivalent English-language onomatopoeias and Western Apache words that adequately fit into the context of the story (Figure 6). This strategy of using Native American languages in Western comics written by cartoonists (or translators) that do not belong to American Indian cultures, although arguably representing an evolution from the traditional uses of the colonialist derogatory utterances, may backfire in unexpected ways.

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[42] See Chapter 4 for analysis of the translations of these linguistic features in the United States.

[43] Using, for instance, words like "fissa" (short form of *faire fissa* [to hurry]), which is a loan word from the Arabic language, introduced in the French lexicon by French soldiers in North Africa in the late 19th century (Duneton 1998: 268).

Figure 5. *Lucky Luke* 33 – *La Diligence*. © DARGAUD ÉDITEUR PARIS 1968, by Goscinny & Morris © LUCKY COMICS 2019. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 6. *Lucky Luke* 30 – *Calamity Jane*. © DUPUIS 1967, by Goscinny & Morris. © DARGAUD ÉDITEUR PARIS 1971 © LUCKY COMICS 2019 Reproduced with permission.

Philippe Gourmelen and Antonio Hernández Palacios are amongst the cartoonists that also use the Western Apache language in *Mac Coy*'s album *Trafiquants de scalps*, for instance, but this appropriation of Native American languages in European popular culture may be a double-edged sword. This quest for authenticity can be challenged when closely scrutinized in research that exposes how some of these linguistic appropriations are mistaken. As Villerbu (2015) posits, after the 1960s Western *bande dessinée* authors,

> "participent [...] aux révolutions dans le genre, dans la sensibilité à l'environnement, à l'impérialisme américain et de manière corrélée à la cause indienne [mais] dans l'ambiguïté le plus souvent: [...] les auteurs utilisent les langues indiennes, se documentent, mais ils construisent bien des œuvres de fiction, des récits qui succèdent à d'autres, qui se superposent sans cesse." (Villerbu 2015: 220)

In Michel Faure's (2013) album *Camargue Rouge*, the authors critically revisit an historic encounter between a group of Dakota (Sioux) Native Americans who travelled with William F. Cody (known as Buffalo Bill) as part of his Western show and a community of local Camarguais near the town of Gaillargues in the French south-east. This *bande dessinée* is an adaptation of a short story by Jean Vilane which narrates a fictionalized episode of the tour of France of the *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show.* This travelled through several European countries, bringing the myth of the Wild West to European shores, "[s]ans doute pour laisser dans l'ombre toutes les injustices, tout le sang et les horreurs commises par les conquérants" (Faure 2013: 12).

Zaretsky gives the following account of the encounter between the locals, amongst whom was Folco de Baroncelli, and Dakota chiefs Iron Tail and Lone Bull:[44]

> On 7 December 1905 the scrubby fields outside of Le Cailar, a village in the French Camargue, became a stage of history—or at least a certain rereading of history. A group of *gardians* had gathered there that morning in order to select several bulls for an *abrivado* in the neighboring town of Gaillargues.[45] [46] The exercise was followed by breakfast with some unusual visitors who had, we are told by the narrator of the tale, watched the morning's events with great interest. Among them were two Dakota Sioux chiefs, Iron Tail and Lone Bull. The narrator reports: "Needless to say, the *gardians* worked wonders. They were already instinctively drawn to the Redskins. There may well be a hidden connection that ties us to the destiny of these last representatives of the superb and mysterious race that the white man

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[44] For a detailed account of Folco de Baroncelli's encounter with the Dakota who travelled with *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show*, see de Baroncelli (2010).
[45] In the French region of Camargue, a gardian (also garduan, or gouardian) is a "pasteur de chevaux ou de taureaux sauvages; celui qui mène au pâturage commun les chevaux, mulets et vaches d'un village," according to Frédéric Mistral (1979b: 24).
[46] An abrivado (also abrivo, or abribo) is defined as a "préliminaire des grandes courses de taureaux, qui consiste à les lancer à outrance, à leur arrivée dans une ville, escortés d'un escadron de cavaliers," in Mistral (1979a: 45).

is exterminating in the name of civilization." Following the *abrivado*, "*les chefs indiens*" and "the good *gardians* Bérard, Drouin, Runel, Baroncelli, and some others" breakfasted together. […] The account, published in the Provençal language paper *Prouvenço*, appeared under the pseudonym Pichòti-Braio (Petit Pantalon, or Shorty Pants). It was in fact the work of Folco de Baroncelli. Like an ancient bard, Baroncelli had created an account in which the poet appears as an actor in the very narrative he is recounting. […] Just how did the Camarguais and Americans communicate? […] Whatever in fact occurred that day outside Le Cailar, Baroncelli was marked forever. The Camargue became "*le Far-West*", where Baroncelli and friends would play cowboys and Indians. (Zaretsky 2004: 61-63)

In *Camargue Rouge*, the author's effort to instil the narrative with greater authenticity is evident in the insertion of native American languages. As the panels reproduced in Figure 7 show (Faure 2013: 13) a Native American addresses Folco de Baroncelli with the following words "[B]EH SANASHADO BÉOÏSHKAN", translated into French in another panel as "[J]E SUIS AVEC MON PEUPLE ET TOUT VA BIEN DEVANT MOI", when it is in fact Western Apache for "I pray to live long,"[47] whereas "[b]eh nashalolezh nde; nasheyo sichisigon zhondolezh" ["I walk with people; ahead of me all is well"] would be the correct Western Apache for the translation provided in the comic book. This is part of a prayer to Stenatlihan,[48] according to Edward S. Curtis' interviews with Apache medicine-man Bizhuan in the White River Agency at Fort Apache, as quoted in Gidley (2003: 44). The example in *Camargue Rouge* is telling of a certain reductionist approach to Native American cultures that is common to American and European Westerns. As director Jim Jarmusch claims in the documentary *Reel Injun*, this "perpetuate[s] the idea that [Native Americans] are now mythologic, […] they don't even *really*

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[47] From Gidley (2003: 44). This example will be analysed and discussed further in Chapter 3.

[48] In the Apache Creation Myth, Stenatlihan, also transcribed as Stenatliha ("Woman Without Parents"), was created by Kuterastan ("One Who Lives Above"). See "Mythology: Creation Myth" in Curtis (1907: 23-34); and also a more concise account in "Apache Creation Story" in Hausman and Kapoun (2009: 46-47).

exist, they're like dinosaurs" (Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes 2009 [own emphasis]).
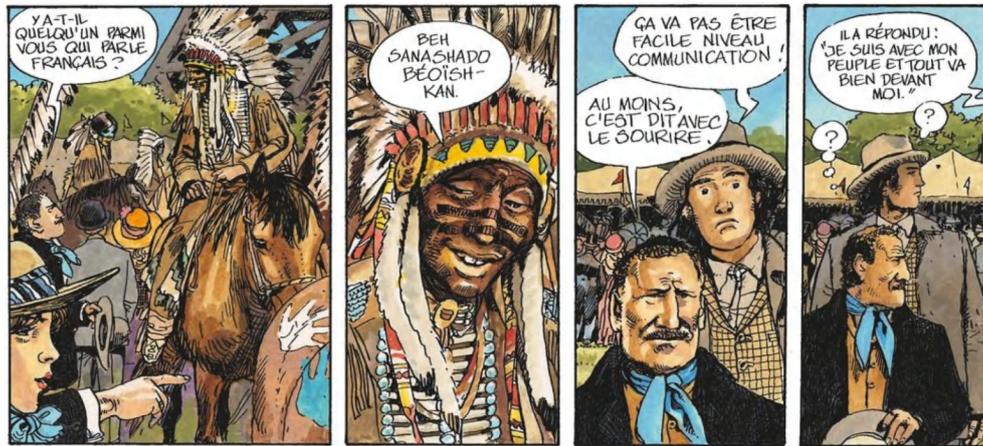
Figure 7. *Camargue Rouge*, by Michel Faure. © ÉDITIONS GLÉNAT 2013. Reproduced with permission.

3.2. Lawlessness

As the Western myth has instilled in the collective imaginary, the American frontier was a violent setting. It was the Wild West, as portrayed by dime novel writers, Western novelists and cinematographers, cartoonists, the *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show*, and also many historians and biographers. However, in his article "Field Notes: Overdosing on Dodge City", the historian Robert R. Dykstra (1996: 505) challenges both the myth, and the work of Western historians such as Richard Slotkin (1973, 1985, 1998) or Daniel Boorstin (1973), and stresses "two influential misconceptions about the Old West". The first of these misconceptions is "that the typical frontier community was sociologically cohesive" (Dykstra 1996: 505). The second misconception is, for Dykstra, "that these [...] frontier communities were relentlessly homicidal [and] routinely experienced virtually continuous handgun violence" (Dykstra 1996: 506). The American frontier, in common with most borderlands through history, was, sociologically, a highly diverse, shifting territory characterized by cultural exchange and mutual enrichment between diverse communities. The American frontier was a mobile area that was defined by different chronological and cultural stages in the history of

the conquest of the West and in the tales of the Western genre. The frontier went from the early frontier west of the Appalachians to the south-west frontier with Mexico, through different stages of expansion including the north-south geographic, cultural and economic division that continued until 1865. This geography had a direct influence on the colonization of the West. Historically, violence and conflict were an inherent part of the frontier, yet it was a frontier that was neither continually under siege, nor always clearly established.

However, most Western fiction portrays mythologized narratives of frontier communities marked by conflict, violence, and the lowest human passions and behaviours. All of these tensions are represented in Westerns—including comics, such as Alexis and Lauzier's (1984) *bande dessinée* series *Al Crane* (initially serialized from 1976 to 1978) which includes explicit scenes—through the constant atmosphere of lawlessness, violence and unruliness where only the fittest prevail. This violence is set in the many wars and confrontations that are part of the history and the myth of the Western genre: the American Civil War (1861-1865), the Indian Wars (1823-1924, but dating back to the early days of the colonial period), the Mexican War (1846-1848), and the iconic shootouts between lawmen and outlaws, like the oft-depicted gunfight at the OK Corral (1881). The action depicted in the panels reproduced below in Figure 8, in which Blueberry shoots and kills an outlaw, is representative of the Western trope of lawlessness in popular culture and will be analysed in Chapter 5 from a translational perspective.

Figure 8. *Blueberry* 6 – *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*. © DARGAUD 1969, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

Yet, Dykstra (1996) notes, citing research by Rosa (1964) and Settle (1966), that the myth of the Wild West has greatly exaggerated historical facts. For instance,

> many legendary western law officers and outlaws actually killed few men. [...] Over his lifetime, excluding his military service, [Wild Bill] Hickok accounted for either seven or eight kills [and] victims of the Jesse James gang during its lengthy career numbered 16—about one per year. (Dykstra 1996: 512)

Dykstra concedes that the Indian Wars were "a special case" in which the highest tally of deaths was constituted by "the massacres of non-combatants—women, children, the elderly—by testosterone-laden young males from both sides," but deaths in combat were "not particularly large" (Dykstra 1996: 513). However, Western films, particularly Spaghetti Westerns and other fictional Western narratives, including comics, tend to rely on fictionalized narratives of the above-mentioned wars and mythologized shootouts, even though the ubiquity of violent scenes in the Western genre was considered unsuitable for young French readers, as stated in the *Loi du 16 juillet 1949 sur les publications destinées à la*

jeunesse.[49] Consequently, cartoonists and publishers in France and Belgium, as was the case in the United States with the Comics Code Authority, had to self-censor the scripts and the panels of their *bandes dessinées* in order to see them published. The impact of this on the *Blueberry* series and its translations will be developed in Chapter 5.

3.3. Gender Stereotypes

In her book *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns*, Jane Tompkins (1992) provides the counterpoint to Scott Simmon's (2003: xiii-xiv) quote in the first chapter of this thesis on the reasons that would explain the generalized aversion to Westerns, when she writes in her introduction:

> I make no secret of the fact: I love Westerns. I love to hear violins with the clip-clop of hooves behind them and see the cactus-punctuated sky spread out behind the credits. When the horses pound toward the camera and pull up in a cloud of dust, my breath gets short. (Tompkins 1992: 3)

In a punchy opening paragraph, she knocks down Simmon's statement that "women especially," in his own words, "have come to avoid Westerns" (Simmon 2003: xiii). However, most historians of the genre agree that Westerns are overwhelmingly made by men and are mainly intended for a male public (see, for instance, Villerbu 2015: 60-67, 178). In this regard, mainstream Westerns and comics have traditionally shared stereotypical representations of heterosexual masculinity. The Western genre generally

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[49] Article 2 of the French *Loi du 16 juillet 1949 sur les publications destinées à la jeunesse* states that "[l]es publications visées [...] ne doivent comporter aucune illustration, aucun récit, aucune chronique, aucune rubrique, aucune insertion présentant sous un jour favorable le banditisme, le mensonge, le vol, la paresse, la lâcheté, la haine, la débauche ou tous actes qualifiés crimes ou délits ou de nature à démoraliser l'enfance ou la jeunesse" (Journal Officiel de la République Française 1949: 7006).

depicts the American West in the late 19th century as a (violent, white) male-dominated enterprise, as a close study of the Western's usual characters shows: white men are often considered to be over-represented in many Westerns, to the detriment of women and the "racial Other" (Langford 2009: 5). This gender hierarchy seems firmly established, as well as the race hierarchy, where altruist and modern white, Anglo-Saxon settlers (mainly lone individuals) shall prevail above all other social categories, be they Native Americans, Mexicans, Asians or African Americans. Women are often heavily stereotyped in the Western genre and are generally confined to roles "in objectified form as things to be protected, directed and dominated, albeit often paternalistically" (Langford 2009: 3). Early on in the history of the genre, few female characters managed to escape this gender bias, yet this was mostly the case for those based on real-life, historical (albeit mythologized) figures like Annie Oakley or Calamity Jane who embrace a violent setting and cross traditional gender boundaries. Villerbu (2015: 211) points out that even a female author in Western *bande dessinée*, Laurence Harlé, does not bring a different perspective, as if the pervasive codes of the genre took precedence over any significant revolution in gender representation.[50]

Franco-Belgian Western *bande dessinée* has a small—but significant—list of female characters that are central or at least meaningful in the narratives. However stereotyped, women can arguably be considered as characters central to many Westerns. Indeed, the women of the frontier are a key element in many Western narratives. These range from Cora Munro in *The Last of the Mohicans* (Cooper 1826) whom "Cooper has set apart" as "a character of ideal qualities, and he has confined them within a 'lower class citizen',[51] an atypical female of mixed blood, and has thus ultimately

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[50] Beyond Laurence Harlé, there is an increasingly growing presence of female cartoonists in Western *bande dessinée*, like Loo Hui Phang, writer of the one-shot Western *L'Odeur des garçons affamés* (2016), or Séverine Gauthier, the scriptwriter of the comics series *Virginia* (2019).

[51] Cooper's Cora Munro "combines the sensuous and erotic appeal of the 'dark woman' with the spiritual gifts of the White or 'redemptive' woman. […] Women of this kind are destroyed in novels of the Cooper tradition, because they tempt the White hero to miscegenate union that would compromise the White and civilized character of the new American nation" (Slotkin 1998: 206). Giraud's and Charlier's *Blueberry* comics also show this tension, portrayed in characters like Southern belle gone rogue Lily Calloway (Chihuahua Pearl), and Chini, Cochise's fictional daughter.

disregarded gender, class, and race, in his efforts to redefine a standard"
(Harding 1999: 40) to Debbie Edwards (Natalie Wood) in John Ford's (1956)
iconic film *The Searchers*. In the harsh and violent setting of Westerns, some
female characters emerge in *bande dessinée*, yet always, *in fine*, in
stereotyped roles, as posited by Villerbu (2015: 207-211). In *Blueberry*, this
is the hypersexualized Chihuahua Pearl (see Figure 9). Charlier and Giraud
created an ambiguous saloon girl who embodies the patriarchal prejudice
that "une figure féminine libre et autonome ne peut surgir que des marges
de la société" (Villerbu 2015: 187) and whose "feminité exacerbée lui permet
paradoxalement aussi d'adopter les signes les plus évidents de masculinité"
(189) such as brutality, foul language and "un symbole [...] de pouvoir: le
cigare" (187). This representation of Chihuahua Pearl in the *Blueberry*
bandes dessinées and its translation and adaptation will be analysed in
Chapter 5.

However, some *bande dessinée* authors, coinciding with the social changes
brought about by the countercultural and feminist movements of the 1960s,
have altered the traditional representation of women in the Western genre,
with characters such as Chinook in Derib's *Buddy Longway* series (1972-
2006), Verna Fremont in Greg and Hermann's (1995) series *Comanche*
(serialized from 1969 to 2002), or Lily Calloway (Chihuahua Pearl) and Chini,
in Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series (1963-2007). In their respective
series, all these women are recurrent or central characters that, to varying
degrees, could have subverted gender stereotypes and revolutionized *bande
dessinée*. Yet their creators, constrained by the "milieu éditorial Franco-
Belge qui le leur interdisait" (Villerbu 2015: 207), and by the same censorship
that regulated the inclusion of violence in *bande dessinée* (Villerbu 2015:
179-180), failed (or chose not) to transcend the Western genre's traditional
gender stereotypes as will be discussed in the case study volumes of
Blueberry.

Figure 9. *Blueberry* 15 – *Ballade pour un cercueil.* © DARGAUD 1974, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

4. Intermediality and the Western Canon

In Francophone Europe, where domestic Western films once competed with their American counterparts,[52] the Western genre is traditionally most visible in comics as evidenced by the steady publication of popular series in Belgium and France in the aftermath of the Second World War, like *Lucky Luke* (1946-), *Blueberry* (1963-) or *Les Tuniques bleues* (1968-). In the wake of WWII, the Western genre accounted for a large percentage of comics production in France and Belgium. National *bandes dessinées* and series were heavily inspired by the American Western comics tradition but also directly by Western films. The former can be considered as the basis from which many French and Belgian *bande dessinée* artists and writers drew their inspiration whereas the latter is proof that Western comics is one of the most intermedial genres in the comics medium. As Roger Sabin (2010: 77) argues, this medium has its "own properties." Sabin goes on to say that comics "generate their own 'kick': they are not 'movies on paper', and nor are they like some half-way house between 'literature' and 'art'" (77). The cross-fertilization of comics and film is nothing new but rather a long-established cultural practice. It might even be argued that this cross-pollination is not limited to the 7th and the 9th arts, but also includes the 8th art: photography. Thierry Groensteen makes a case for this in an article on photography and *bande dessinée* (Groensteen 2014):

> Bande dessinée et photographie ont le même âge, l'invention de la « littérature en estampes » par Rodolphe Töpffer étant absolument contemporaine de la réalisation de la première photographie par

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[52] Joë Hamman (1883-1974), a French filmmaker, actor and artist, is credited as one of the pioneers of the Western genre (Froehly 2014). From the early years of the 20th century until the end of WWII, he directed such films as *Le Desperado* (1907), *Les Aventures de Buffalo Bill* (1909) or *La Chevauchée infernale* (1911). He also contributed (mainly in Western *bandes dessinées*) to the magazines *Coq Hardi*, *Coeurs Vaillants* and *Tintin* between 1947 and 1957.

Nicéphore Niepce en 1827 (l'année même où le Genevois dessine la première version de l'histoire de M. Vieux Bois).

An interesting hybrid form is that of the photonovel,[53] with adaptations of Hollywood western films and television shows blossoming in the 1960s. Photonovels first appeared in Italy in the 1940s and were widely used as a form of adaptation of popular films to later spawn original creations. They reproduced a usually abridged version of the film's storyboard in sequential form, with the reproduction of still frames combined with adapted dialogues and speech balloons and represented a cost-effective alternative to the option of having a team of artist(s) and scriptwriter(s) working on a full, illustrated comic-book adaptation. Some are closer to a comic-book format and layout (including text balloons), whereas others are simply a version of the film script with a variable number of screenshots that resemble a printed version of the motion picture and do not share most of the features of comics, aside from the sequential layout that is also characteristic of films. However, adaptations in comics and film versions raise different issues. As Barker and Sabin (1995: 146) argue:

[T]he history of comics in both Britain and America is a history of nervousness about their cultural position. When, therefore, a comics publisher decides to do a version of a classic book, there has almost always been a hint of a genuflection to "serious culture". […] the comics rarely, if ever, change the main elements of the plot or the sequence of events.

The relationships between Western comics and earlier iterations of the genre

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[53] For a detailed study of the photonovel, see Baetens, Jan. 2019. *The Film Photonovel: A Cultural History of Forgotten Adaptations*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

in other visual media, namely animated cartoons, photography, artwork and film, deserves greater attention, above all with regard to the representation of time. Hillary Chute (2016: 21) suggests that the comics medium "is about both stillness and movement, capture and narrative motion," and that comics "[diverge] from the more common documentary mediums of both photography and film in its temporal dimension." The panels from Derib's *Buddy Longway* series shown in Figure 19 (see Section 4.3) are a perfect illustration of this temporal complexity in which the "frame-gutter architecture" of the comics page "implies duration and is also the basis for many experiments with collapsing distinct temporal dimensions" (Chute 2016: 21).

As authors, such as Simmon (2003), argue, the Western is perhaps best represented in films. Yet, be as they may the contemporary embodiment of Westerns, cinema did not invent the Western genre. Hollywood cinema was certainly highly instrumental in its development but it was influenced by earlier visual representations: artwork and photography. In turn, both artwork and photography owe a great deal to artists that roamed the West trying to immortalize an evanescent culture that was already bound for destruction— such as George Catlin—or to document the westward expansion of the United States of America (see, for instance, Sandweiss 2002). This will be shown in the following sections that chart the visual intermediality that has impacted on Western representations in comics.

4.1. Graphic Narratives: Painting

The art of George Catlin (1796-1872) is unique insofar as he was the first white artist to depict Plains Native Americans in their own territories, as Benita Eisler (2013: 1) writes in her biography of the American painter:

> In spring 1832 the artist George Catlin, thirty-five years old, felt at the height of his powers. The West and the beauty of its native people had fired his talent with an energy and drive he had never known. He

worked like a man possessed. The very hairs on his brush seemed to exude sparks, and his likeness of chiefs and warriors inspired tribal leaders to call him "'a great *medicine white man*,'" indeed, "the greatest medicine man in the world," Catlin recalled, "for they said I had made *living beings*." (Original emphasis)

This quote is a telling example of the intercultural and atemporal power of images and visual representation. This study's principal interest lies in what was depicted and how it was represented. Catlin visually documented the daily lives of Native Americans, producing portraits of men, women and children and iconographic catalogues of weapons, such as shields and different types of tomahawks, and domestic artefacts like tobacco-pipes and medicine bags. He also documented domestic scenes, traditions and rituals, such as a Mandan Buffalo Dance or a Hidatsa Green Corn Dance. The interest that the American frontier raised at the time in Europe and among European elites is evidenced by Catlin's tour of London and Paris between 1844 and 1845 which included exhibitions of his works in the Paris Salon and the Louvre. Catlin journeyed five times beyond the frontier,[54] drawing mainly portraits of Native American tribal leaders and chiefs. He was arguably one of the foremost artists of the American frontier, although he was by no means the only one.[55] Amongst these artists are Catlin's contemporaries, and also prominent American and European painters that adopted the Western as a major theme in their compositions, such as Albert Bierstadt, Karl Bodmer, Charles M. Russell, or Frederic Remington.

4.1.1. Frederic Remington in *Lucky Luke*

Perhaps one of the most interesting cases of intermediality in Western comics is Morris' translation of actual paintings signed by Remington into the

[54] At the time of George Catlin's expeditions (1830-1836), the American frontier extended West beyond the Mississippi river, with Saint Louis, Missouri as its gateway.
[55] See also Tyler, Ron. 2019. *Western Art, Western History: Collected Essays*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

comics panels that feature in the *Lucky Luke* album *L'Artiste peintre*. Maurice de Bevere (1923-2001), widely known by his pen name Morris, is a central figure in Belgian *bande dessinée*. He is the father of two key contributions to comics: he coined the term *neuvième art* and he created *Lucky Luke*. His Western series, iconic not only in Belgium, France and Francophone countries but in other parts of the world, is arguably the third most recognisable in *bande dessinée* with *Tintin* and *Astérix*. Much has been written about Hergé's documentary work for *Tintin*'s adventures and about *Astérix*'s wit and puns (see, for instance, Delesse and Richet 2009), when *Lucky Luke* has both facets to a high degree. Morris created a humorous, subversive version of the frontier myth but also a well-documented one. He drew his inspiration from films, such as Anthony Mann's *Man of the West* (1958) (Bisson 2016: 12) but delved equally into American history, as evidenced by many characters and plots inspired by historical events (Pasamonik 2013b: 10), such as the construction of the Pacific Railroad (1863-1869) in *Des Rails sur la prairie* (Morris and Goscinny 1957). As Lagayette (2013: 99-100) suggests, Morris inscribes Lucky Luke in the canon of the Western genre by association with historical characters, artists and authors of the genre. As suggested in the following sections and in Chapter 3, this is a common strategy in Western *bande dessinée*, that did not travel always well in translation, as will be analysed in Chapter 4.

In the album *L'Artiste peintre*, Lucky Luke meets Western artist Frederic Remington, a major exponent of the Western genre who actively participated in the romanticized mythology of the American frontier. As Frederick Jackson Turner recorded in his works,[56] this nostalgia inspired "turn-of-the-century western painting" (Sandweiss 2002: 337) also included other artists such as the cowboy artist Charles M. Russell,

> [who] titled many of his paintings exhibitions *The West That Has Passed*, aptly characterizing the work created in his studio whose walls were hung with L.A. Huffman's photographic tributes to the

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[56] See, for instance, Turner 2008.

cowboy and Edward Curtis's photographic mementoes of the "vanishing race." (Sandweiss 2002: 337)

Figure 10. Left: *Lucky Luke* 70 – *L'Artiste peintre*. © LUCKY COMICS 2001, by Morris & De Groot. © LUCKY COMICS 2019. Reproduced with permission. / Right: *Friends or Foes? (The Scout)*. Oil on canvas, by Frederic Remington.
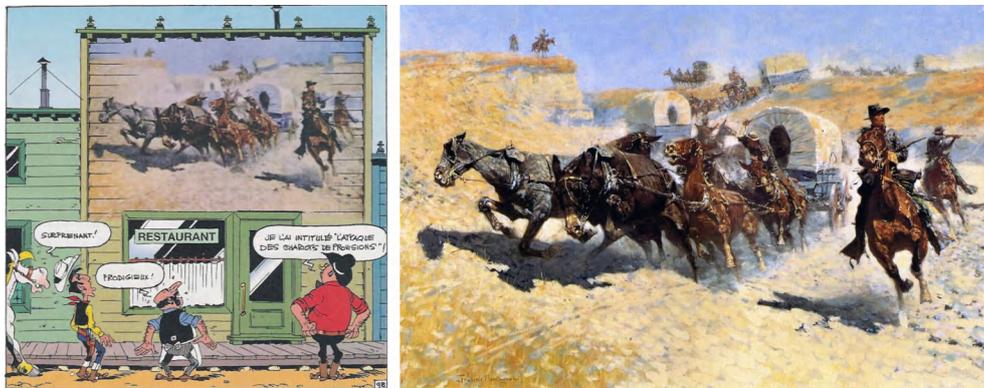
Figure 11. Left: *Lucky Luke* 70 – *L'Artiste peintre*. © LUCKY COMICS 2001, by Morris & De Groot. © LUCKY COMICS 2019. Reproduced with permission. / Right: *Attack on the Supply Wagons*. Oil on canvas, by Frederic Remington.

In two of the album's panels (Morris and De Groot 2001: 4, 11) Morris includes two of Remington's actual oil paintings on canvas, *Friends or Foes? (The Scout)*, and *Attack on the Supply Wagons*, both painted between 1902 and 1905 (See Figures 10 and 11, which show Morris' panels on the left facing Remington's original paintings on the right). In the parodic fashion typical of Morris, he draws by hand in the contiguous panel an exact reproduction of Remington's scout who becomes Nuage Bleu in the *bande dessinée*, a buffalo hunter who gets pins and needles in his legs (and so

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does his horse) after posing for Remington's painting for too long (Morris and De Groot 2001: 4). This intermedial superposition of real-life and fictional characters blurs the frontiers between myth and history, fact and fiction, to inscribe the (foreign) European *bandes dessinées* in the (domestic) American Western genre, as suggested by the final panels of *L'Artiste peintre* (Morris and De Groot 2001), in which an admiring Frederic Remington declares, "[s]i quelqu'un a sa place dans ma peinture Western, c'est bien toi!" (Figure 12, panel 1) and is drawn by Morris, painting a portrait of Lucky Luke and his horse Jolly Jumper riding into the sunset, in a *mise en abyme* of the iconic panel that ends most of *Lucky Luke*'s albums (see panel 3 in Figure 12). By translating Remington's paintings into his *bande dessinée*, Morris thus creates an intermedial palimpsest that endeavours to inscribe his poor lonesome cowboy in the canon of the Western genre yet with his trademark parodic twist.
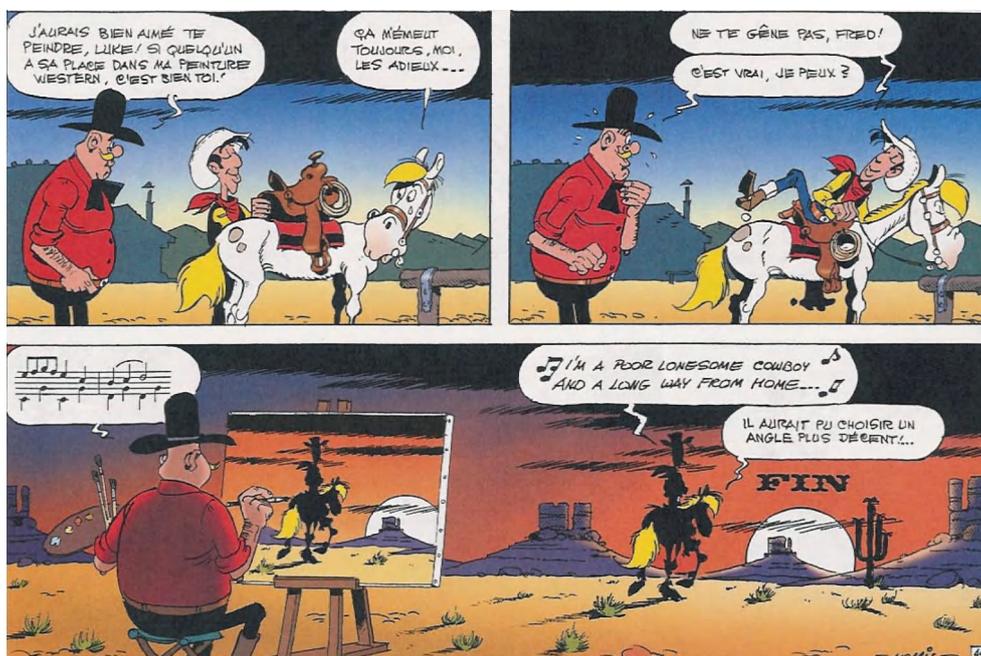
Figure 12. *Lucky Luke* 70 – *L'Artiste peintre*. © LUCKY COMICS 2001, by Morris & De Groot. © LUCKY COMICS 2019. Reproduced with permission.

4.2. Graphic Narratives: Photography

Martha A. Sandweiss posits that photography and the American West were "a new medium and a new place that came of age together in the nineteenth century" (2002: 2). With the invention of the daguerreotype in 1839 by the Frenchman Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre "by which nature herself, through the action of light, seemed to inscribe her own image on the surface of a small metal plate" (Sandweiss 2002: 2), a brave new world of possibilities opened up for the artists and chroniclers of the time and "quickly captured the American imagination" (2).[57] "[B]y the early 1840s, daguerreotypists were at work in the trans-Mississippi West" to document life on the frontier and to survey the new lands (see, for instance, Sandweiss 2002, Naef and Wood 1975, or Jurovics, Johnson, Willumson, and Stapp 2010). They pictured the landscapes "to capture visual evidence of the divine blessings bestowed upon the American nation," and the Native Americans, "largely to show that they would soon fade before the superior culture of the expanding United States" (Sandweiss 2002: 2). With the gradual development of photography, many photographers from the four corners of the world ventured into the West, as Palmquist and Kailbourn (2005: 1) write:

> Between the dawn of photography in 1839 and the close of the American Civil War in 1865, a surprisingly large number of photographers came to populate the region between the Mississippi River and the plains fronting the Rocky Mountains. […] It was a remarkably amorphous and diverse lot. They hailed from nearly every state in the then–United States, as well as Mexico, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, France, Denmark, Switzerland, and Germany. Others came from more unexpected locales like Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cuba, Martinique, and Ceylon.

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[57] In the *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1986), a daguerreotype is defined as "a photograph produced on a silver plate or a silver-covered copper plate which is made sensitive by the action of iodine or iodine and bromine and from which after exposure in the camera a latent image is developed by the vapor of mercury." The term derives from the inventor of this process, the Frenchman Louis Daguerre.

One individual, however, is well known for his pioneering documentary work on the American frontier. Edward Sheriff Curtis (1868-1952) thoroughly photographed and documented the remnants of the Wild West and Native American cultures from 1900 to 1930. Several studies have explored Curtis' work. These recognize one important element of his work: his photographs, like many photographs at the time, were staged "objects of historical romance, fictive images created together by photographer and subject" (Sandweiss 2002: 331). Firstly, photography was a new art and documentary form with many technical limitations in the early stages of its development, including the capture of movement. Secondly, at the time of Curtis' first journeys West, the frontier as later represented in Westerns had long disappeared. The government of the United States of America officially declared the frontier closed in 1890. "From the start, photographers working in the West understood the potential historical value of their work" (Sandweiss 2002: 329) to "[reverse] the purpose of travel" and bring "the strange and unfamiliar" (McLuhan 2001: 213) to faraway places and distant times.

The work of Morris in *Lucky Luke* provides, again, an example of the way in which the historical value of original photographs was translated to some of his albums' peritexts to make a case for authenticity. There is, for instance, the album *Sarah Bernhardt* (Morris, Fauche and Léturgie 1982), which caricatures Sarah Bernhardt in the realistic style that Morris showcases throughout the *Lucky Luke* series to translate many historic characters from a photograph (or the screen) to the panel. This includes in its peritext two authentic photographs of the French artist with a short biographical note (see Figure 13). Interestingly, Morris translates the peritext's photographs to the panels, with realistic hand-drawn images of newspapers "*The Morning News*" and "*The Moral Virtue*," and an autographed photograph of Sarah Bernhardt that contrast with the general cartoony drawing style of the series, thus blurring the borders between history and fiction.

Figure 13. *Lucky Luke* 50 –*Sarah Bernhardt*. © DARGAUD ÉDITEUR PARIS 1982, by Morris, Léturgie, and Fauche . © LUCKY COMICS 2019. Reproduced with permission.

As the above example shows, Morris' use of period photographs is not confined to peritexts. In common with many authors of *bande dessinée*, he relied on photographs and films to model comics characters and settings. Many critics have pointed to Phil Defer's likeness to actor Jack Palance or to the many secondary characters that caricatured cinema or comics personalities such as Alfred Hitchcock or René Goscinny (Van Vaerenbergh 2016).

Sandweiss (2002) acutely remarks that it was the American psyche that shaped these photographs since many of the pictures influenced Americans' (own) vision of the American frontier. These pictures represented their constructed reality and functioned as bait for an impoverished and disenchanted (immigrant) population after the Civil War and as colonialist propaganda:

The West loomed large in the American imagination, of course, before the invention of photography. Known through paintings and prints, maps and drawings, through the voluminous words penned by travelers and explorers, it was for many nineteenth-century Americans a fabled place of fantastic topography, exotic peoples, the place where the nation's future would unfold. Yet photographs seemed to make this imagined place more real. Through a coincidence of timing and opportunity, photographers preceded American settlers, travelers, and tourists into many parts of the West. Their pictures thus made newly vivid a landscape few Americans had seen for themselves; they became substitutes for first-hand experience. And yet for all the fresh detail, astonishing vivacity, and marvelous realism of these photographic images, photography did not instantly change the ways Americans understood the West. Indeed, Americans' preexisting visions of the West shaped, to some extent, how photographs of the place would be made, marketed, and understood. (Sandweiss 2002: 3-4)

As Sandweiss (2002: 7) further posits, "[p]hotographs can also be rich primary source documents [and] deserve and reward the careful sort of historical attention more often lavished on literary texts." Indeed, the authors of the Belgian series *Les Tuniques bleues* relied heavily on photographic sources and took Morris' documentary modus operandi a step further with a long series that started as a typical Belgian Western *bande dessinée* and evolved towards a more researched plot loosely based on historical events of the American Civil War (1861-1865).[58] The art, signed originally by Louis Salvérius (1933-1972) and by Willy Lambil (1936) after his death, is representative of the Marcinelle school, although some historical characters are portrayed in a more realistic style, like Abraham Lincoln or Ulysses S.

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[58] For a detailed analysis of the richness of intermedial hypotexts of *Les Tuniques bleues* comics, including excerpts of interviews with the cartoonists, see the peritexts of the albums in the series *Les Tuniques bleues présentent...*

Grant. For Willy Lambil and Raoul Cauvin, the series' scriptwriter, "le point de départ d'un bon scénario s'appuie sur des sources documentaires authentiques" (2016b). They developed further the intertextual complexity of the comics, including reproductions of original illustrations, photographs and engravings as peritexts in almost all of the albums. This *habitus*, representative of many authors of Western *bande dessinée*, will be analysed in the following section.

4.2.1. Mathew B. Brady in *Les Tuniques Bleue*s

The Belgian publisher of the series *Les Tuniques bleues*, Dupuis, developed a rich range of albums about the series treating different themes present in the graphic narratives. A volume on photography appeared in 2016 (*Les Tuniques bleues présentent: La photographie*) where the authors assemble a paratextual dossier about the photographic documentation and archival resources that are used in the albums (see Figure 14). The result is impressive not least because this venture exceeded what is generally expected of a comic-book. A librarian at the *Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image* in Angoulême, Gilles Colas is of the opinion that "*Dupuis* really set themselves apart, quality-wise, when it comes to publishing and contents."[59] In this volume, Lambil and Cauvin dwelt upon the archival material that they used for some of their panels in different albums as proof that comics are not an immature art form or narrative. For Lambil and Cauvin, photographs are "rich primary source documents" (Sandweiss (2002: 7).

The album *Les Tuniques bleues présentent: La photographie* is proof of the ways in which this documentary attention to photography can reward and add symbolic capital to the work of cartoonists. This album includes re-editions of the 11th and 39th *bandes dessinées* of the series *Les Tuniques bleues*, *Des Bleus en noir et blanc*, and *Puppet Blues* respectively, and a

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[59] Personal communication with Gilles Colas in Angoulême (August 2016) about the edition practices of French and Belgian *bande dessinée* publishers, particularly their different approaches to serialization, republication and critical editions.

peritextual dossier that details the primary source documents used by Lambil and Cauvin as intermedial intertexts. *Des Bleus en noir et blanc* and *Puppet Blues* fictionalize the work of the photographers that reported on the American Civil War, such as Mathew B. Brady. Brady—who photographed battles such as *Bull Run*—is caricatured realistically in the album *Des Bleus en noir et blanc* by Willy Lambil who draws him after a period photograph of Brady taken after his return from *Bull Run* (Figure 15). The album *Puppet Blues* (Lambil and Cauvin 1997: 4) translates even more realistically period photographs from the Brady studio (see also a peritextual reproduction in the album *Les Tuniques bleues présentent: La photographie*, in Figure 14, bottom row), hand-drawn in a detailed style that translates the period photographs in a cartoony comics style while retaining a realistic photographic texture in the hands of the *bande dessinée* characters. This instills historical accuracy into the graphic fiction by way of intermediality as translation.
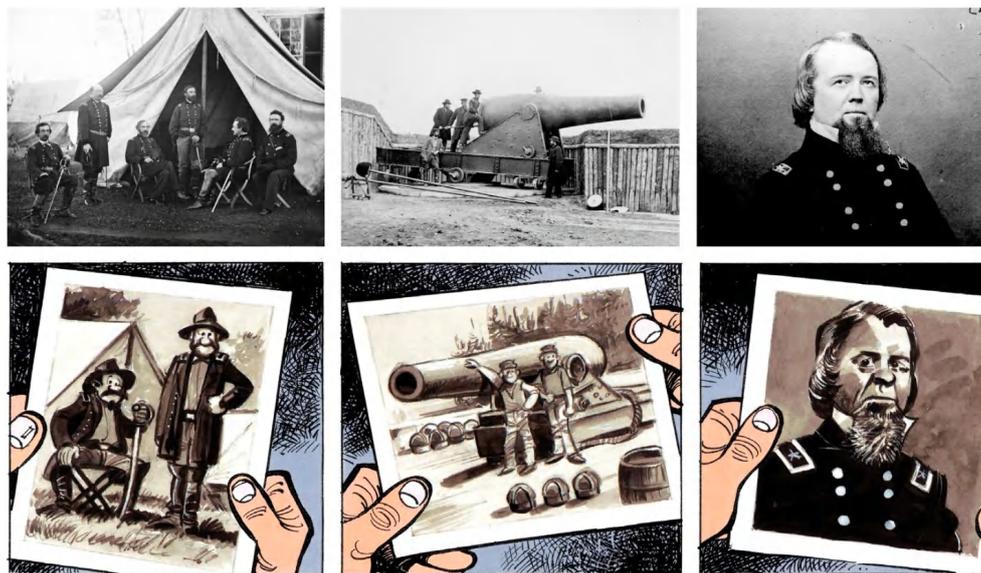
Des lavis de qualité photographique
Extraits de *Puppet Blues* (planche 2, cases 5 à 7) et, en haut, visuels de référence : George Meade en 1863 ; canon Rodman de la batterie Rodgers à Alexandria (Virginie) par le studio Brady ; John Pope par M. Brady.

Figure 14. *Les Tuniques bleues présentent* 5 – *La Photographie*. © DUPUIS 2016, by Lambil & Cauvin. www.dupuis.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.
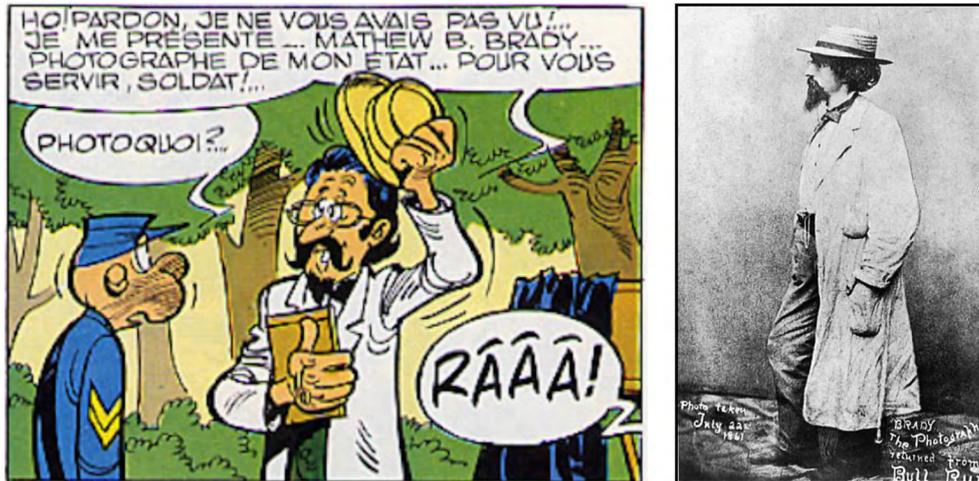
Figure 15. Left: *Les Tuniques bleues présentent 5 – La Photographie*. © DUPUIS 2016, by Lambil & Cauvin. www.dupuis.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved. / Right: "Brady, the photographer, returned from Bull Run". Public Domain/Library of Congress.

Another album in the series *Les Tuniques bleues présentent...,* entitled *Les grandes batailles*, includes re-editions of *Bull Run* and *Les Nancy Hart*.[60] *Bull Run*, the 27th album of *Les Tuniques bleues*, narrates the actual historic Battle of Bull Run, also known as the Battle of Manassas amongst the confederates. In the dossier "Les grandes batailles," in the peritext of *Les Tuniques bleues présentent: Les grandes batailles*, Lambil and Cauvin (2015), expose the documentation devices that are used in this Western series in general, and in the albums *Bull Run* and *Les Nancy Hart* in particular. The following paragraphs will take a closer look at the genesis of *Bull Run*, examining this peritext to investigate further the intertextual and intermedial references that were translated into the *bande dessinée*.

Although the initial idea for the script of *Bull Run* came from the first episode of the second season of David L. Wolper's television miniseries *North and South* (Lambil and Cauvin 2015), the Belgian cartoonists dug deep into

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[60] The album *Les Nancy Hart* (2004)—an adaptation of the story of The Nancy Harts militia of women soldiers, who confronted a Union cavalry column in LaGrange (Georgia) in 1865 (Lambil and Cauvin 2015)—is also the object of a "making of" album titled *Les Nancy Hart: L'Album de l'album*, which includes a 64-page paratextual dossier with sketches, documentation resources, and excerpts of interviews with the authors.

American historiography when researching the historical context for their album. Period photographs and engravings were used extensively for the images and in the script, and particularly the magazine *Harper's Weekly*. As Lambil and Cauvin (2015) describe, their historical and iconographical documentation process is extremely precise. Willy Lambil, particularly, had an extensive database and collection of history books and period photographs for this series.

This intertextual process reveals the intersemiotic translation process at work in the series *Les Tuniques bleues*. This takes a step beyond the parodic, yet carefully researched, intermediality of Morris' *Lucky Luke* albums. Arguably, it also suggests that authors of Western *bande dessinée* have taken up the baton of historic writers and artists who provided the basis for many Western narratives, such as James Fenimore Cooper, Zane Grey and Karl May or Frederic Remington and the cowboy artist Charles Marion Russell, but also including lesser-known personalities, such as soldier artists or writers.[61] The narratives, drawings, paintings, sketches and photographs created by these often anonymous agents of the Western genre are frequently translated and adapted in Western *bande dessinée*, either overtly or sometimes in a more covert form of intertextuality. In a narrative about the life and times of the U.S. soldier John Caldwell Tidball, "a prototypical antebellum West Point graduate", Eugene C. Tidball writes that John C. Tidball served his country "in the Florida swamps pursuing Seminoles, conquering Mexico, exploring the uncharted regions of the West, training for war," and later fought in the American Civil War, before journeying "across the continent," to build "remote forts protecting the American domain," and fighting "a prolonged, disheartening running battle with the native inhabitants of the West" (Tidball 2002: xiii). Tidball also reveals that John C. Tidball illustrated his report of an 1853 "Pacific Railway expedition to the West Coast" with his sketches of "eight scenes of the Southwest that were published as lithographs or woodcuts with his final report" (xiii).[62] John C. Tidball, who fought in Bull Run,

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[61] For scholarship on neglected historical literary practices in the military, see for instance Martínez (2016), *Front Lines. Soldiers' Writing in the Early Modern Hispanic World*.
[62] See also Tidball (1996: 107-130).

writes that he commanded "four regiments, all of which were German except the Garibaldi Guards, which was Italian […] in picturesque uniforms, […] features common to a large part of the army" (202). As Tidball writes, they were a "variegated lot" (202), not only in their uniforms, but also from a linguistic standpoint. In one passage of his papers, Tidball (206-207) describes a

> group of officers […] talking either in German or in such broken English that I could scarcely make anything out of what was said, with one of them asking permission, between two drinks, to engage in battle with the confederate troops and "clean dem fellows out like von streak of lightening" (Tidball 2002: 206-207).

He is alluding here to the column of General Louis Blenker (1812-1863), which is colourfully translated into their graphic narrative *Bull Run* by Lambil and Cauvin (see Figure 16), with a caricature of Colonel Frederick George d'Utassy (1827-1892) commanding the international division on the battlefield (Lambil and Cauvin 2015). This provides a cartoony, yet historically accurate vision of the transnational and multilingual reality of the American Civil War and the American frontier.[63]

Lambil and Cauvin's story of this episode of the Civil War may be read as a parody yet is scrupulously accurate in general. As Figure 16 comically shows (panel two), a woman wonders how General Blenker's heterogeneous column can manage in practical terms the linguistic diversity of its members, which was indeed a real issue, as John C. Tidball reported (2002: 202).

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[63] See Section 3.1.

Figure 16. *Les Tuniques bleues* 27 – *Bull Run*. © DUPUIS 1987, by Lambil & Cauvin.
www.dupuis.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

Figure 17. *Les Tuniques bleues* 27 – *Bull Run*. © DUPUIS 1987, by Lambil & Cauvin.
www.dupuis.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

The presence of a crowd of dressed-up civilians on the battlefield may be read as a parodic turn typical of cartoony *bandes dessinées* such as *Lucky Luke* or *Les Tuniques bleues*. Yet the comics merely translate historical accounts of a Civil War episode that would seem farcical if it were not for its tragic outcome for the Union. As Tidball (2002: 201) writes,

> In July 1861 neither the Union nor the Confederacy had a coherent strategy for waging war, and neither side was militarily ready. But Union politicians were convinced that if the North made a bold appearance, the Rebels would run. While a strategic case could be made for attacking the Confederate army at Bull Run, it was a battle fought for political, not strategic, reasons. The Northern press pushed an ill-prepared Union army into action, and the Confederate army would push it off the plains of Manassas back to Washington. (Tidball 2002: 201)

The album *Bull Run* remains true to the authors' critical editorial line towards the Civil War and armed conflict in general, by displaying in sequence two panels (Figure 17) that show a more realistically drawn scene of the recruitment campaign in Washington, D.C. (right), next to the cartoony drawing of Corporal Blutch, who embodies the antimilitaristic spirit of the series, giving his more sarcastic version of the events that led to the historic defeat of the Union Army at the battle of Bull Run. The eventual crushing defeat of the Union troops and the subsequent disorderly retreat, hampered by the presence of the large crowd of civilians, rendered in the *bande dessinée* (Figure 18, top image) remains a true intersemiotic translation of historical accounts, both textual and iconic. Tidball (2002) describes the scenes of the retreat thus:

> As other picnickers returned, each took the first carriage available, […] then jumping into the carriage drove off as fast as lash and oaths could make their horses go. Carriages collided, tearing away wheels; then horses were cut loose and ridden without saddles. (Tidball 2002: 213)

Figure 18. Top: *Les Tuniques bleues* 27 – *Bull Run*. © DUPUIS 1987, by Lambil & Cauvin. www.dupuis.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved. / Bottom: "The Civil War in America: The Stampede from Bull Run". *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 39, no. 1103, p. 167**.**

An engraving, made according to a sketch by an artist for *The Illustrated London News* (Figure 18, bottom image), can be arguably read as an intermedial hypotext of Lambil and Cauvin's graphic narrative of the retreat of the Union army in the album *Bull Run* (1987: 34-36), which is remarkably reminiscent of the narrative in *The Illustrated London News*. This engraving, entitled "The Civil War in America: The Stampede from Bull Run" illustrates a press article describing the Union's retreat from Bull Run in the following terms:

At half-past five the Federal troops were in full retreat, pursued at different points by the black horse cavalry of Virginia. Retreat is a weak term to use when speaking of this disgraceful rout, for which there was no excuse. The terror-stricken soldiers threw away their arms and accoutrements, herding along like a panic-stricken flock of sheep, with no order whatever in their flight. Those who had been fortunate enough to get places in the baggage-waggons thrust back others with their bayonets and musket-stocks. Wounded men were crushed under the wheels of the heavy, lumbering chariots that dashed down the road at full speed. Light buggies, containing members of Congress, were overturned or dashed to pieces in the horrible confusion of the panic. (*The Illustrated London News*, vol. 39, no. 1139, p. 168. August 17, 1861)

Sometimes this iconographic evidence takes a more iconoclastic turn and tackles contemporary issues in a satirical manner, in the same vein as Morris in some of his *Lucky Luke* albums. The album *Captain Nepel* (1993) is an example of how the authors use an engraving of an American soldier from the American Civil War (1861-65) in the peritext but portray a lookalike of French politician Jean-Marie Le Pen in the album (an anagram of the character's name, Captain Nepel), using a plot set in the Wild West to channel a satire of a contemporary political and social issue. *Captain Nepel* is conceived as a criticism of the "racisme primaire" (Lambil and Cauvin 2016) of the winning of the West and of the Hollywood Western imagery that consolidated the Western genre (see Figure 3 in Section 3.1). Between the lines, however, it can also be read as an equally scathing criticism of contemporary racism and xenophobia. Captain Nepel is hardly a disguised caricature of Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the French right-wing political party Front National, whose long tenure in that role spanned almost forty years (1972-2011). Captain Nepel is thus portrayed not after some myth of the American frontier (although he could easily embody many of them), but after a contemporary French political personality. Several panels in the album contain thinly veiled references to Le Pen's racist and reactionary vade mecum, such as Captain Nepel's disgusted allusion to homosexuality (Lambil and Cauvin 1993: 7); his blatant racism: "QUI ÊTES-VOUS POUR

ME PARLER SUR CE TON?!... UN INDIEN!... UN SALE INDIEN!" (12); or his xenophobic speeches:

> MESSIEURS, SI JE VOUS AI RÉUNIS, C'EST POUR VOUS ANNONCER QU'À PARTIR D'AUJOURD'HUI, JE NE VEUX VOIR À L'INTÉRIEUR DE CE PÉRIMÈTRE QUE DES AMÉRICAINS!... DES VRAIS!" [...] "NOUS N'AVONS PAS BESOIN DE MAIN-D'ŒUVRE ÉTRANGÈRE, NOM DE NOM! NOUS SOMMES CAPABLES DE NOUS DÉBROUILLER SEULS! (Lambil and Cauvin 1993: 15).[64]

4.3. Graphic Narratives: (Revisionist) Western Films and *Bande Dessinée*

Whilst the influence of Westerns films has been widely acknowledged as a recurrent hypotextual source for Western *bandes dessinées*, inspiring the research of comics scholars such as Grady's reading of the *Blueberry* series (2017: 286-316), the links between revisionist Western films and *bande dessinée* (Villerbu 2015: 203), remain largely unexplored in series such as Derib's *Buddy Longway*. Many comic artists were inspired by cartoons or spaghetti westerns, yet Derib mainly draws his inspiration from the revisionist western sub-genre. The Swiss cartoonist Claude de Ribaupierre (1944) adopted a pen name—Derib—as did Jean Giraud (Gir, or Moebius), Georges Rémi (Hergé) or Maurice de Bevere (Morris). Derib also mirrored Morris by devoting most of his creative life to a single mission: depicting his vision of the American frontier for a Francophone readership. While Morris' main and sole comics creation, *Lucky Luke*, was a personal and subversive view of the Western mythology, Derib created an intimate universe around his vision of Native Americans, colonization and the clash of cultures in North America (see Section 3.1), inspired by his childhood viewing of Western movies, when

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[64] The (re-)reading of Captain Nepel is indeed a disturbing experience. Written (and drawn) in 1993, it reflects the present political climate. Perhaps the recently renewed interest in the Western genre is a symptom of the geographical expansion and the increased popularity of this kind of speeches in current politics. Indeed, in countries like the United States or the United Kingdom, the recent rise of xenophobia, antisemitism and racism seems to be the norm in societies that were built by an international workforce that is now being violently rejected and attacked.

he was "toujours un peu furieux de voir que dans les films hollywoodiens, on décrivait [les Indiens] comme des sauvages que les pionniers devaient liquider pour pouvoir progresser" (Derib 2010a: 11). His main contribution to Francophone *bande dessinée* is threefold: the *Yakari* series, aimed at a young readership, the series *Red Road*, and the *Buddy Longway* saga, his masterpiece and a key contribution to the diversity of Western *bande dessinée*. Derib is included in the Belgian *bande dessinée* cluster, although he is a Swiss national, because he worked mainly for Belgian publishers and he refined his craft with Belgian masters such as Jijé (1914-1980), Peyo (1928-1992) and André Franquin (1924-1997).

Derib is not so much interested in the frontier mythology as he is in giving his personal and playful or subversive interpretation of a foregone era, stepping away from the official discourse of the American frontier and embracing 1960s revisionism. He is most interested in portraying Native Americans, and specifically the Sioux, despite the cultural, temporal and spatial distance in his case. Derib was allegedly passionate about the Sioux from an early age. Once given a free hand to create his own Western comics series, he unleashed his creative drive on the series that would define him. *Buddy Longway* was innovative in many respects and contributed to revolutionizing *bande dessinée* in the 1970s. Derib is influenced by cinematic framing in his composition of the comics page (see Figure 19), and, like Jean Giraud, he plays with panel dimensions and construction as a narrative device:

> Lorsque j'ai entrepris *Buddy Longway*, je voulais être percutant. Dès le premier album, j'ai supprimé de mon contrat toutes les contraintes techniques qui auraient pu entraver ma liberté. Pour la première fois, j'avais le droit de faire ce que je ressentais, sans être dépendant d'un scénariste. Du coup, je me suis permis des découpages qu'aucun scénariste ne m'avait proposés jusque-là. (Derib 2010b: 12)

Figure 19. *Buddy Longway Intégrale I – Chinook pour la vie*. © ÉDITIONS DU LOMBARD (DARGAUD-LOMBARD S.A.) 2010, by Derib. www.lelombard.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

In the three opening pages of *Seul* (Figure 19), Derib foreshadows the drama of his graphic narrative and leaves the reader hanging in suspense until he turns the third page. This dramatic opening scene is further stressed by the title credits and the multiframe (Groensteen 2007) displayed in page three. This is a creative comics rendition of the cinematic zoom technique, from a close-up to a wide shot. Here, Derib relies on the visual force of the images, as the first page in Figure 19 shows, by choosing not to use any onomatopoeic representation of the crumbling rocks. He suggests movement rather than sound by a multiplication of panels in the top half of the page that show an action simultaneous to the scene in the bottom half, thus leaving the shattering noise to the imagination and the complicity of the reader who would perform closure (McCloud 1994) in this "open text" considered, as Umberto Eco (1979: 3) suggests, as a "syntactic-semantico-pragmatic device whose foreseen interpretation is a part of its generative process." These three pages of *Seul* arguably embody Benoît Peeters' theory on reading *bande dessinée*, placing the relationship between script and layout at the crux of comics analysis:

> [M]ême si le trait, la couleur ou le dialogue méritent parfaitement d'être analysés, il n'est pas sans intérêt de mettre l'accent sur ce que la bande dessinée est seule à mettre en oeuvre: la case, le strip, la

planche, les relations entre le texte et le dessin, entre le scénario et sa mise en images. (Peeters 1991: 7)

As seen on page three of *Seul*, Derib's landscapes, both in *Buddy Longway* and *Yakari*, are breathtaking; his craft is present in them as much as in any other detail of the page. There is one element that is perhaps surprisingly familiar to many European Francophone readers: the mountain ranges are reminiscent of the Alps rather than of the Rocky Mountains. Many Swiss and French readers could easily identify local peaks and valleys in Derib's *bandes dessinées*. The important element that places the reader in a seemingly believable American West is the emptiness, the picturing of the landscape as a promised land, an untamed Garden of Eden.

American pioneers had always had a stake in seeing the land as empty, even in the East. [...] As late as the 1870s, the survey team for which William Henry Jackson took photographs regularly encountered free Native Americans and was once attacked by a Ute tribe; but his photographs presented to eastern viewers a space in which the only evidence of habitation are ancient Anasazi ruins, and even those framed as tiny curiosities in the vast lands. […] This is the politics of space: Empty land is there for the taking. (Simmon 2003: 52-53)

In *The Invention of the Western Film* (2003), Simmon described this behaviour as deeply rooted in the colonizer's psyche and politicization of space to the benefit of the winning of the West. The photographers of the frontier were not mere witnesses of a vanishing civilization or an expedition; they were active contributors to the cultural imaginary of colonization. In spite of his acknowledged interest in North American Indian cultures, Derib often breaks this emptiness in *Buddy Longway* with European colonists and settlers, such as the Hungarian couple formed by Grégor and Mariska

Komonczy or the French ethnologist Xavier Baron, in the album *Le Vent sauvage* (1984). This album, for instance, hints at the domestic histories of the transnational community of colonists that ventured deep into the American frontier in the nineteenth century, and particularly after the passing of the Homestead Act. Derib narrates fictional journeys such as that of the Komonczy couple looking to reach a promised land in California in their wagon; the French ethnologist who, like George Catlin, is driven by his ethnologic mission of keeping records of Native American cultures; or the French missionary Jean Morin, who loses his mind in his obsessive quest of a Cree legend.[65] Understandable as these themes are, since Buddy Longway's narrative evolves around the struggle between colonizers and colonized, one might wonder why he did not give an even more prominent place to the Sioux people, as he does in the *Yakari* series, which translates Derib's interpretation of Native American traditional cultures, where the only non-American Indian characters are animals, or the series *Red Road* and *Celui qui est né deux fois*, which too focus solely on Native Americans. The reason may lie in part in the intended readership of these different series, as *Yakari* was principally aimed at children and both *Red Road*, *Celui qui est né deux fois*, and *Buddy Longway* addressed an older age range. More importantly, Derib's deeper motivation behind *Buddy Longway*, his most personal creation, was to tell "une très belle histoire [...] d'Amour absolu, celui qu'on porte à sa famille, à la nature, à la vie" (Derib 2011: 15). This was in line with the preoccupations of the 1960s counterculture when "the Western goes out of style and the hippies become Indians" (Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes 2009).

As for these characters, there is no visual resemblance to specific historical portraits of American frontiersmen—or women—and Native Americans or to Hollywood actresses and actors. Perhaps the only exception would be Buddy Longway himself, arguably a lookalike of Robert Redford in Sydney Pollack's

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[65] Although fictional, Derib's plots evoke historical records of transnational migration in nineteenth-century America, such as those of the French colonization in the United States researched by Villerbu (2007).

1972 film *Jeremiah Johnson*. Instead, Derib develops his own characters, portraying some of his colleagues as pioneers—Jean Giraud among them—or introduces crossovers: Jimmy MacClure, one of *Blueberry*'s main characters, appears in panels 15-17 of the album *La Vengeance* (1981).[66] Derib seems not overly interested in giving historical credibility to his stories, hence his deliberate choice of not using photography—unlike Morris or Willy Lambil—in his paratexts or to design his characters. This, however, does not mean that he did not use photography as a documentation device, as the detailed rendering of artefacts and attire can attest, such as his use of *L'Encyclopédie des Uniformes et des Armes de tous les Temps* as a documentary device for the military uniforms in the album *Capitaine Ryan* (Derib 2010c: 19). He writes mostly the story of what could have been, a personal account of events that are not in history books, archives or museums per se, but that could very well have happened in the eventful domestic histories that often went unnoticed. Indeed, Derib (2011: 14) himself acknowledged that *Buddy Longway* translates freely his readings about "des histoires qui se sont passées une trentaine d'années avant les Guerres Indiennes," hence *Buddy Longway*'s hypotexts should be read as "des ingrédients pour justifier l'histoire" that, like most Western films, do not attempt to create a faithful reconstruction of historical events.

4.3.1. *Jeremiah Johnson* in *Buddy Longway*

The narrative of the *Buddy Longway* series is a romanticized albeit realistic account of life in the early years of the frontier, bearing Derib's distinctive imprint. The influence of Sydney Pollack's Western film *Jeremiah Johnson* (1972) can be traced in parts of the narrative:[67] the mixed couple, the tension

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[66] See Chapter 3 for an analysis of these panels and intermedial and intertextual relations in *Buddy Longway* (Derib) and *Blueberry* (Giraud and Charlier).
[67] The screenplay of Sydney Pollack's Jeremiah Johnson, signed by John Milius and Edward Anhalt, is based on Raymond W. Thorp and Robert Bunker's (1958) biography of John Jeremiah Garrison Johnston (also known as John "Liver-Eating" Johnson), and on its fictionalization by Western writer Vardis Fisher (1965) in his novel *Mountain Man: A Novel of Male and Female in the Early American West*.

between cultures and the appeal of life in the wilderness.[68] In Pollack's film, Jeremiah Johnson (Robert Redford) is a trapper who embodies the Western trope of the lone settler who chooses to free himself from civilization and embrace a life closer to nature, starting a family in the mountains with a Native American woman. These are all aspects that were present in the counter-cultural revolution of the 1960s and 1970s and in the historical setting of the series, for different reasons and with disparate outcomes (Villerbu 2015: 197-204). The purpose of the author—Derib being the sole creator except for the colouring signed by his wife Dominique—is to instil in his young readers his family values and his love for the Sioux culture. Dominique's role, however, should not be underestimated. Not only does she colour the original panels in meaningful ways and with attention to detail, but she plays a part in Derib's inspiration. This creative tandem invented a hybrid space, inspired in equal parts by film, comics, nature, history and literature, and devised a narrative that sought to entertain, but mostly to inspire, educate and convey a personal and committed philosophy, based on the emulation of "the American Indian as a free spirit" (Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes 2009). As the opening pages from the album *Trois hommes sont passés* (Figure 20) illustrate, Buddy Longway and his Sioux partner Chinook represent for Derib (2010a: 7) "ce à quoi nous aspirons tous intimement, le désir d'harmonie et de communion avec le Grand Tout," that for him encapsulates the traditional knowledge and way of life of Native American cultures, as opposed to the "folkloric" vision conveyed by most Westerns "made in U.S.A." (Derib 2010c: 11).

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[68] The influence of Pollack's film is also palpable in other European Western comics created in the 1970s, such as Giancarlo Berardi and Ivo Milazzo's series *Ken Parker* (1977-2015). For an overview of the *Ken Parker* series, see Gaumer (2010: 479-480).

Figure 20. *Buddy Longway Intégrale I – Chinook pour la vie*. © ÉDITIONS DU LOMBARD (DARGAUD-LOMBARD S.A.) 2010, by Derib. www.lelombard.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

Although the lead character is clearly inspired by Western films, Derib's approach was an innovative series in *bande dessinée*, in different ways. First and most importantly, Buddy Longway does not share the main feature of most comic characters: he *does* age, very much like Blueberry, although they are both exceptions to the unwritten rule in comics where characters remain unaltered in the face of time. Secondly, he is not perfect, in the heroic sense of the term. Longway is human in the most vulnerable way. He is exposed— even tragically prone—to failure, disappointment and demise, just as Jeremiah Jonhson is in Pollack's film. For example, in the album *Seul,* he is the victim of a potentially fatal accident, or in the album *La Balle perdue*, he and his partner Chinook witness the death of their son Jérémie, shot by a U.S. soldier, before readers witness, in turn, the murder of Buddy Longway and Chinook in the album *La Source*. In Pollack's film, Jeremiah Johnson's partner and (adopted) son are also murdered. This brings an end to the series in an unconventional fashion for *bande dessinée*, where characters are not supposed to die. *Buddy Longway* is thus far removed from the American superhero rhetoric or even the more fallible war hero or frontier gunslinger. He does not try to impress and amaze but to inspire and educate

the reader, according to his own values of humanitarianism and conservationism (values that, coincidentally, have long been shared and advocated by Robert Redford, who portrays Jeremiah Johnson in Pollack's Western). A question that is raised by Derib's series is whether *Buddy Longway* is inscribed in the American tradition of the Western genre. Although the visual similarity with Pollack's *Jeremiah Johnson* is evident, as noted by Villerbu (2015: 202-203), there are many clues that give away cultural differences and the European context of production, such as the landscape (so central to Westerns yet often so European in Spaghetti Westerns), and the characters, as described above.

4.4. Graphic Narratives: Ledger Art and Native American Perspectives

The three preceding sections have outlined how Western *bande dessinée* is often built on, and translates, an intermedial web of pictorial, photographic, and filmic sources that are generally acknowledged as hypotexts and have been researched to some extent. There is, however, a more neglected perspective on the visual representations of the American frontier: the native viewpoint. As much as Remington's paintings are lauded and interpreted, in a coherent strategy of nation-building, the artistic production of Native Americans is surprisingly left out of a considerable number of academic studies. The critical and historical analysis of ledger art,[69] for instance, could arguably feature more prominently in scholarship, both in the disciplines of art history and, as this thesis posits, in studies about the history of graphic narratives. Important works in Comics Studies have surveyed and investigated the historical development of graphic narratives (see, for instance, Lacassin 1971, Grove 2005, or Chute 2016), including the Bayeux tapestry, the Lascaux cave paintings or Maya codices. However, none of

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[69] See Holloman (2015: 142-156), for more information on how the use of pictorial art forms transitioned among Plains American Indians with the introduction of "new formats, such as ledger paper […] by Europeans and Americans," and how the federal policy of the Allotment and Assimilation Era (1887-1943) "encouraged, and sometimes forced [Native Americans] to go to boarding schools, including the famous Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania" (Heidenreich 1985, quoted in Holloman 2015: 145). See also Heidenreich 1985.

these books mentions Native American ledger art. A noteworthy exception is Robert S. Petersen's (2011) monograph *Comics, Manga, and Graphic Novels: A History of Graphic Narratives*.

A narrative modality of some Native American cultures of the Great Plains developed between the 1860s and the early twentieth century "[c]ollectively called robe and ledger art," these drawings made on paper from ledger books or sometimes on cloth represent "one of the last ways the Native Americans had to communicate their stories after they had been driven from their ancestral homelands" and interned in government reservations (Petersen 2011: 7). Ledger drawing became an alternative to the traditional hide painting of Plains Native Americans after the programmed mass decimation of buffaloes by the colonizers in their westward expansion. This eradication not only had a severe negative impact on the ecosystem and on the way of life of native populations but also affected their cultural practices. The evolution from painting on animal hides to drawing on paper was "strongly influenced by contact with white settlers, missionaries and the U.S. military who traded or gave used paper ledgers to the Indian artists as a means to record their stories" (Petersen 2011: 8).

The earliest non-native record of ledger artwork was made by forcibly displaced Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa prisoners of the Red River War (1874) interned at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. They were "encouraged to participate in the market economy by learning to produce commercial goods for tourists" yet "they were prohibited from drawing Anglo-Indian battles," which resulted in an artistic production centred on "a fascination with the new society that surrounded them and their memories of their everyday lives before their imprisonment" (8). Fort Marion's forced artistic production, inscribed in the assimilation and acculturation policy of the United States government towards Native Americans, did not preclude other ledger artists from developing more traditional themes such as hunting or battle exploits. Native narratives that can reasonably be argued to belong to the Western genre are historically produced by the recycling of a material support that belongs to the colonizer to create graphic narratives known as ledger art. These ledger drawings provide an alternative narrative of the American frontier, hand-drawn on cheap paper by displaced and segregated

Native Americans to preserve and memorialize their narratives of traumatic events.

Figure 21. *Sioux Indian Painting. Part II: The Art of Amos Bad Heart Buffalo*. Plates II, III, VIII, and XIV. © C. SWEDZICKI 1938. Courtesy Archives & Rare Books Library, University of Cincinnati. Available at: http://digital.libraries.uc.edu/luna/servlet/univcincin~28~28.

A collection compiled by French publisher C. Szwedzicki reproduces the works of Native American artists and includes the lost ledger art of Oglala Lakota artist Waŋblí Wapȟáha (Eagle Bonnet, also known as Amos Bad Heart Buffalo, or Amos Bad Heart Bull [1869-1913]).[70] This narrates the

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[70] The collection C. Swedzicki: The North American Indian Works, hosted at the University of Cincinnati Archives and Rare Books Library, includes the bilingual (French and English) edited portfolio *Sioux Indian Painting. Part II: The Art of Amos Bad Heart Buffalo* (Alexander 1938). The essay by Janet Catherine Berlo (2008), *The Swedzicki Portfolios: Native American Fine Art and American Visual Culture, 1917-1952*, published online on the University of Cincinnati's Digital Collections and Repositories website, provides a detailed study of the University of Cincinnati's collection, C. Szwedzicki: The North American Indian Works, including Amos Bad Heart Bull's ledger art in pages 62-66.

battle of the Little Big Horn (1876) from the Native Americans' viewpoint,[71] traditionally neglected by official historical accounts in the framing of one of the most epic military defeats of the United States government. The preservation of these works and awareness of them amongst historians contradicts the old adage that history is always written by the winners.[72] A reproduction (Figure 21) of Amos Bad Heart Bull's original ledger art held at the University of Cincinnati's Digital Collections consists of sixteen drawings on separate sheets of paper. One drawing visually narrates the "Opening of the Battle of the Little Big Horn."[73] Ten drawings narrate in sequence different moments of "Reno's Retreat,"[74] or the "Retreat of Reno's Command."[75] Another depicts "Troopers Being Driven Across the River," two more narratives show "The End of the Battle," and the last two sheets narrate the extensively mediatized and mythologized "Custer's Last Stand." Although

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Available at: http://digital.libraries.uc.edu/collections/szwedzicki.

[71] For diverse historical accounts of the battle, see Lieutenant James H. Bradley's *The March of the Montana Column: A Prelude to the Custer Disaster* (2007), Brown (1970), Philbrick (2010), or Utley (1962).

[72] The battle is known as the Battle of Greasy Grass amongst the Lakota; see Calloway (1996) and Powers (2010).

[73] Description, from the University of Cincinnati Libraries Digital Collections: "From: Sioux Indian Painting. Vol. 2, p. 8: Opening of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The inscription reads: 'These (Reno's command) are the ones from up the river. This is the way the Indians met them'—i.e. shot them from their horses. 'The three who met them first were Kicking Bear, Hard to Hit, and Bad Heart Buffalo.' The latter was the father of the artist; he took a prominent part in the fight. Map references: Little Bighorn Battlefield (Mont.) References: Blish, Helen H. *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967. p. 217. Brizee-Bowen, Sandra L. *For All to See: The Little Bighorn Battle in Plains Indian Art*. Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. pp. 50-51."

[74] Description, from the University of Cincinnati Libraries Digital Collections: "From: Sioux Indian Painting. Vol. 2, p. 8: One of a series of drawings illustrating Reno's retreat before the Indian counter-attack. The pictures indicate a comparatively orderly withdrawal developing rapidly into a disorderly rout. Map references: Little Bighorn Battlefield (Mont.) References: Blish, Helen H. *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967. p. 223. Brizee-Bowen, Sandra L. *For All to See: The Little Bighorn Battle in Plains Indian Art*. Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. pp. 52-54."

[75] The writing on the fourth image's top center reads: "Custer Battle Field/June 25 and 26 1876/Crazy Horse." Description, from the University of Cincinnati Libraries Digital Collections: "From: Sioux Indian Painting. Vol. 2, p. 8: Retreat of Reno's command. The painted warrior who is shooting a trooper from his saddle is Crazy Horse, the Sioux chieftain, as shown by the writing in of his name. Map references: Little Bighorn Battlefield (Mont.) References: Blish, Helen H. *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1967. p. 232. Brizee-Bowen, Sandra L. *For All to See: The Little Bighorn Battle in Plains Indian Art*. Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. pp. 70-71."

they are presented as standalone works, these ledger drawings can be read as a unified documentary graphic narrative in a sequence of sixteen panels, each containing spatially concurrent yet temporally successive scenes where "[a]bstract elements [like] the dotted line representing the path of a bullet […] represent simultaneously a moment in time or a direction across time," in asynchronous graphic narratives that display "not an absence of time or history, but rather a heightened awareness of a moment caught in time, echoing from the past toward future retellings" (Petersen 2011: 8-10).

These future retellings can come in all media, shapes or forms, weaving a transnational web of intermedial translations of narratives of the American frontier and echoing Native Americans' own retellings of the mythology of the Western genre. These graphic narratives complicate the history of what is mostly remembered as the "winning of the West," cynically obviating that there is a darker story of the dispossession of the West. Yet this story, despite having had less resonance than the official version of traditional historiography and Hollywood's mainstream Westerns, is available to anyone interested in works such as Dee Brown's (1970) book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes' (2009) documentary *Reel Injun*, and also in popular culture, including Westerns such as R. Nelson's (1970) *Soldier Blue* or comics such as Derib's *Buddy Longway*. As Art Spiegelman, posits, "maybe vulgar, semiliterate, unsubtle comic books are an appropriate form for speaking of the unspeakable" (cited in Chute 2017: 33). Cartoonists working in the Western genre have traditionally panellized the mainstream Hollywood version of events, yet some comics have adopted a revisionist stance.

Although not a Western comic, Pat Mills and Bryan Talbot's (2009) sixth part of *Nemesis the Warlock*, entitled *Torquemurder*, includes a series of black and white panels that lend substance to Spiegelman's words. The panels reproduced in Figure 23 are part of the narration of the Sand Creek Massacre. This was one of the bloodiest massacres of Native Americans by the U.S. troops during what is generically known as the Indian Wars (which opposed the United States government against myriad heterogeneous Native American cultures, amalgamated as a common enemy and

derogatively referred to as Indians, Injuns, or redskins). Chivington's regiment charged a Cheyenne encampment by the river, murdering some 400 children, women and elders. Most of the men were absent at the time of the raid. In the central panel, Bryan Talbot graphically translated one of the events of the massacre (Figure 23). His dramatic and unsettling hand-drawn composition brings to mind the following three passages from Dee Brown's (1970) *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* in which the author narrates the Sand Creek Massacre as follows:

> Captain Silas Soule, Lieutenant Joseph Cramer, and Lieutenant James Connor protested that an attack on Black Kettle's peaceful camp would violate the pledge of safety given the Indians [...], 'that it would be murder in every sense of the word,' and that any officer participating would dishonor the uniform of the Army. (Brown 1970: 86)

> Chivington became violently angry at them and brought his fist down close to Lieutenant Cramer's face. 'Damn any man who sympathizes with Indians!' he cried. 'I have come to kill Indians, and believe it is right and honorable to use any means under God's heaven to kill Indians.' (86-87).

Even a superficial glance at Mills and Talbot's first strip in Figure 23 reveals the intertextual relationship between *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* and their graphic narrative, which functions as an intermedial translation of Brown's historical account of the Sand Creek Massacre. The second and third strips in the page narrate the launch of Chivington's attack, also in strikingly similar terms to Brown's prose:

> I looked toward the chief's lodge and saw Black Kettle had a large American flag tied to the end of a long lodgepole and was standing in front of his lodge, holding the pole, with the flag fluttering in the gray light of the winter dawn. I heard him call to the people not to be afraid, that the soldiers would not hurt them; then the troops opened fire from two sides of the camp. (Brown 1970: 88).

Some of the harshest and most gruesome details of Brown's narrative are absent from the panels of *Torquemurder*, yet they are part of other (Western) comics such as Jack Jackson's "Nits Make Lice".[76] This is inspired by Brown's minutely detailed version of events, as suggested in the title and in the iconic and narrative elements that translate literally Brown's intertext, such as some of Chivington's most infamous declarations:

> In a public speech made in Denver not long before this massacre, Colonel Chivington advocated the killing and scalping of all Indians, even infants. 'Nits make lice!' he declared. (Brown 1970: 90)

Another graphic adaptation of Brown's account of the massacre can be found in Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry bande dessinée*, *Général "Tête Jaune"* (Figure 24). Giraud's art in the panels in pages 10 and 11 translates scenes reminiscent, in the cartoonist's words, of Arthur Penn's Western *Little Big Man* (Jean Giraud, cited in Sadoul 2015: 161). Yet, as Giraud himself remarks (161), the film succeeded chronologically the *Blueberry bande dessinée*, hence the impossibility of its being an intermedial influence for the cartoonists. However, the coincidence of details narrated in this album and the events of the massacre point towards intertextuality and/or intermediality found by looking at several sources. Firstly, by Giraud's own account (Sadoul 2015: 161-162):

> On a montré le massacre d'un camp indien d'une manière suffisamment réaliste pour qu'on désapprouve l'armée; c'était pour justifier le comportement de Blueberry qui, lui aussi, était contre. Mais ce genre de scènes est assez peu fréquent en BD et au cinéma. C'est intéressant et marrant de montrer le point de vue indien sans être pro-indien, en fait d'une façon objective.

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[76] For a comprehensive analysis of this graphic narrative, see Witek (1989: 61-77), or Grady (2017: 202-206).

Interestingly, Giraud mentions three meaningful details while omitting to provide any intertextual or intermedial sources for the *Blueberry* album's narrative of the massacre: (1) the rarity of this type of scene in Western films and comics at the time; (2) the realism of the panels; and (3) the objectivity in showing the Native American viewpoint. Turning again to Brown's (1970) book, the following passages (see Table 3) coincide in striking detail with the realism and objectivity claimed by Giraud, apparent in several pictographic elements of the panels in *Général "Tête Jaune"*, and thus demonstrate the application of what Giraud took from his "apprentissage avec Joseph Gillain [qui] a consisté à prendre dans la réalité tous les éléments pour enrichir un dessin" (Sadoul 2015: 214):

Général "Tête Jaune" (Charlier and Giraud 1971)	*Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (Brown 1970)
"PAS UN GUETTEUR EN VUE! LES ROUGES DOIVENT SE CROIRE EN PARFAITE SÉCURITÉ!" (5)	"So confident were the Indians of absolute safety, they kept no night watch except of the pony herd which was corraled below the creek." (87)
"DANS UNE HEURE, C'EST L'AUBE! QU'ON RÉVEILLE LES HOMMES! PAS DE CLAIRON, PAS DE BRUIT! QUE CHAQUE COMPAGNIE GAGNE SON POSTE DE COMBAT!" (7)	"The first warning they had of an attack was about sunrise [...]" (87)
• "LES BATTERIES EN ROUTE! PRENEZ POSITION SUR LA CRÊTE!" (7) • Panels 5 (see Figure 24) and 4 (11) • Panels 1-6 (12)	"Four twelve-pounder mountain howitzers accompanied the cavalry." (87)
• "SIR! CETTE ATTAQUE SANS SOMMATION EST UNE IGNOMINIE! IL N'Y A LÀ QU'UNE POIGNÉE DE GUERRIERS! C'EST SUR DES FEMMES, DES	"Altogether there were about six hundred Indians in the creek bend, two-thirds of them being women and children. Most of the warriors were

VIEILLARDS ET DES GOSSES, QUE NOUS AVONS OUVERT LE FEU!" (12) • Panel 6 (10) (see Figure 24)	several miles to the east hunting buffalo for the camp [...]" (87)

Table 3. Intertextuality in *Général "Tête Jaune"*.

Charlier and Giraud mixed elements of the Sand Creek Massacre with scenes from another later massacre of Black Kettle's Cheyenne village by the Washita River, this time at the hands of Custer (Charlier and Giraud 1971: 16) in which

> [i]n a matter of minutes Custer's troopers destroyed Black Kettle's village; in another few minutes of gory slaughter they destroyed by gunfire several hundred corralled ponies. (Brown 1970: 169)

Contrary to Mills and Talbot (2009) and unlike Jack Jackson's crude and realistic panels in "Nits Make Lice" (Duncan and Smith 2009: 10), Charlier and Giraud's adapted version of the Sand Creek and the Washita River massacres leaves the harshest details of the massacres narrated by Brown (1970: 89-91) in the gutter. *Général "Tête Jaune"*, serialized in *Pilote hebdomadaire* and published by Dargaud in album form, was bound by the strict *Loi de 1949* which controlled, amongst other elements, the depiction of violence in comics.[77]

An earlier graphic narrative of the Sand Creek Massacre was hand-drawn by a Cheyenne eyewitness in 1875 (Figure 22). Although it is drawn in a less dramatic visual style, Howling Wolf's ledger drawing wears the marks of the tragedy in several ways. The stylized drawings of the Plains ledger art are reminiscent of the naïf drawing style that was developed in Europe. At the time of the Sand Creek Massacre Howling Wolf was a child, a detail that instils the ledger drawing with added dramatic value. Even though the artist

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[77] Chapter 5 will make further reference to the French *Loi de 1949*, comparing it with the effects of Francoist censorship laws affecting the publication of (translated) comics in Spain after the Spanish Civil War and during Francisco Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975).

was an adult when he depicted the scene, his hand graphically translated the scene to the ledger paper as connected to the unspeakable truth of his childhood memory, in a state of "heightened awareness of [the] moment caught in time, echoing from the past toward future retellings" (Petersen 2011: 10). Although Howling Wolf's ledger drawing is formally drawn as a single image, as opposed to Mills and Talbot's comics, he creates "a pictographic shorthand, making the action easier to read" in a visual narrative where "[a]n opponent may be represented only by a gun, or a horse by its tracks" (Petersen 2011: 7). In ledger drawings, the materiality of the drawings' support (initially obtained from the sheets of U.S. army ledgers) represents colonization and military oppression but is symbolically recycled as a healing artefact when used in ledger art that narrates events like Howling Wolf's "At the Sand Creek Massacre." As Brown (1970: xv) argues, the Indian voices of the past "are not all lost." Indeed, "a few authentic accounts of American Western history […] recorded by Indians either in pictographs or in translated English" and in some cases, "published in obscure journals, pamphlets, or books of small circulation" (xv) have found their way into "vulgar, semiliterate, unsubtle comic books" (Chute 2017: 33) that translate and memorialize the unspeakable.
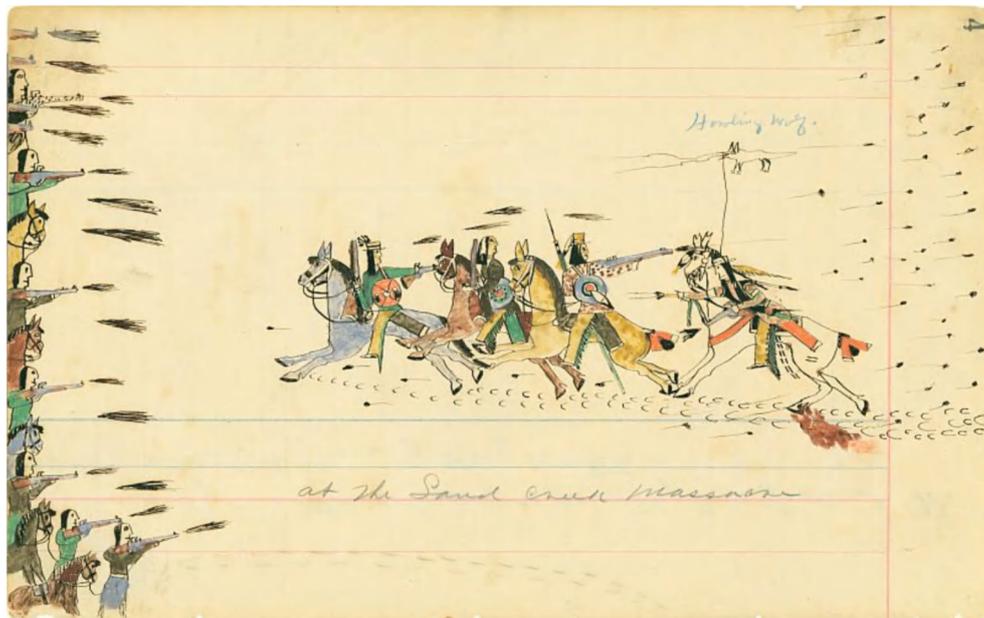
Figure 22. *At the Sand Creek Massacre*, 1874-1875. Pen, ink, and watercolour on ledger paper, by Howling Wolf. Oberlin Ledger, p. 4. Courtesy of the Allen Memorial Art Museum. Available at: http://www2.oberlin.edu/amam/cheyenne.htm.

Figure 23. *Nemesis the Warlock – Book Six: Torquemurder*. © REBELLION 2000 AD Ltd., by Mills & Talbot. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

Figure 24. *Blueberry – Intégrale 4*. © DARGAUD 2015, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

Absent from most critical accounts of the history and development of graphic narratives, ledger art and other Native American visual narratives are also represented and translated in Western *bandes dessinées* and even in other genres, such as the *Astérix* album *La Grande traversée* (Goscinny and Uderzo 1975: 29-30). In this album, Astérix and Obélix depart from their village to embark on a fishing trip. Caught in a storm in the Atlantic Ocean, their small boat capsizes and they end up on the shores of the New Continent where they encounter a tribe of Native Americans. Being incapable of communicating verbally, Native Americans and Gauls resort to other means of communication, including body and sign languages, dance, and hide painting (Goscinny and Uderzo 1975: 24-30). In Western *bande dessinée*, Derib's series *Celui qui est né deux fois*, a narrative that is "imaginaire, mais basé sur des témoignages" (Derib: 1983: 3) and focused on the life of an unspecified Native American community of the Great Plains, includes in the albums' panels and in the peritexts information about the documentation process of the author (see Figure 25).

The peritext of the second volume in the series includes a text by Sergio Purin of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels. The text, illustrated with ledger drawings of the Teton Sioux (Dakota) Sun Dance, by

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Eagle Shield and Jaw (Derib 1984b: 3),[78] reveals the richness of Derib's historical documentation, arguing that the professional collaboration between the cartoonist and academic experts allowed the former to translate Native American cultures in his comics with greater historical accuracy (Derib 1984b: 10) and to go beyond the myths of the Western genre constructed in popular culture. In the first volume, the story opens with a one-page panel of a medicine-man and a superimposed hide painting (Derib 1983: 13). In contrast to the panels in *Astérix*'s *La Grande traversée* cited above, the function of the hide painting is not parodic. Rather, it operates as an intermedial and cultural translation of historic Sioux graphic narratives. The hide painting can be read as a second (yet not *secondary*) panel and its function is not merely illustrative. The hide painting-shaped panel has a narrative function, containing the tribe's story in pictographs. The whole page is entirely composed of wordless, hand-drawn elements, both in the main panel and in the hide drawing-shaped smaller panel. The function of this second panel is to introduce the setting of the album's story and should be interpreted as a wordless narrative caption, rather than as a panel (see Figure 25, left). The next five pages (Derib 1983: 14-18) unfold in purely visual narrative form, as a continuation of the narrative mode of the first narrative caption, and display a succession of wordless panels, except for the onomatopoeia representing the first cry of the new-born child, Pluie d'orage (Derib 1983: 17). Most of these panels (see Figure 26) share complex compositions that play with the representation of time and space in a single, gutterless panel, as in ledger drawings, to construct syntactically simultaneous, but semantically distinct graphic narratives in which "the repetition of a figure is a way of describing two different events happening to the same person over time" (Petersen 2011: 7). Thus, the narrative caption in the opening panel (Figure 25, left) works on two signifying levels: firstly, it provides the context for the following pages of the *bande dessinée*, just as a more traditional textual narrative caption would, and secondly by working in a *bande dessinée* as part of the narrative, it convincingly makes the case for the visual art of Plains Native Americans to be considered as graphic

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[78] The original Native American drawings, reprinted in Derib (1984b), were published in Densmore (1918).

narratives on an equal footing with other art forms (combining word and image or not) that are widely regarded as proto-comics or comics, such as the Bayeux tapestry.

Martha A. Sandweiss (2002: 7) defines America as "a nation of readers, but our visual literacy lags far behind our capacity to read and understand words." This legacy of European cultural values is also applicable to the field of comics in which, as scholars such as Benoît Peeters have pointed out, words often take precedence over images. However, many European comics artists have also developed works that were considered innovative, such as Moebius/Jean Giraud's work on *Arzach* (1976) or in some of the most iconic pages of the *Blueberry* series (Figure 27) which consist of wordless graphic narratives, like the ledger drawings described in the preceding examples. In contrast with the American nation described by Sandweiss, many (geographically and culturally) displaced Native American cultures who "[l]ike most oral peoples […] depended upon imagery to express their thoughts" (Brown 1970: xvi), had created (and in many cases, continue to develop) narratives reliant on a complex and sophisticated visual literacy. It is time, as Tristan Ahtone (2018) has suggested, to include cultural artefacts such as ledger art in the conversation about the history of (Western) graphic narratives.
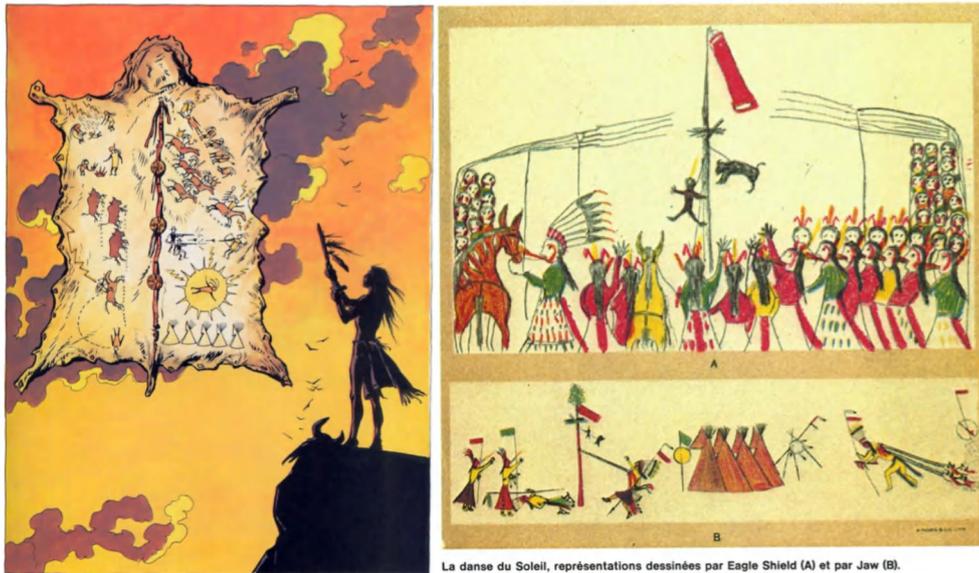
La danse du Soleil, représentations dessinées par Eagle Shield (A) et par Jaw (B).

Figure 25. Left: *Celui qui est né deux fois 1 – Pluie d'orage*. © ÉDITIONS DU LOMBARD (DARGAUD-LOMBARD S.A.) 1983, by Derib. / Right: *Celui qui est né deux fois 2 – La Danse du soleil*. © ÉDITIONS DU LOMBARD (DARGAUD-LOMBARD S.A.) 1984, by Derib. www.lelombard.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

Figure 26. *Celui qui est né deux fois 1 – Pluie d'orage*. © ÉDITIONS DU LOMBARD (DARGAUD-LOMBARD S.A.) 1983, by Derib. www.lelombard.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.
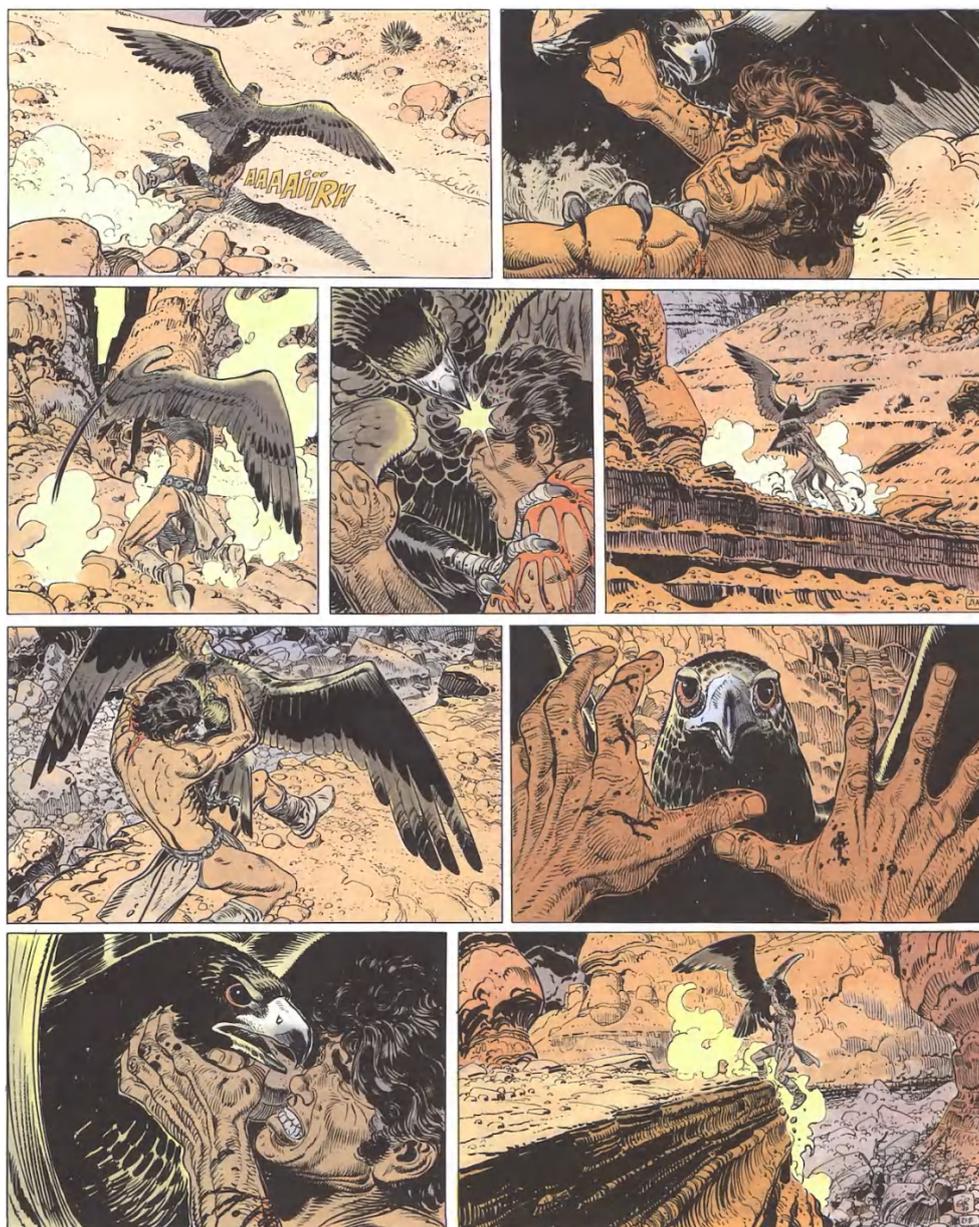
Figure 27. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6 © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

5. Intermediality as Translation in the *Blueberry* Series

The *Blueberry* series, as one of the most influential Western *bandes dessinées*, set many standards for budding cartoonists (both in the Franco-Belgian tradition and in international comics fields, for instance in Italian *fumetti* or Spanish *tebeos*).[79] Yet, the series followed in the transnational footsteps of seasoned cartoonists and previous generations, such as Jijé or Milton Caniff. As noted in the preceding sections, the documentary zeal of Belgian *bande dessinée* authors, such as Morris or Willy Lambil and Raoul Cauvin, was shared by Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud in the development of their scripts and drawings. Charlier and Giraud routinely turned to films such as *Rio Bravo* or photographs such as Edward S. Curtis' in their endeavour to translate the legends, myths and history of the American frontier to their panels and in an effort to inscribe *Blueberry* amongst works considered canonical within the Western genre. As critics and scholars alike have shown (see Grady 2017) the influence of Western films, including Golden Age Westerns of the 1950s and Spaghetti Westerns of the 1970s, can be perceived throughout the *Blueberry* series, as was the case with Derib's intermedial translation of *Jeremiah Johnson* in *Buddy Longway* (see section 4.3.1). In Giraud's words (cited in Kiely and Lofficier 1995: 11), Westerns are perceived in France "as something exotic", and he acknowledges "all the imagery fabricated by Hollywood", including Sergio Leone's "enormous impact on [his] own vision" of the Western genre, alongside the influences of John Ford, Sam Peckinpah, or Howard Hawks (11). A memorable scene from Howard Hawks' *Rio Bravo* (1959), as noted in the peritexts of the latest Dargaud *intégrale* (Bocquet 2013b: 13-14), is apparent as an intermedial palimpsest and forms the hypotext of a panel in the album *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent* (Charlier and Giraud 1969b: 29). Jean Giraud (Sadoul 15: 161) ponders thus the genesis of his intersemiotic and intermedial translation (from Charlier's script *and* from Hawks' film) in this panel, as a way of overtly acknowledging Hawks' influence:

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[79] For further analysis of the publication of the *Blueberry* series in Spain, see Chapter 5. See Zanettin (2014b) for an analysis of the Italian publication of *Blueberry*'s album *La Piste des Navajos*.

Je n'ai pas compris pourquoi Charlier a fait ça. Je lui en ai parlé, mais il n'avait pas l'air de s'en rendre très bien compte. Il n'est pas cinéphile; il a dû avoir le souvenir d'un film dont il avait totalement oublié l'existence. [...] J'ai commencé à me poser des questions au moment où Blueberry met ses deux types aux entrées de la ville pour confisquer les armes des gens. Ça me gênait. Alors j'ai fait une caricature de John Wayne et Dean Martin qui passent à cheval et à qui McClure demande de déposer leur artillerie.

After *Arizona Love*, when Giraud single-handedly authored the *Blueberry* albums, the influence of cinematic techniques such as those evident in Derib described in the previous section (see Figure 19) and the proliferation of purely visual, wordless panels and pages became commonplace in the pages of *Blueberry*, as for instance in the opening pages of the album *Geronimo l'Apache* (see Figure 28).
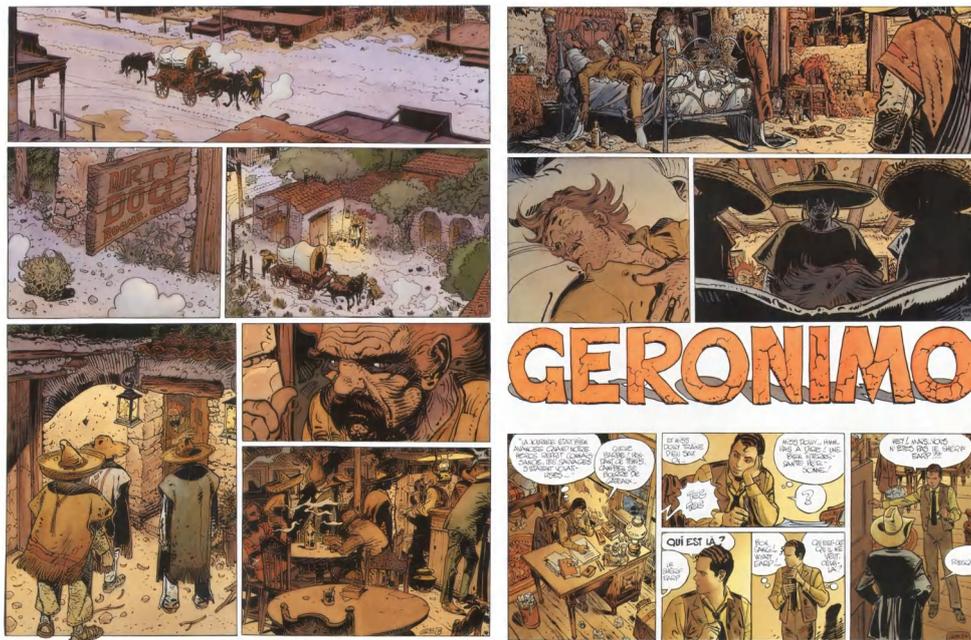
Figure 28. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 8 © DARGAUD 2018, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

The influence of Hollywood and Spaghetti Westerns' imagery is indeed perceptible and has been acknowledged by the authors and critics alike.

Other intermedial hypotexts of the *Blueberry* series, however, have been less studied, like the examples from the series *Les Tuniques bleues* and *Celui qui est né deux fois* studied in sections 4.2.1 and 4.4 above. Many of the details of Giraud's drawings in the *Blueberry* series are intermedial translations of authentic Apache artefacts, dwellings, garments and rituals. These include such details as the wickiups in *Tonnerre à l'Ouest* (Charlier and Giraud 2012: 114-118), diverse garments and artefacts in *Nez Cassé* (Charlier and Giraud 2017a: 130-138), or the sandpainting ceremony (2017b: 31, 36) in *La Tribu fantôme*.[80] In this album, a sandpainting ceremonial is reminiscent of those conducted by the Chiricahua and other Apaches (Griffin-Pierce 2000: 376).[81] Griffin-Pierce (377) posits that "[t]he Chiricahua Apache made 'ground drawings' to protect against epidemics and to prevent the enemy from following," as Charlier and Giraud translate in *La Tribu fantôme*, where "[s]andpainting rituals exemplify [...] the attraction of supernaturals through prestation" (Griffin-Pierce 2000: 377). Here, the shaman announces to Blueberry, during the tribe's escape from the San Carlos Reservation, that "[l]e Grand Esprit brouillera la trace" and "empêchera les Longues-Lames [the U.S. Cavalry] de les poursuivre" (Charlier and Giraud 2017b: 36)."

After the album *Arizona Love* (1990), the last to be co-created by Charlier and Giraud, the main *Blueberry* series was drawn and written only by Jean Giraud and there is a detectable shift in the scripts, attributable to the absence of Jean-Michel Charlier and to the culmination of what has been a gradual morphing of Jean Giraud (as an aesthetic persona, with a distinctive visual signature style) into Moebius in the *Blueberry* series. After *Arizona Love*, the creative frontier between Giraud and Moebius becomes increasingly blurred in the cartoonist's works. *Blueberry* remains a Western

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[80] Sandpainting (also spelled sand painting, and also called dry painting), is a "type of art that exists in highly developed forms among the Navajo and Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest and in simpler forms among several Plains and California Indian tribes. Although sand painting is an art form, it is valued among the Indians primarily for religious rather that aesthetic reasons. Its main function is in connection with healing ceremonies" (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica 2013).

[81] For visual evidence, see, for instance, Opler (1983), and photographs of the Edward S. Curtis Collection, or Carl N. Werntz's Apache portraits, hosted at the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress, available online, respectively, at: https://www.loc.gov/collections/edward-s-curtis. https://www.loc.gov/item/91482390.

series, yet it incorporates new tropes and elements more akin to Moebius than to Jean-Michel Charlier. In the album *Geronimo l'Apache*, for instance, there is a marked presence of Native American cultural tropes, as seen in Figure 29, where Kutérastan is mentioned by "Gokhlayeh" [sic.],[82] a Chiricahua Apache, otherwise known as Geronimo (Charlier and Giraud 2018: 202).[83] In another example, Giraud's documentation process is visible beyond the script, as his representation of Kahtalayeh, a fictional Mimbres (or Chihenne) Chiricahua Apache, is based on authentic Apache regalia, as demonstrated by the striking similarities between Giraud's Apache character and the Apache Crown Dancers photographed at the turn of the 20th century by American ethnographer Edward S. Curtis (Figure 29).[84] Beyond Curtis' hypotexts, these documentary practices can also be associated with Giraud's "attempt to portray aboriginal people as non-stereotypes, or at least to attempt to flesh out the characters" (Diamond, Bainbridge, and Hayes 2009) such as those portrayed on screens in revisionist Westerns like *Little Big Man* or *Dances with Wolves*.

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[82] Kuterastan, 'One Who Lives Above'—as Giraud writes in *Geronimo l'Apache*—is indeed the creator of the visible universe in an Apache creation story that begins thus: "There was a time when nothing existed—no earth, no sky, no sun or moon to break the illimitable darkness. But as time rolled on, a spot, a thin circular disk no larger than your hand—yellow on one side, white on the other—appeared in midair. Inside the disk, there sat a bearded man, who was the same size as a frog. The man was named Kuterastan, the One Who Lives Above. But some call him Yuadistan, Sky Man." (Hausman & Kapoun 2009: 46-47). In spite of the eminently fictional nature of Giraud's story (intended for entertainment), elements like this prove again the argument about the educational—or documentary—dimension embedded in many *bandes dessinées* presented in Chapter 2, and the (iconographic, cultural and historical) research process attempted by many French and Belgian cartoonists that is perhaps not always sufficiently highlighted by critics.
[83] Geronimo's birth name was Goyathle (Goyaałé), which in Mescalero-Chiricahua language means "One Who Yawns".
[84] According to Griffin-Pierce (2000: 376), Apache Crown Dancers, also known as the *gaan* among the Western Apache, "embody the Mountain Spirits and perform at night, bringing the spiritual world into physical manifestation, [with t]heir heads crowned with wooden slat headdresses, [they] wield their wooden swords as they dance around the fire." See *Ombres sur Tombstone* (Charlier and Giraud 2018: 176-178), and *Geronimo l'Apache* (Charlier and Giraud 2018: 198).
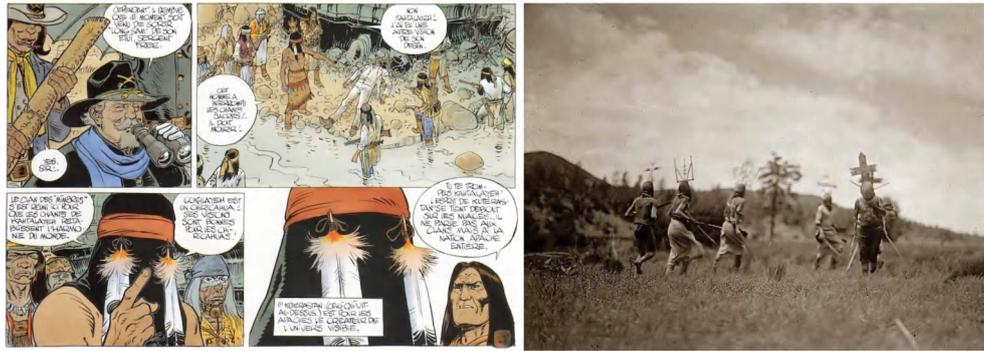
Figure 29. Left: *Blueberry* – Intégrale 8 © DARGAUD 2018, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved. / Right: *Apache Dancers*. Photograph, by Edward S. Curtis. Library of Congress.

From the covert hypotexts of Curtis' photographs in the panels of *Geronimo l'Apache*, to Hollywood's Westerns since the early albums, the *Blueberry* series increasingly displayed its intermedial influences as Jean Giraud took over from Charlier as the series' scriptwriter to the point of citation (Genette), as shown in the example in *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent* discussed above. In the album *Mister Blueberry*, one of the characters, the journalist Campbell, mentions George Catlin in a speech balloon and a footnote provides a brief description of the American artist: "[a]rtiste américain du début du 19ème siècle célèbre pour ses dessins d'Indiens des Plaines" (Charlier and Giraud 2018: 95). On the same tier of the *bande dessinée*, the last panel shows a hand drawing a scene with a group of Chiricahua Apaches (96), that arguably works as a panelized back-translation of the intermedial hypotexts used by the cartoonist in the transmedial palimpsest of the *Blueberry* comics series (see Figure 30).

Figure 30. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 8 © DARGAUD 2018, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

6. Coda

Western comics are widely considered as an independent, distinct genre in comics, although some would rather categorize them as a subgenre of adventure comics. As Grady (2017) claims, Western comics are inscribed in the wider Western genre category that includes Western films, novels, radio series, music, or, more recently, video games. What is acknowledged today as the Western mythology is mainly the legacy of the Golden Age of the Western in American cinema (1939-1960). As Indick writes, with the end of the American frontier in the 20th century "film became the primary medium of the national mythology," and the Western genre was "by far the most popular […] [i]n the first 60 years of film" (2008: 2-3). Indeed, one of the earliest films in cinema history was a Western, *The Great Train Robbery* (Porter 1903). During the 1950s, this "Western mystique ranged far beyond film and publishing, greatly influencing […] every aspect of American life" (Indick 2008: 2-3). This all-pervading influence is obviously found in comics too, another popular and visual medium that was growing hand in hand with the film industry in the early 20th century. As Hollywood is once again reminding us, in its recourse to plundering the comic-book archive and superhero franchising, comics and film are closely intertwined media and Westerns are no exception. As Martha Zan asserts, "[t]he history of Western comic books is strongly connected with Western movies. Hundreds of heroes from television and movie Westerns have been adapted into comic book series and vice versa" (2010b: 685).

Yet this chapter has also shown how the history of Western *bande dessinée* is strongly connected, beyond Western films, to other media that appropriated the mythology and mystique of the Western genre, namely photography and painting, and from this wider perspective traditionally obscured representations of the American frontier such as ledger art narratives. Building on these general findings, the following chapter will develop an in-depth study of the *Blueberry* series, through an analysis of its editorial history based on the intermedial translation and the panelization of the visual influences of the Western described in the present chapter.

Chapter 3. The History, Reprints and Canonization of the
Blueberry Series in Francophone Europe

In France, a cartoonist is one step below a movie director.[85]

Art Spiegelman

1. Introduction

The previous chapter has shown, with an analysis of intermedial case studies, how Western *bande dessinée* is often based on a process of intersemiotic translation, and/or adaptation of intermedial hypotexts (Genette 1982) and on the (fictionalized) memorialization of historical characters and events. This chapter examines how these translational practices influence the domestic production and reception of Western *bande dessinée*, focusing on the publication history of the *Blueberry* series (1963-2007) as a case study. Thierry Groensteen once wrote that *bande dessinée* is an art deprived of memory: "C'est un paradoxe: si elle maintient artificiellement en vie certaines séries dont la popularité a su se transmettre d'une génération à l'autre, dans le même temps la bande dessinée est un art qui cultive volontiers l'amnésie et n'a pas grand souci de son patrimoine" (Groensteen 2006: 67). More recently, scholars such as Dony have debated the importance of memory in comics, pointing out that Groensteen's "argument is insightful insofar as it is based on the observation that publishers lack clear (and coherent) editorial policies concerning their publishing lines, especially when it comes to the publishing history of works that have been released and/or reprinted in various formats (deluxe, prestige, anthologies, etc.). This is the main reason why the critic maintains that publishers show little concern for the cultural heritage of the art form" (Dony 2014). Based on this premise, this chapter will show—in the light of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1998; Gouanvic 2005; Beaty 2012; Beaty and Woo 2016) and

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[85] Hornblower (1993: 64).

using Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series as a case study—how reprints of the original comics and memorialization initiatives have aimed to remediate this amnesia (paying particular attention to the *intégrale* publishing format and to the exhibitions *Blueberry by Gir*, and *Trait de génie: Giraud/Moebius*), thus contributing to the afterlife and memory of the series (as a sort of commercial archive) and to the (constantly renewed) canonization and symbolic capital of both the series and its creators.

The first part of this chapter (Sections 2 and 3) will give an overview of the *Blueberry* series, including the *bande dessinée* spin-offs, and of its (re)publication history. The last part of the chapter (Section 4) will move from the analysis of the attribution of cultural and symbolic capital by external agents (publishers, museums and cultural institutions) in Section 4, to the study of the cartoonists' authorial strategies, devised in their struggle for the acquisition of cultural capital in Section 4.1. The latter section will analyse selected panels from different cycles of the main *Blueberry* series, in order to evidence the continued intermedial input and thorough documentation work of the authors, from *L'Aigle solitaire* (1967) and *Ballade pour un cercueil* (1974) to *Geronimo l'Apache* (1999) and *OK Corral* (2003). As close analysis based on Genette's works on transtextuality and hypertextuality (1982) reveals, these albums represent particularly interesting intermedial case studies that unveil textual and visual hypotexts (Genette 1982: 13) that go beyond the realm of the traditionally acknowledged influences from Western films on Western *bande dessinée*.

2. Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* Series (1963-2007)

Jean-Michel Charlier (1924-1989) and Jean Giraud (1938-2012) renovated the Western genre through the comics medium with the *Blueberry* series, which is inscribed in the dominant tradition of the realistic style embodied by Jijé and Giraud. These two cartoonists were widely considered as tutelar figures (see Van Vaerenbergh 2016: 111) in the canon of a popular Western genre that had been subject to French censorship since 1949. This censorship existed because the violence inherent to the Western genre was not particularly appropriate for a young readership, according to the *Loi du*

16 juillet 1949 sur les publications destinées à la jeunesse.[86] Giraud, who
signed the *Blueberry* albums as Gir and is known internationally by his pen
name Moebius was a lifelong fan of American Westerns and cartoons.[87]
Charlier was drawn to the Western genre during a revelatory journey through
the western United States in 1962 (Bocquet 2013a). Amongst Giraud's early,
and major, influences was Joseph Gillain, widely known by his pen name
Jijé, discussed in the previous chapter. In the Belgian studio model of
apprenticeship, Jijé is credited and remembered as an influential mentor
figure by many from the following generation of Francophone cartoonists.
Other influences on Giraud include an eclectic list of names, ranging from
Gustave Doré to American and European cartoonists such as Will Elder, Hal
Foster, Chester Gould, René Pellos, André Franquin, Jean-Claude
Mézières, or Morris. Jijé was, however, a key tutelar figure for Jean Giraud,
particularly influential for the *Blueberry* series (Giraud 1999: 107-122). The
co-creator of Blueberry often acknowledged throughout his life how much he
was indebted to Joseph Gillain, to the point of crediting him for his
collaboration with Jean-Michel Charlier, whom Giraud met in 1963.

Charlier and Giraud worked together on the *Blueberry* series until Charlier's
death in 1989, co-signing a total of twenty-six albums.[88] Charlier was already
an established and prolific scriptwriter,[89] but the *Blueberry* series (1963-
2007) was Giraud's coming of age work and the creation that runs almost
from the beginning to the twilight of his career, as the backbone to the rest
of his work, and where readers can perceive his evolution as an artist and

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[86] For the far-reaching implications of this law on *bande dessinée*, see, for instance,
Michallat (2018: 19-24) or Lesage (2014: 79-93).
[87] See Chapter 4 for a discussion on authorship and the persona of Jean
Giraud/Moebius and its influence in the translation of the *Blueberry* series.
[88] This includes the main series *Lieutenant Blueberry*, and the first three albums of
the spin-off series *La Jeunesse de Blueberry*, serialized initially in black and white in
the magazine *Super Pocket Pilote* (in the issues number one to number nine)
between 1968 and 1970.
[89] By 1963, Charlier had already serialized several *bandes dessinées* in the
magazines *Spirou* and *Pilote*, and published more than sixty albums, including the
series *La Patrouille des Castors*, *Marc Dacier*, *Les Aventures de Buck Danny*, *Les
Aventures de Tanguy et Laverdure*, and *Barbe-Rouge*.

colourist,[90] but also as a writer in the latter part of the series. Indeed, when Charlier hired Jean Giraud to work on the *Blueberry* series in the new comics magazine *Pilote*, co-founded in Paris by Jean-Michel Charlier and Albert Uderzo in 1959, the publication was in dire need of a Western series. Giraud was at the time a budding artist who would ultimately become Moebius, his alter ego and free-spirited artistic persona. Moebius is traditionally identified with the experimental, trail-blazing side of Giraud, present in what is known as 'comix' and particularly with science-fiction and dystopian subjects. Nonetheless, as Giraud describes in his graphic autobiography, *Inside Moebius* (2018), where he dissects and exposes his creative journey, his two creative styles continually evolved through the intertwining meanders of his works. From the clear line to blurring many conventions of the *bande dessinée*, Giraud's style evolved dramatically during his career, as the *Blueberry* series unfolded. Unlike some of his contemporaries—such as Hergé, who stuck to a personal style—the experimental side of Moebius never faded. Until his death, he changed and renewed his repertoire, thematically and artistically, as his more science-fictional works attest to.

This personal evolution can be best perceived in the *Blueberry* series. Since the publication of the first panels in *Pilote* magazine in 1963, Jean-Michel Charlier held the reins of what started as an attempt to find new readers that would ensure the publication's life. The main references for Charlier and Giraud's series were American Western films, more than comics. The original title of the new series was *Fort Navajo*, a classic Western story heavily influenced by Hollywood productions of the golden age of the Western genre, such as John Ford's *Fort Apache* (1948). *Fort Navajo*'s characters were practically alter-egos of the actors in comics form, albeit, somehow, with a French twist. As has been pointed out by critics,[91] Charlier and Giraud chose the iconic traits of actor Jean-Paul Belmondo to incarnate Mike S. Blueberry's outlandish and rebellious personality, in line with the

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[90] Although Giraud coloured (or re-coloured) most of the *Blueberry* albums, the following colourists worked on some albums: Jean-Claude Mézières' sister Évelyne Tran-Lê, Giraud's sister-in-law Claire Champeval, Claudine Blanc-Dumont, Janet Gale, Scarlett Smulkowski, Florence Breton, Fraisic Marot, and Claude Poppé.
[91] See, for example, Giraud (1999: 128), Bocquet (2012: 12), or Sadoul (2015: 159).

roles that the French *enfant terrible* himself portrayed on the silver screen. *Fort Navajo* provided comics readers with a first glimpse of Blueberry, just three years after the release of Jean-Luc Godard's film *À bout de souffle* (1960), which featured Belmondo in the lead role. Belmondo's career in cinema followed a meteoric path, and, similarly, Blueberry's character quickly grew on his creators and on readers alike, taking centre stage in the narrative and ultimately lending his name to a long-lasting series that spawned new stories and is still being successfully (re)published and sold in Francophone Europe.

2.1. *Fort Navajo*, *Lieutenant Blueberry*, *(Mister) Blueberry*

Charlier and Giraud's original *Blueberry* series is constituted by several distinct cycles, where each album contributes to an overarching narrative constructed around the fictional biography of the main character, striking in unity and cohesiveness when considered as a whole. This is undoubtedly proof of the careful scriptwriting process of Charlier, who went to the unusual lengths of researching and writing a complete biography of the putatively real Mike S. Blueberry, who inspired the events depicted in the *bandes dessinées*, included in the peritexts of *Ballade pour un cercueil* (1974).[92]

Since the first cycle of the series, which draws its main inspiration from the Apache Wars and comprises the albums *Fort Navajo*, *Tonnerre à l'Ouest*, *L'Aigle Solitaire*, *Le Cavalier perdu* and *La Piste des Navajos*,[93] intermedial influences from Hollywood's golden age Western films have been pinpointed time and again by critics, and by the authors themselves. However, other hypotexts are also present in this cycle. For instance, the first album's storyline, *Fort Navajo*, influenced by John Ford's 1948 Western *Fort Apache*, is also the fictionalization of the incident known as the Bascom affair (see Sweeney 1991: 142-165). Historically, the Bascom affair "spawned open

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[92] See Section 4.1 for analysis of this paricular peritext.
[93] Although inspired by the Apache Wars in the 1860s, the *Blueberry* scripts of this cycle (and also in the second Apache Wars cycle and last cycle of the series) include—often confusing—alternating references to the Apache and the Navajo. This theme will be addressed and analysed (in a comparative study with the English translations) in Chapter 4.

hostilities between Cochise's people and the Americans" (143) in 1861. There are several historical accounts of this event, including the Apache perspective of Cochise's escape from Bascom's set-up. "The Apaches knew the incident as 'cut the tent,' a reference to Cochise's means of escape," (143) and Cochise himself "gave what was perhaps his most detailed version to William F. Arny in October 1870" (143).

In *Fort Navajo*, Charlier and Giraud translated this historical episode to the comics grid, mingling fact and fiction, as can be seen on pages 44-45 of the album *Fort Navajo* (1965), where Cochise escapes from Bascom's set-up by cutting a U.S. cavalry tent with a concealed knife, stolen from a U.S. officer. Charlier's use of historical documentation in his comics scripts is a well-known fact. However, it seems to have drawn less critical attention than the cultural studies approach to the interpretation of the *Blueberry* series (see Grady 2017), or the analysis of the presence of cinematic intermedial influences in the *Blueberry* albums. A hypertextual reading of selected albums of Charlier and Giraud's series in Section 4.1 will provide a more complete view of intermedial and transtextual influences in the *Blueberry* series, that goes beyond the traditionally acknowledged influence of Hollywood and Spaghetti Westerns.

The album *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent* (1969) does not fit into any of the cycles, and is considered to be a transitional, one-off work. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Section 5), the plot is heavily inspired by Howard Hawks' film *Rio Bravo* (1959), to the point of intermedial plagiarism in the scripts of some panels, as remarked by Giraud, who attributed this fact to Charlier's patchy knowledge of the wider repertory of Hollywood Westerns.

The rest of the albums scripted by Charlier include the cycle of the Sioux Wars, published between 1970 and 1971 (*Le Cheval de fer*, *L'Homme au poing d'acier*, *La Piste des Sioux*, *Général "Tête Jaune"*), the diptych of the Lost Dutchman, published in 1972 (*La Mine de l'Allemand perdu* and *Le Spectre aux balles d'or*), the cycle of the Confederate gold, published between 1973 and 1975 (*Chihuahua Pearl*, *L'Homme qui valait 500.000 $*, *Ballade pour un cercueil*, *Le Hors-la-loi*, *Angel Face*), and the second cycle of the Apache Wars, published between 1980 and 1986 (*Nez Cassé*, *La*

Longue Marche, *La Tribu fantôme*, *La Dernière Carte*, *Le Bout de la piste*).
The scripts of all these albums, in line with Charlier's writing *habitus*, draw
from intermedial and transtextual influences that range from films to novels
to historical events. For instance, the cycle of the Sioux Wars translates to
the comics grid the fictionalized episodes of the Washita Massacre (1868)
and Custer's Last Stand (1876),[94] a classic in Western cinematography and
(graphic) literature; the Lost Dutchman's cycle is inspired by the American
legend of the Lost Dutchman's mine, that also inspired numerous works of
fiction; the cycle of the Confederate Treasure graphically translates
Spaghetti Western tropes, and rewrites the legend of the Confederate gold
allegedly hidden after the American Civil War until the South could rise
again—a myth that resurfaces in films such as Victor Fleming's *Gone with
the Wind* (1939) or Sergio Leone's *Il buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (1966), and in
Western comics such as *Tex*'s *L'oro del Sud* (1999). Finally, the second cycle
of the Apache Wars is inspired by films such as John Ford's *Cheyenne
Autumn* (1964), and by historical events such as the Long Walk of the Navajo
(1864), or the Victorio Campaign (1879) against the Apache.

After Charlier's death in 1989, Giraud took over the scriptwriting duties to
finish the album *Arizona Love*, published in 1990, before continuing the
series on his own and changing its title to *Mister Blueberry*. After *Arizona
Love* (this can be perceived also in the last pages of the album) the setting
of the series was also modified, shifting to a more urban atmosphere, and
the tone became gradually darker and more akin to Noir Western than to
golden age or Spaghetti Western, as was the case in the previous cycles.
The *Mister Blueberry* cycle includes the albums *Mister Blueberry* (1995),
Ombres sur Tombstone (1997), *Geronimo l'Apache* (1999), *OK Corral*
(2003), *Dust* (2005), and *Apaches* (2009), the album that closes the main
Blueberry series.

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[94] Section 4.4 in Chapter 2 includes a commentary of Charlier and Giraud's graphic
translation of the Washita Massacre in the album *Général "Tête Jaune"* (1971).

2.2. Spin-offs

The *Blueberry* series is in fact a collection of many sub-series, which started with a three-album spin-off of the original series signed by Charlier and Giraud, *La Jeunesse de Blueberry* (1975), *Un Yankee nommé Blueberry* (1978) and *Cavalier bleu* (1979). This was first serialized from 1968 to 1970 in the comics magazine *Super Pocket Pilote*, as a collection of eight short stories that each narrates an episode of Blueberry's youth. These stories were later re-formatted for publication in album form. These three albums became the basis, from 1985, for what is currently the second-longest-running *Blueberry* sub-series, a serial analepsis (Genette 1972: 82) extending through twenty-one albums (as of 2015) that narrates Blueberry's adventures during the American Civil War, prior to the events related by Charlier and Giraud in the principal series. Further to the three original albums, the remainder of this sub-series was written initially by Charlier and drawn by New Zealand cartoonist Colin Wilson (two albums: *Les Démons du Missouri* [1985] and *Terreur sur le Kansas* [1987]) and later written by François Corteggiani (the first of Corteggiani's *Blueberry* albums, *Le Raid infernal* [1990], was co-written with Charlier), and drawn by Colin Wilson (until 1994) and Michel Blanc-Dumont (since 1998). Interestingly, and as noted in Chapter 2 about female agency in Derib's *Buddy Longway* series, the colourists of Colin Wilson's and Michel Blanc-Dumont's *Blueberry* albums were their respective wives, Janet Gale and Claudine Blanc-Dumont (except for Blanc-Dumont's album *Le Convoi des bannis* [2015], coloured by Jocelyne Etter-Charrance).

After Charlier's death, a shorter sub-series of only three albums, titled *Marshal Blueberry*, was written by Giraud—and co-written with Thierry Smolderen on the album *Mission Sherman* (1993). The art on the albums *Sur ordre de Washington* (1991) and *Mission Sherman* (1993) was by William Vance and the colours by his wife Petra, and Michel Rouge and Scarlett Smulkowski drew and coloured, respectively, the last album, *Frontière sanglante* (2000).

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On a final note, it is worth mentioning that the *Blueberry* series seems to have recently found a new life (yet again), as French cartoonists Joann Sfar and Christophe Blain have made a new addition to the saga, the recently published album *Amertume Apache* (2019). Interestingly, Blain brings a whole new (and very personal) visual style to the series, after the succession of Giraud's organic style(s), Colin Wilson's contributions—perhaps best described as a visual tribute to Giraud's *Blueberry*—and Michel Blanc-Dumont's new (yet classical) visual take, reminiscent of his personal style (influenced by Giraud's) in the Western series that Blanc-Dumont co-authored with Laurence Harlé, *Jonathan Cartland*. As of 2020, Joann Sfar and Christophe Blain are reportedly working on a second *Blueberry* album, tentatively titled *Les Hommes de non-justice*.

3. The Formats of the *Blueberry* Series

The first story of *Blueberry* was not really about the title character, or at least it was not supposed to be (Giraud 1999:123). The first strips of what would eventually become the *Blueberry* series were published with the title *Fort Navajo* in the comics magazine *Pilote*. Dargaud was the first publisher of the series in album form, yet it was not the only one. This section will provide a concise analysis of its publication history in comic magazines and in album form.

The complex editorial history of *bande dessinée* is key in the understanding of the medium and its translation and adaptation across various genres. The format is of paramount importance in comics, to the extent of determining everything from the layout to the content. For critics such as Pascal Lefèvre, "[a]n entire book could be devoted to the way in which different formats influence comics, without exhausting the topic. […] when we want to study a comic, we should always thoroughly consider the format the comic was made for" (Lefèvre 2000: 104-105). Traditionally, an author working for French-language publishers "knows that his stories will have to be exactly 46 [sic] pages long, which is, as several artists and critics [a.o. Groensteen 1998: 28] have stated, too short to develop a novel-like complexity. It is an exception when an author gets the opportunity to make a one-shot story and to exceed

the page limit" (Lefèvre 2000: 98). Nevertheless, the history of *bande dessinée* shows us that, despite being primarily identified with the 48-page, hardcover albums in A4-size, French and Francophone Belgian comics did not always look like this (Capart and Dejasse 2014; Lesage 2014). Many comic strips were first published "for distribution with newspapers, and later developed into independent magazines published weekly and sold on newsstands for the entire week" (Couch 2000) before they became albums. In spite of their current (relatively) privileged status when compared to the lower esteem in which comics are held in other cultures, French and Belgian *bandes dessinées* faced a long and arduous struggle for cultural and social appreciation and selection for translation and adaptation.[95] Scholars working on the history of their publication practices have helped unveil this (e.g. Baetens and Lefèvre 2014; Capart and Dejasse 2014; Lesage 2014), exposing the significant links between the questions of format, memory, translation and cultural legitimacy. The act of reprinting old magazine comics in album form enhances their (commercial and cultural) value—or symbolic capital—as they become more costly (economic capital) and less ephemeral and disposable than magazines (repackaging serialized comics is a form of heritage management and renders unwieldy series accessible, particularly to younger generations, in a sort of commercial archiving). Beyond the obvious gain in economic capital, this change of format also entails the acquisition of prestige (cultural capital), particularly when these reprints are published in hardcover albums, as opposed to the softcover format— materially and symbolically more akin to magazines than to books—used for instance by Dupuis for the publication of some of its series, such as *Lucky Luke* (see Lesage 2014: 430-432).

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[95] For instance, as Pizzino (2016: 3) argues, in the United States "[t]he medium's story is not one of natural development from pulp infancy to literary adulthood. It is a history of conflict in which comics have continuously been read by adults, but have been banned, threatened with censorship, excluded from or subordinated to other media in educational settings, and otherwise pushed to the margins of culture."

3.1. Serializations and Albums: From *Pilote Hebdo* to Dargaud

The *Blueberry* series was first serialized in the French comics magazine *Pilote hebdomadaire* in 1963. Founded in 1959 by *Blueberry*'s scriptwriter, Jean-Michel Charlier, with *Astérix*'s creators René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo, *Pilote hebdomadaire* symbolized the countercultural revolution of the 1960s (Michallat 2018) and published several Franco-Belgian Western comics series, including *Blueberry* or *Lucky Luke*. The initial success of *Blueberry* turned it into a staple series in the magazine, and later a successful collection in album form that generated fans and readers in France and Belgium. *Fort Navajo*, the pilot published in *Pilote hebdomadaire* between October 1963 and April 1964, was the original story that spawned the *Blueberry* series. *Pilote hebdomadaire* published twenty-three consecutive issues of *Fort Navajo* from October 1963 to April 1964. Its immediate success guaranteed regular publication of the *Blueberry* series in the magazine until August 1973 and in a successful collection in album form published initially by French publisher Dargaud from 1965 to 1975 and later from 1995 to 2007, and also by the publishers Fleurus (1980), Hachette (1982-1983), Novedi (1986), and Alpen (1990). The Dargaud publishing house—after bailing *Pilote* out of bankruptcy—started publishing the *Blueberry* comics in album-long stories, whose publication coincided with what is generally considered as the golden age of the series. *Blueberry* was first issued in hardcover album format—more expensive (economic capital) and prestigious (cultural capital) than the softcover format—by the French publisher Dargaud in 1965. Several factors, however, influenced the publication history of the series after 1973. Firstly, a young Giraud was reportedly growing tired of the publication rhythm imposed on the series—Jijé had to take over his work on several panels during a prolonged leave of absence—and *Pilote* was facing financial hardship, before eventually merging with the magazine *Charlie mensuel* between March 1986 and July 1988, and ultimately being discontinued and going out of business in October 1989.[96] After *Blueberry* ceased to be serialized in *Pilote hebdomadaire* in 1973, the next episodes were initially

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[96] See for instance Anspach 2009, or Bocquet (2013b: 8-10, 2013c:10).

published in the magazines *Nouveau Tintin* (*Angel Face*, from September to November 1975), *Super As* (*Nez Cassé* and *La Longue Marche*, from February to April 1979 and June to October 1980, respectively), *Métal hurlant*—founded by Giraud after he left *Pilote*—(*Nez Cassé*, published simultaneously to the *Super As* issues from February to April 1979), *L'Écho des savanes* (*La Tribu fantôme*, from October to December 1981), *Le Journal de Spirou* (*La Dernière Carte*, from November to December 1983) and *France-Soir* (*Arizona Love*, from July to September 1990). The passing of Charlier in July 1989 was a steppingstone in the continued evolution of the series.

What could appear initially as *Blueberry*'s swan song proved to be a dramatic yet enriching turn in the narrative. Charlier, the master scriptwriter of endless graphic narratives, can be regarded as the creative drive behind the *Blueberry* storyline. Giraud started as a young apprentice artist, taking on the considerable challenge and responsibility of the graphic storytelling. The regular collaboration over the years with Charlier arguably allowed him to develop his skills as a scriptwriter that he displayed, for instance, in his works signed as Moebius and in the last seven *Blueberry* albums. *Arizona Love* (1990) was started by the original creative tandem, and temporarily interrupted by Charlier's sudden death. Giraud completed the album by himself and went on to publish six more albums as the sole author over the next seventeen years. This was not the first time he took ownership of a full *Blueberry* story, however: he had previously written and drawn *Tonnerre sur la sierra*, published in the first issue of the magazine *Super Pocket* in June 1968. Following a general trend in the 1980s, which saw a generalized decrease in the sales of comics magazines in France, thus altering the reception of the series and putting an end to the weekly collecting practices of readers, the albums *Le Bout de la piste* (1986), *Mister Blueberry* (1995), and *Apaches* (2007) appeared only in album format (published by Novédi and Dargaud).

3.2. Reprints in *Intégrales*

Contemporary interest in the comic medium and the canonization practices

that surround it have arguably bestowed increasing symbolic value upon old magazine originals (see Baetens and Frey 2015: 220-221; Beaty and Woo 2016: 21). They are displayed in specialized and generalist museums alike, and in exhibitions curated by prominent comics historians and scholars. As Bourdieu (1998) writes in *Les règles de l'art*, symbolic and social value is conferred by a network of agents such as critics, historians, publishers, curators, collectors and juries, who recognize the works of artists or authors as worthy of appreciation:

[l]e producteur de la *valeur de l'œuvre d'art* n'est pas l'artiste mais le champ de production en tant qu'univers de croyance qui produit la valeur de l'œuvre d'art *comme fétiche* en produisant la croyance dans le pouvoir créateur de l'artiste. (Bourdieu 1998: 375)

These old originals are also rescued from private or editorial archives to be included in lavish omnibus editions—or *intégrales* in French—that contribute to the (re)construction of the cultural memory of the medium. Dargaud, Rombaldi and Hachette have issued several reprints in *intégrales*.[97] The latest *intégrale* was published in nine 24.1x31.8 cm. hardcover volumes by Dargaud between 2012 and 2019. The editors of these volumes chose to reprint the original editions of the *Blueberry* comics as published in the magazines *Pilote Hebdo*, *Nouveau Tintin*, *Super As*, *Métal hurlant*, *L'Écho des savanes*, *Le Journal de Spirou*, and *France-Soir*, and directly in album form by Dargaud, Fleurus, EDI 3 BD, Hachette, Novédi and Alpen.[98] These *intégrale* volumes also include a wealth of archival documents—from both visual and textual sources—in the paratexts. The most interesting include, for instance, annotated original and discarded panels that shed light on the

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[97] See Gorgeard (2011) for an analysis of the politics of reprints in omnibus editions, and canon formation in *bande dessinée*.
[98] The eighth volume of the latest Dargaud *intégrale* also includes the albums single-authored by Jean Giraud, *Ombres sur Tombstone* and *Geronimo l'Apache*, serialized respectively in *Le Monde* (between July and August 1997) and *BoDoï* (from July to November 1999), and published in album form by Dargaud, together with *Mister Blueberry*.

creative process of the cartoonists (see Figure 31), by "archiving and recirculating cultural objects whose memory was originally disregarded by the producers themselves" (Ahmed and Crucifix 2018: 6-7), and thus adding a dimension of creative annotation to the *intégrale* endeavour. This editorial decision by Dargaud arguably adds symbolic capital (value) for readers and collectors to the obvious value for the publisher (economic capital) of this *intégrale*, that previous (omnibus) editions of the same album had somehow passed over. The *intégrale* currently published by Dargaud, consequently, is perhaps best described as the latest contribution to the institutional and critical construction of *Blueberry* as a canonical series of (Western) *bande dessinée*, a timely strategy considering the present concerted efforts for the social, artistic and academic legitimization of the comics medium.

Figure 31. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6, pp. 20, 97. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

4. Canonization and Symbolic Capital

As stated in Chapter 1, *Blueberry* is one of the most internationally recognizable (Western) *bandes dessinées*, and it is published not only in France, Belgium and Francophone countries, but in many other parts of the

world (with translations in more than twenty languages). This section will explore how Charlier and Giraud's series "*comes to be seen as great*" (Beaty and Woo 2016: 2 [original emphasis]) and integrates the canon of (Western) *bande dessinée*.

Charlier and Giraud often portrayed a subversive version of the American frontier myth, drawing their inspiration mainly from films, as they acknowledged. Yet they also delved into American history, as evidenced by many characters and plots inspired by historical events and used reproductions of original illustrations and historic photographs in the panels of their albums—and in the publisher's peritexts—to make a case for authenticity.[99] This peculiar practice attests to the detailed research process of the authors in the elaboration of *bande dessinée*, and is a documentary endeavour that is particular to the Belgian studio model of apprenticeship (Vandooren 2014), in which cartoonists find inspiration in and feedback on each other's work(s) and styles (Beaujean and Mercier 2015: 44). This articulates the formation of a particular canon and the construction of a dynamic archive of the history of the medium, in which the normative imitation of a collective style is a fundamental principle of the cultural industry of Franco-Belgian comics (see Berthou 2010). In a textbook example of this, Sadoul (2015: 161) evokes Giraud's redrawing of a scene from Howard Hawks' *Rio Bravo* (1955).[100] Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series has also been redrawn and memorialized by their peers, as evidenced, for instance, in two albums of Derib's Western series *Buddy Longway* (see Pissavy-Yvernault 2010: 16). Derib includes Blueberry's sidekick McClure and Jean Giraud in several panels of his albums *La Vengeance* and *Le Démon blanc*, respectively. This is a telling sign of the presence of the series, and the authors, in the canon of a Western *bande dessinée* that they renovated through an aesthetic based on a personal interpretation of popular culture.[101]

In 1975, Luc Boltanski observed that the comics field was "structured almost

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[99] See Section 4.2 in Chapter 1.
[100] See Chapter 2.
[101] Paraphrasing the work of Roelens (2019) about Milo Manara, Hugo Pratt and the conceptualization of authority in comics, we can see how Derib "met en scène une figure d'autorité en faisant référence à celui qui, symboliquement, serait son maître, le tout pour garantir et situer son propre acte de création."

exclusively by market value" where "products are not preserved, accumulated or archived" (Boltanski 2014: 282). This situation has evolved over the last four decades—that have witnessed the medium's quest for legitimacy—with the creation of the Centre belge de la bande dessinée (1989) in Brussels, and the Centre national de la bande dessinée et de l'image (1990)—later rebranded as the Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image (CIBDI)—and the Musée de la bande dessinée (1991) in Angoulême.[102] This legitimacy, however, also raises issues such as the institutional ambiguity of cultural politics and the mediatic concentration around the Angoulême International Comics Festival, as Éric Maigret (Maigret and Stefanelli 2012: 130-140) has shown in his study about the medium's post-legitimacy.

From January to June 2009, the Maison de la bande dessinée in Brussels—with Dargaud and the Gallerie Maghen—organized the exhibition *Blueberry by Gir* to memorialize Charlier and Giraud's Western series and, chiefly, the evolutive style of Jean Giraud's graphism. Eighty original pages and some twenty drawings by Giraud, multiple manuscripts, and a selection of graphic and written archives were displayed at the museum, alongside several Western artefacts. Beyond a complete overview of Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series, the exhibition provided readers with a behind-the-scenes look at Giraud's work, analyzing the cartoonist's particular attention to the semiotic aspects of typography,[103] his innovative panel layouts, or the skilful use of black and white in the composition of the panels, which has been highlighted more recently in oversized black and white reprints.

These new oversized editions of the original albums of the last cycle of the series are softcover 30x40 cm. albums, whereas the original albums are 22.5x29.8 cm., in hardcover editions. From an editorial standpoint, further to the obvious value of reprints, and their economic capital as cultural goods that are "immediately and directly convertible into money" (Bourdieu 1986: 242), these new editions arguably aim to add to the symbolic capital of the

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[102] For recent debates on the question of the legitimacy of *bande dessinée*, see Ahmed, Delneste and Tilleuil (2016: 138-259).
[103] See Chapter 4, for an analysis of Giraud's use of typography.

series, and include page spreads of close-up selected panels that highlight Giraud's artistic mastery. The 2009 exhibition also studied Giraud's influences—and notably Jijé's, by displaying original pages of *Blueberry*'s *La Piste des Navajos* side by side with originals of *Jerry Spring*'s albums (Anspach 2009)—and the evolution of his style and the diverse editorial formats of his works.

Blueberry by Gir was presented by François Deneyer as a major contribution by one of the most prolific authors of *bande dessinée* and a European trailblazer of the Western genre.[104] By 2009, Jean Giraud had already been the recipient of numerous awards, including the Grand Prix de la ville d'Angoulême in 1981. The Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image in Angoulême had already organized a major exhibition of his works titled *Trait de génie: Giraud/Moebius* between January and September 2000, which included a section about the *Blueberry* series, in an overt effort firmly to establish the French cartoonist as a canonical figure. Furthermore, the catalogue of the exhibition (Groensteen 2000), which can be considered as part of the "public epitext" (Genette 1987) of the *Blueberry* series, was published by the Musée de la bande dessinée as a forty-eight-page monograph that takes the readers through Giraud's life and works and includes previously unpublished material, such as an interview with Jean Giraud (Ciment 2000) about the Western genre. As Genette posits, an interview with the author, considered as one of the many forms of the "épitexte public" may function as "un avantageux substitut de préface" (Genette 1987: 361), and Ciment's interview explores with Giraud the motivations behind the cartoonists' choice of the Western genre, above all the need to construct "un système de références cinématographiques et documentaires" to develop his craft (Ciment 2000: 16). Another interesting aspect of Giraud's insights in the interview is the importance that he grants to the "grands précurseurs" (Ciment 2000: 16) in Western *bande dessinée*, such as Jijé and Morris. The authors of *Jerry Spring* and *Lucky Luke*, like the

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[104] Deneyer aimed to memorialize the "golden age" of the *Blueberry* series, which to him corresponds to "les albums que Jean Giraud a réalisés depuis la création de la série jusqu'à *Arizona Love*. Bref, les albums scénarisés par Jean-Michel Charlier" (Anspach 2009).

artists outlined in Chapter 2 that once roamed the American frontier, are for Giraud "les premiers dessinateurs européens à avoir fait l'effort de voyager aux États-Unis et au Mexique pour s'imprégner des paysages, objets et mentalités" (Ciment 2000: 16).

Trait de génie: Giraud/Moebius was instrumental in establishing Giraud and *Blueberry* in the canons of both comics and the Western genre, due to the contribution and the concerted efforts of the CIBDI, the publishers of the series and a sizeable team of critics and scholars, many of whom had already published diverse pieces on Giraud and/or *Blueberry*.[105] Theoretically, memorialization initiatives like these constitute major contributions that help remediate the general amnesia of the comics medium denounced by Groensteen (2006), yet "the truth is that the level of legitimization that comics enjoy is quite difficult to estimate [and] depends on the criteria one takes into account" (Groensteen 2010: 21-22). Public exhibitions, however, like interviews and "colloques" (Genette 1987: 361), are generally reserved for authors that have already achieved a certain degree of consecration (Genette 1987: 368), and the exhibition *Trait de génie: Giraud/Moebius*, which framed Giraud as a "dessinateur d'exception, mondialement connu, convoité à Hollywood" (Smolderen 2000: 10) was no exception. In Giraud's accession to the canon of *bande dessinée*, Thierry Smolderen (2010: 12) posits that the work on *Fort Navajo* was a watershed in Giraud's career, when he started to see "la bande dessinée en artiste." Smolderen goes on to define the four essential aspects that graphically define the *Blueberry* series: "la question du corps, celle de l'espace, le rapport à la photographie et le rapport au cinéma" (Smolderen 2000: 12). Further to Smolderen's statement, and in the light of the general intermedial analysis carried out in Chapter 2, the following section will critically examine the historical hypotexts that inform the *Blueberry* series and end by analysing the third of these aspects (photography) in the *Blueberry* series from a translational viewpoint, in order to explore what arguably constitutes a mechanism of canonization that has previously been neglected. The next section will also examine more closely a crucial element that seems to have been overlooked by most exhibitions

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[105] See, for instance, Sterckx (2000).

about the *Blueberry* series: the original scriptwriter and the historical documentation and repurposing of period material in selected *Blueberry* albums.

4.1. Hypertextuality, Translation and Autographic Peritexts

Further to the analysis of the attribution of cultural and symbolic capital by external agents, this section looks at the intermedial authorial strategies that the cartoonists devised in their struggle for the acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital, through the lens of Gérard Genette's (1982) concepts of transtextuality and hypertextuality. The *Blueberry* series arguably *contains* some of the keys to its own (attempted) legitimization and consecration, from a generic viewpoint. As this section will show, these interpretive keys are related to intertwined processes of memory/remembering and (intermedial) translation. As von Flotow (2011) writes:

> [m]emory/remembering and translation have a number of factors in common. They refer to a past (made up of experiences or texts), which they move into a present, usually for specific reasons and with a specific audience in mind. More importantly, the source text—the experience that memory re-constructs or the foreign language work that translation re-members—are usually inaccessible to the present and therefore unverifiable. Not only does the experience lie somewhere in the past, completed, finished and replaced by the memory [...]. Similarly, the foreign source text is not available to the new present or to the readers who operate beyond the original language; it is replaced by its translation. In such conditions, both memory/re-membering and translation easily assume—or are assigned—positions of authority, despite the very possible influence of fantasy, invention and fabrication. (von Flotow 2011: 142-143).

Based on a hypertextual reading (Genette 1982) of select (intermedial) source texts, or palimpsests, that are key in the (icono-)textual construction

of the *Blueberry* series, this section posits that Charlier's transtextual writing and Giraud's intermedial drawing are arguably constructed and developed as a co-authorial strategy that aims to inscribe their *bande dessinée* series in the transmedial canon of the Western genre, thus assuming a position of authority and accruing its cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1998; Gouanvic 2005; Beaty 2012; Beaty and Woo 2016).

Amongst the twenty-eight albums of the *Blueberry* series, the diptych formed by *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu* and *Le Spectre aux balles d'or* has often been praised as the pinnacle of the series. However, there is one album that stands out from a translational viewpoint, that is *Ballade pour un cercueil*. The long, seventeen-page biography of Mike S. Blueberry included in the peritext of the first album edition of *Ballade pour un cercueil* (1974) mentioned in Section 2.1, was of course fictional, but for years duped many readers, until the authors publicly acknowledged the artifice. It includes, however, an interesting collection of historic photographs that attest to the detailed research process of the authors in the elaboration of the comics, as described in Chapter 2. This peritextual element arguably functions as a "préface originale" (Genette 1987: 200),[106] using the rhetorical technique of *captatio benevolentiae* to "*valoriser le texte*" (201) by way of "véridicité" (209) and providing an "indication de contexte" (222) for the entire *Blueberry* series (and possibly also including potential sub-series). This veracity is attained by means of a multimodal translation strategy, consisting in the exposure, or

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[106] Genette (1987: 200) defines the "préface originale" as written by the author in order to "*assurer au texte une bonne lecture*". Technically, this would be a "préface ultérieure" in Genette's terminology, yet it will be considered here as a "préface originale" as in "la deuxième édition d'une œuvre, et aussi bien chacune des suivantes, s'adressant à de nouveaux lecteurs, rien n'empêche l'auteur d'y porter une préface 'ultérieure' par sa date mais 'originale' pour ces nouveaux lecteurs, auxquels il tiendrait le discours dont, pour une raison ou pour une autre, il avait cru d'abord pouvoir se dispenser." (Genette 1987: 242). The reason for the omission of this preface in the first edition is very likely to be that, in the pages of the magazine *Pilote hebdomadaire* (nos. 647-679) in which it was published in 1972, a seventeen-page dossier was a hard fit.

revelation, of the intermedial transtextuality of the series,[107] supported by the inclusion of historical photographs that create the illusion of "an unmediated glimpse of lost worlds that radiate an aura of factual authenticity and unquestionable veracity [and] resonate with authority, in part because of their age, in part [...] because we still presume their mimetic accuracy" (Sandweiss 2002: 326-327). As Chapter 2 has shown for the intermedial translation of the Western genre in *bande dessinée*, Charlier textually and iconographically reveals (part of) his hypotexts in his preface, to (mis)guide the reader's reception of the series. As Genette posits, "l'hypertextualité se déclare le plus souvent au moyen d'un indice paratextuel qui a valeur contractuelle" (Genette 1982: 17). Indeed, whilst the inside covers of the *Blueberry* albums (see Figure 32) included for many years Giraud's graphic adaptation of Blueberry, from a photograph of French cartoonist Jean-Claude Mézières riding a horse during his stint working as a cowboy at the Dugout Ranch in south-eastern Utah (Bocquet 2012: 15), Charlier's preface includes the "only known photograph of Blueberry" (see Figure 33). This was, as admitted by Charlier years later, a hoax.

Figure 32. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 1, p. 15, 14. © DARGAUD 2012, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

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[107] Transtextuality is defined as the "transcendance textuelle du texte," that is, "tout ce qui le met en relation, manifeste ou secrète, avec d'autres textes" (Genette 1982: 7).

The photograph in Charlier's preface is actually a portrait (circa 1861-1865) of Federal generals W.H. Hancock, F.C. Barlow, D.B. Birney and J. Gibbon from the Brady-Handy Collection at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The man presented as Mike S. Blueberry by Giraud is actually Union General Francis Channing Barlow (1834-1896).[108] Graphic portrayals of F.C. Barlow are not particularly scarce, as evidenced, for instance, by Figure 33 below, or by the oil painting *Prisoners from the Front* by the American Winslow Homer (1836-1910), an artist-correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*, which was exposed in 1867 at the Exposition Universelle de Paris (Homer 1866).

Francis C. Barlow was indeed a prominent historical figure. He was "born in Brooklyn on October 19, 1834 [and] was a successful lawyer in New York City when the war erupted. [H]e went off to war, [was] [o]riginally commissioned a lieutenant, [and] he ended the war as one of the North's premier combat generals" (Samito 2004: xiii-xiv). One of his biographers notes that "as Barlow slipped into public obscurity during the last 20 years of his life, his exploits still found themselves into print." (Welch 2003: 248). Indeed, almost a century later, Charlier improbably framed one of his photographs as a hypotext of the *Blueberry* series. The fact that, as Welch remarks, "Barlow's unfiltered frankness was complemented by another signal component of his character—an innate and unhesitant physical courage" (Welch 2003: 27), and that Barlow once was a Union Lieutenant, may allow for a hypertextual reading of *Blueberry*, yet the hypertextual relations do not seem to extend much further than this.

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[108] For historical studies about General F. C. Barlow, see for instance Welch (2003) or Samito (2004).
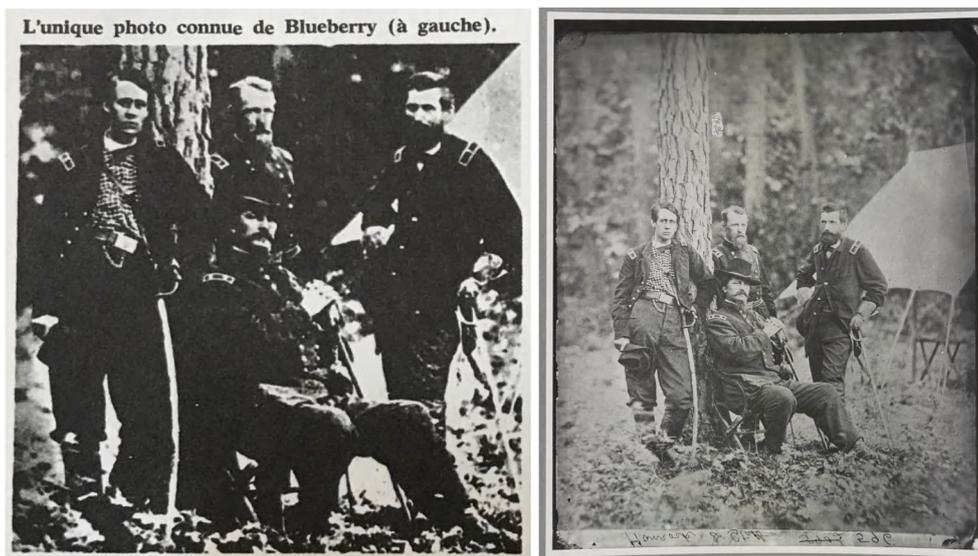
Figure 33. Left: *Blueberry – Intégrale 5*, p. 10. © DARGAUD 2016, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved. / Right: *Hancock, Gen. W.S. & group (Birney, Barlow, & Gibbons* [sic.]*)*. Photograph. Public Domain/Library of Congress.

As posited by Genette, "l'hypertexte est presque toujours fictionnel, fiction dérivée d'une autre fiction, ou d'un récit d'évènement réel" (Genette 1982: 554). Charlier did not only transpose General F.C. Barlow in his preface. Blueberry's biography also includes period photographs of historical events and locations, and of real-life personalities and myths of the American frontier such as General Ulysses S. Grant, Geronimo, or James B. "Wild Bill" Hickok. Before analysing the former, let us look first into the latter. Some of these characters are merely translated—to different degrees of fictionality—to the *Blueberry* series. For instance, whilst the likes of Ulysses S. Grant, Geronimo, or "Wild Bill" Hickok are overtly transposed (and adapted) onto the *bandes dessinées*, the names of other Native Americans in the *Blueberry* comics may also be adapted from those portrayed, albeit not mentioned by name, in the photographs in Charlier's preface. For instance, one of the preface's pictures is a photograph of the Chiricahua Apaches, Geronimo, Natches (Cochise's son), and Perico (Geronimo's son), taken by Camillus Sidney Fly (1849-1901) in 1886, and published in *Harper's Weekly* on April 24, 1886, and identified in Charlier's preface as "Chief Geronimo (left, on a horse)" (Fly 1886). The name, if not the historical character, Natches (1857-1921), generally spelled as Naiche (Griffin-Pierce 2010: 123-124), yet also

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as Nachi, Nache, or Natchez, is also arguably translated to the *Blueberry* comics as Natchez, in the first cycle of the series (see Figure 34). Similarly, other Apache names which are not inscribed in the mythic soundscapes of the Western genre like those of Geronimo or Natchez, such as "Fel-Ay-Tay" in the album *Nez Cassé* (Charlier and Giraud 1980: 43), equally translate to the comics the names that made the history of the American frontier. As period photography attests to, Fel-Ay-Tay (Apaches Fel-ay-tay Yuma Scout, San Carlos 1884-1885) was indeed one of these names. Other Native American characters' names used in the series appear to be entirely fictional, such as Cochise's daughter Chini.[109] Finally, some names such as the one given to the Apache woman that Blueberry addresses as "Nahabeeho" in the album *Nez Cassé* (Charlier and Giraud 2017: 130), likely reveal what Villerbu (2015: 221) has called the "nature fantasmée" of the "discours mythique occidental" in Western *bande dessinée*. In a documentary endeavour, cartoonists make use of Native American languages, looking to produce "des effets de réel" (221) which, if and when scrutinized (see Section 3.1 in Chapter 2), may fall short of their purpose and ultimately expose fully their "nature fantasmée" (221). In the *Blueberry* series, the name of Nahabeeho falls arguably into the translation of this mythic discourse: ***Naabeehó*** *bizaad* (own emphasis) is another term, with *Diné bizaad*, for the Navajo language.

There is one specific instance of naming in the preface to *Ballade pour un cercueil*, however, that calls for a more sustained analysis. Charlier's preface includes a photograph of Quanah, the Apache (see Figure 34) also known as Aigle Solitaire, who plays an important role as Blueberry's nemesis in the initial *Blueberry* stories (*Fort Navajo*, *Tonnerre à l'Ouest*, *L'Aigle Solitaire*, *Le Cavalier perdu*, and *La Piste des Navajos*). The real name of the man

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[109] Historians provide differing accounts of Cochise's progeny. Whilst Delgadillo (2013: 63) reports that he had five daughters, two of them named Dashdenzhoos and Naithlotonz, Sweeney (1991: 142) cites Chiricahua Apache accounts, stating that Cochise had two daughters "by his second wife: Dash-den-zhoos and Naithlotonz, both born in the late 1850s or early 1860s," yet he notes that a "report from the San Carlos Reservation in 1886 does not concur with twentieth-century Apache recollections; it said Cochise had two widows at that time. By one he had had two children, who died; by the other he had had Taza, Naiche, and two daughters" (142).

pictured in the photograph is indeed Quanah, yet he was not an Apache renegade. The photograph in Charlier's preface is that of Quanah Parker (c1850-1911), a war chief of the Quahada band of the Comanche, the son of chief Peta Nocona and Cynthia Ann Parker (Neeley 1995: 1).

Figure 34. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 1, p. 142. © DARGAUD 2012, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved. / *Quanah Parker, Comanche Indian Chief, full-length portrait, standing, facing front, holding feathers, in front of tepee*. Photograph. Public Domain/Library of Congress.

The historical figure of Quanah Parker, like those of Geronimo (*Goyaałé*) or Sitting Bull (*Ťȟatȟáŋka Íyotake*), has been translated to the silver screen and to the myth of the Wild West in numerous motion pictures, as well as to the comics medium. The case of Quanah Parker's photograph, together with that of Barlow, exposes more fully Charlier's preface as a "transposition pragmatique", that is, the "modification du cours même de l'action, et de son support instrumental" (Genette 1982: 442) and "transposition diégétique", or "changement de diégèse" (Genette 1982: 418) in the *Blueberry* series. With this peritext, Charlier reveals his hypotexts in order to claim a transtextual historical veracity, in an attempt to inscribe his series, by means of this "contrat de lecture" (Jouve 2001: 12), in the "architexte" (Genette 1979: 87-

88) of the Western genre (Milton 1980).[110] However, the framing of the photographs of Quanah and Barlow, presented as hypotexts for the translation of the characters of Mike S. Blueberry and Aigle Solitaire, give away the fictional nature of this hypertextual construct, which, according to Charlier, did not prevent some historians from reading this preface literally and researching *Blueberry*'s historical hypotexts. This went well beyond the ludic function of transtextuality later claimed by Charlier about his preface to the album *Ballade pour un cercueil*. These hypotexts, however, do exist, albeit they differ from Charlier's peritextual keys. A hypertextual reading of the series that goes beyond the often researched intermedial influences from Western filmography equally seems to contradict Giraud's claim that the *Blueberry* series is not grounded in history when he argues that,

> [o]n ne raconte pas une chronique historique, à travers *Blueberry*, on se raconte nous. Charlier, tant qu'il a fait ses scénarios, il s'est raconté lui-même. Qu'est-ce qui arrive à Blueberry? Il arrive ce qui arrive à Charlier. [...] C'est Flaubert. Tu vois, *Madame Bovary*, c'est Flaubert, et *Blueberry* c'était Charlier. Et maintenant, c'est moi ! Avec quand même [...] le respect de ce que Charlier [...] a investi dedans. (Martin 1996)

Although the *Blueberry* series clearly cannot (and must not, contrary to what the "contrat de lecture" proposed by Charlier's preface suggests) be read as a "chronique historique," there is more to it than Giraud claims, and it relates to Charlier's hypertextual (script)writing. These hypertexts must be read, however, as the product of author-constructed transtextual operations of "transdiégétisation" (Genette 1982: 420) and "transpragmatisation" (Genette 1982: 442). If one calls Charlier's bluff and digs deeper into *Blueberry*'s palimpsest, reading beyond the recurring cinematic Western myths, it is possible to find that Blueberry may be, in fact, more realistically translated to the comics grid than is overtly claimed. A key to this hypertextual reading is

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[110] Gérard Genette defines the architext as the transcendent categories (i.e. the literary genres, types of discourse, or modes of enunciation, among others) to which belong every individual text. (Genette 1979: 87)

to read what Charlier omits, and not what he reveals, in his preface, in the light of the hypertextual reading of the *bandes dessinées* as palimpsests.

Arguably, one of the keys to the transtextual translation of Blueberry is to be found in the cycle started by the album *Nez Cassé*. Unlike in the peritextual device in *Ballade pour un cercueil*, there is no revelatory preface to this eighteenth album, no (apparent) further key to the "contrat de lecture" (Jouve 2001: 12), just a standard, entertaining Western *bande dessinée*. Let us look at the title, however. Considered a threshold into the text, this peritextual element refers to one of the physical characteristics of the series' protagonist, his broken nose.[111] A panel in the album *Nez Cassé* lets Francophone readers know (or pretends to lead them into believing), that "'Tsi-Na-Pah' veut dire 'Nez Cassé' en langage Navajo" (Charlier and Giraud 2017: 132). As stated in Chapter 2, *bande dessinée* cartoonists resorted to the use of terms in Native American languages in some of their stories, to different degrees of accuracy and actual documentation. Even though Charlier's attempt to provide cultural veracity to his *bande dessinée* may be dubbed as a cultural mistranslation, this arguably provides a further hypertextual key to the reading of the series, perhaps one that is closer to the actual *Blueberry* hypotexts than the preface suggests. Indeed, Barlow's military career never extended beyond the end of the Civil War, yet that of a Union Lieutenant named Charles B. Gatewood (1853-1896) did unfold in the southwestern territories of New Mexico and Arizona and took him into the north of Mexico.[112]

Lieutenant Gatewood was involved in the Apache Wars and is credited with meeting Geronimo in Mexico and convincing him to surrender to General Nelson A. Miles in 1886 at Skeleton Canyon, southeast of Fort Bowie in Arizona (Hutton 2016: 382-388). The days surrounding Geronimo's final surrender were visually immortalized by Tombstone photographer C. S. Fly, who had travelled with the Union troops from Fort Bowie (Kraft 2000: 119).

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[111] The album *Cavalier Bleu*, in Charlier and Giraud's spin-off series *La Jeunesse de Blueberry*, narrates the story of how Blueberry had his nose broken.
[112] See, for instance, Kraft (2000, 2005) or Hutton (2016) for biographical accounts of Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood.

One of these photographs is that of Geronimo and Naiche mentioned above. As Kraft posits, Lieutenant Gatewood, pictured in Figure 35 with the Company "A" of Apache scouts at Fort Apache (Arizona), in 1880, after their return from the campaign against Victorio, "made a name for himself as an Apache man. [...] A major contributor to his success in the field was the equality with which he treated his [Apache] scouts" (Kraft 2000: ii). Coincidentally, Charlier's preface includes a period photograph framed as "Apache scouts employed by the U.S. Army against Geronimo" (Charlier and Giraud 1974a), although there is no explicit mention of this company in any of the panels of the *Blueberry* series.

Figure 35. *Company "A" Apache Indian Scouts of Fort Apache, Arizona*. Photograph. October 1880. (Public Domain).

Lieutenant Gatewood was known amongst the Apaches as *Bay-chen-daysen*, which means "Long Nose" (Kraft 2000: i).[113] This may be but a coincidental similitude with Blueberry's nickname, yet there is more. Like Charlier and Giraud's Lieutenant Mike S. Blueberry, Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood was "southern-born" (Kraft 2000: i). Gatewood was also a "veteran Indian campaigner since reporting for duty at Fort Apache, Arizona territory, [with] a jaded view of the 'glorious life' an officer's commission offered [and] no dreams of glory" (Kraft 2000: i). Like Blueberry, Gatewood "was a rarity on the frontier [who] did not view Apaches as subhumans to be robbed and stamped out" (Kraft 2000: ii), as he "reached across the boundaries of race and culture" (Kraft 2000: 220). Again, like Blueberry in the last cycle of the *bande dessinée* series, Gatewood was involved in the Victorio campaign, which included the miserable confinement of the Apaches in the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona (Kraft 2000: i), also known as Hell's Forty Acres. As Kraft argues, "though few white men made any attempt to know [the Apaches], Bay-chen-daysen, [...] did. Yet he, like the Native Americans with whom he associated, did not willingly choose his station" (Kraft 2000: i). The two *Blueberry* albums that follow the story in *Nez Cassé*, namely *La Longue Marche* and *La Tribu fantôme*, can be read as hypertexts of the historical episode of the quiet nocturnal escape from the San Carlos Reservation of [Loco, Nana, Mangas, and] Victorio's Chihenne band of 310 Apaches in 1877 (Griffin-Pierce 2000: 387; Hutton 2016: 227). Indeed, these *Blueberry* albums include several key details that coincide with, and arguably translate to the comics panels, some of the historical facts recounted by scholars such as Kraft, Griffin-Pierce, or Hutton. For instance, in their escape, the Apaches crossed the Gila River and used different tactics effectively to mislead their trackers, as Blueberry and the Apaches do in the album *La Tribu fantôme* (see Hutton 2016: 227, and Charlier and Giraud 2017b: 47). The historical similarities with Charlier's scripts are noteworthy, considering, as stated above, that *Blueberry* is (claimed as) a fictional *bande*

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[113] "Charles Gatewood had a large nose, to which most of his nicknames referred. He preferred the name the Apaches gave him—*Bay-chen-daysen*, claiming that it meant 'long nose.' Lieutenant Charles B. Gatewood, 'The Surrender of Geronimo' (1895), Gatewood Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Box 4, Folder 5, 36." (Kraft 2000: 221).

dessinée, arguably strengthening the case for the hypertextual reading presented earlier in this section.

After the death of Charlier, Giraud, as he argues in Martin (1996) did not break completely with the Belgian scriptwriter's rationale, and the hypertextuality in *Blueberry*'s texts continues to be apparent in the albums, becoming in some instances an intertextual relation (in Genette's restricted sense of this term), to the point of citation (Genette 1982: 8), as shown in Figure 36 below. As the figure shows, in the word balloons of these panels from the album *Geronimo l'Apache* (Charlier and Giraud 1999), Giraud translates literally to the comics grid a text by William Wellington Phillips (Gidley 2003: 43-44; Curtis 1907: 36-37), which reports an Apache prayer to Stenatlihan (Curtis 1907: 30-31) and its English translation (see Chapter 2, Section 3.1). Parts of this same intertext were subsequently translated to Faure's (2013) *bande dessinée*, *Camargue Rouge* (see Figure 7 in Chapter 2, Section 3.1). The probability that Faure used Giraud's album as hypotext, rather than the original text by Curtis, is deduced from the fact that the translation of the Apache text in the footnote of *Camargue Rouge* reproduces the same misquote found in *Geronimo l'Apache* fourteen years earlier, in yet another example of the construction of "effets de réel" (Villerbu 2015: 221) that is characteristic of the "nature fantasmée" (221) of the Western genre, already mentioned in Chapter 2.

Transtextuality, as shown by the analysis of the preface of the album *Ballade pour un cercueil*, is not limited to texts (in the narrower definition of this term). As posited in Chapter 2, intermedial translation from photographic hypotexts to sequential (and multimodal) hypertexts is rife in Western *bande dessinée*. As Sandweiss posits, "photographs can, indeed, be rich primary source documents; they deserve and reward the careful sort of historical attention more often lavished on literary texts" (Sandweiss 2002: 7). Further to this statement, Charlier's preface in *Ballade pour un cercueil* includes several historical photographs of places and events such as the Battle of Gettysburg, yet most are used as a "transposition pragmatique" (Genette 1982: 442). As happens with other (literary or historical) hypotexts in the preface, some of

these photographs are inscribed in Charlier's "transposition pragmatique" and do not literally translate the original, yet as Sandweiss (2002: 7) posits, they constitute invaluable source documents in Charlier's effort to inscribe the series in the canon of the realistic Western genre (Milton 1980), understood as "a matrix of [...] visual and literary ways of narrating stories about the West" (Sandweiss 2002: 7). Cartoonists such as Giraud make use of photographs such as these in Western *bande dessinée*. For instance, the cover of the album *Geronimo l'Apache* is testament to the intermedial translation at work in the *Blueberry* series (see Figure 37) and can arguably be read as the hypertext of a photograph of Geronimo (not included in Charlier's preface to *Ballade pour un cercueil*). This album's cover also shows the attention to detail that Giraud applied to his drawings, the texture of which is sometimes, as the cartoonist acknowledged, closer to engravings than to traditional cartoon pictures (see also Figure 32), where the artist "[a]u lieu de simplifier l'espace comme on le fait traditionnellement en bande dessinée," ensures that every drawing "devient une histoire microscopique—celle d'un caillou, d'un personnage secondaire, d'un sentier qui se perd à l'horizon" (Smolderen 2000: 12). In this creative process of intermedial translation, "the photographer's craft [becomes] a storyteller's craft" (Sandweiss 2002: 7).

Figure 36. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 8, pp. 214-215. © DARGAUD 2018, by Charlier &
Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.
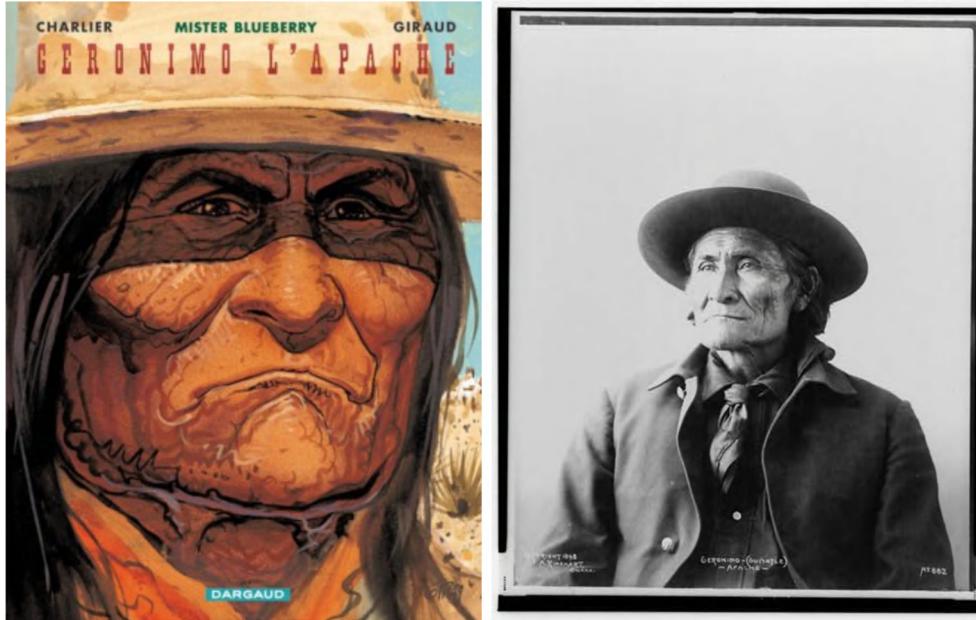
Figure 37. Left: *Blueberry* 26 – *Geronimo l'Apache*. © DARGAUD 1999, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved. / Right: *Geronimo - (Guiyatle) - Apache*. Photograph, by Adolph F. Muhr. Public Domain/Library of Congress.

The following example (see Figures 38 and 39) is yet another visual token from the album *OK Corral* (2003), as evidence of Giraud's process of visual documentation. On page sixteen of the album, Giraud's panel shows a perspective of a building seen from the OK Corral in Tombstone, Arizona, prior to the mythic shootout, translated to numerous Western novels, paintings and films, such as Thomas Berger's (1999) novel *The Return of Little Big Man*, Victor C. Forsythe's 1952 oil painting *Gunfight at OK Corral*,[114] or George P. Cosmatos' (1993) film *Tombstone* (which visually inspired Giraud's later *Blueberry* comics). The two photographs and the map in Figure 39 show that the perspective, proportions, and visual details of the historic site of the OK Corral in Giraud's panel are extremely accurate. Indeed, the

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[114] Victor Clyde Forsythe (1885-1962), was an American artist who also worked as a comics illustrator for the *New York World* and the *New York Journal*, on comic strips such as *Tenderfoot Tim* (1913-1914). See more about Forsythe in Holtz, Allan. 2012. *American Newspaper Comics: An Encyclopaedic Reference Guide*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

location of the OK Corral and the view of Tombstone's Cochise County Courthouse—the building drawn at the top of Giraud's panel in OK Corral (see Figure 38)—from the corral's gate are true to nature, and the drawing's perspective and proportions translate an accurate rendering of the distance between the two sites, which are approximately 170 metres apart. For a cartoonist that once claimed that "[u]n dessinateur de bande dessinée doit être capable de tout faire, comme ça, en un clin d'œil, sans avoir besoin de chercher de la documentation" (Martin 1996), this level of attention to documentary detail is certainly notable. Contrary to this statement of Giraud's, he has shed light in other interviews on his documentary ethos and his systematic use of photographic documentation (Smolderen 2000: 14), being more open about the amount of research that goes into his work in *Blueberry*, both as the artist, and later also as the scriptwriter.
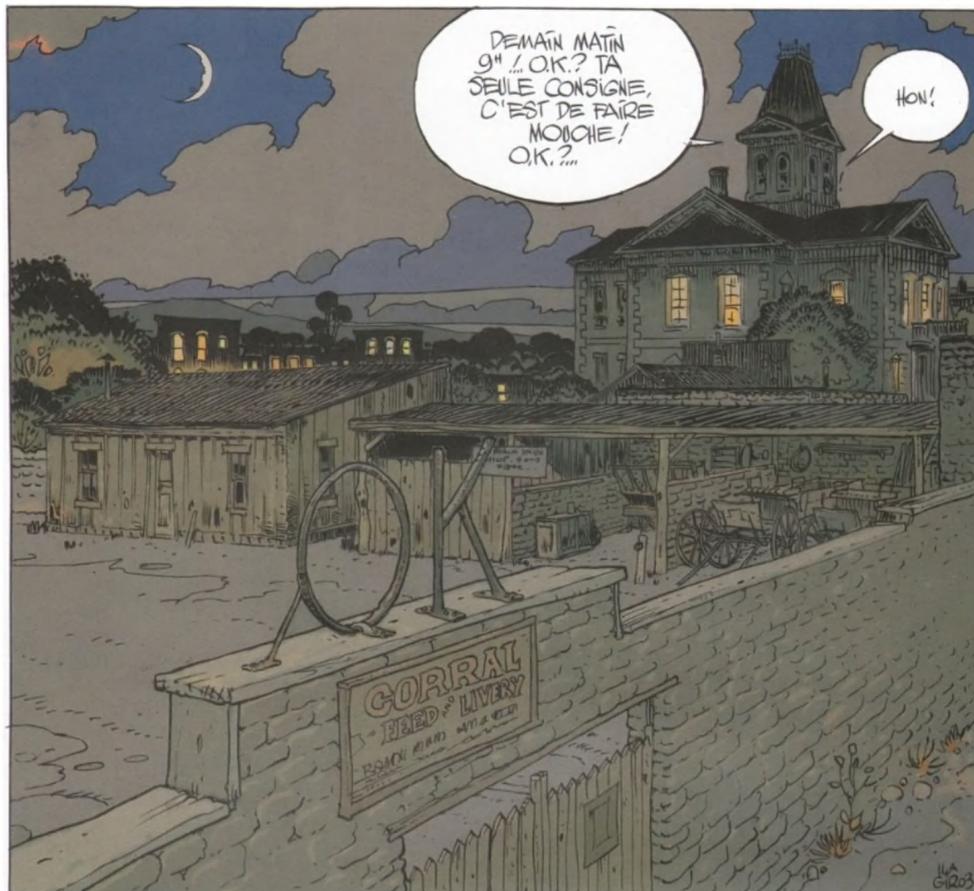
Figure 38. *Blueberry* 27 – *OK Corral*, p. 16. © DARGAUD 2003, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. Reproduced with permission. All rights reserved.

Figure 39. Top left: Historic site of the OK Corral on Allen Street.[115] / Top right: Cochise County Courthouse, 1940.[116] / Bottom: OK Corral and Cochise County Courthouse in Tombstone, AZ. © Google Maps 2018.

As Section 4.1.1 in Chapter 2 previously argued, hypertextuality and the process of intermedial translation in *bande dessinée* may be inscribed—beyond Morris' apparent parodic intent in the case of the *Lucky Luke* series analysed in the preceding chapter—in a translational strategy of inscription of Western *bande dessinée* in the canon of the Western genre. This is certainly the case in Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series. This operation of legitimization and inscription in the canon of the Western genre by means of intermedial translation can be observed in the (hyper)textual elements and also in the (hyper)iconic components, as shown by the examples previously analysed.

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[115] Available at:
 http://www.americansouthwest.net/arizona/tombstone/ok-corral_l.html.
Last accessed on 24 November 2019.
[116] Available at:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cochise_County_Courthouse_1940_FSA.jpg. Last accessed on 24 November 2019.

5. Coda

As this chapter has shown, the acquisition of symbolic capital by Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series has been achieved not "by heritage" (Gouanvic 2005: 161), but rather by publication, reprinting and cultural and institutional recognition, thus acquiring classic status and, consequently, "enduring, stable symbolic capital" (Gouanvic 2005: 161). As we reflect on the acquisition of symbolic capital in the comics field, the following quotation from Pierre Bourdieu's *Sociology is a Martial Art* might come to mind:

> It took painters nearly five centuries to achieve the social conditions that made a Picasso possible. We know from reading their contracts that they had to struggle against their patrons to stop their work from being treated as a mere product whose worth is determined by the surface painted and the cost of the colors used. They had to struggle to win the right to sign their works, that is to say, the right to be treated as authors. They had to fight for the right to choose the colors they used, the manner in which those colors are used, and even, at the very end—particularly with abstract art—the subject itself, on which the power of patronage bore especially strongly. (Bourdieu 2010: 226)

Bourdieu's words might have resonated with cartoonists such as Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud in their struggle to be recognized as authors during the 1960s and 1970s, and to acquire not only economic capital (i.e. their fair share generated by a booming *bande dessinée* market) but also cultural and symbolic capital, as evidenced in Section 4.1. Yet, their status can be regarded as a paradoxical example of Groensteen's (2006: 67) introductory statement about the amnesia of the *bande dessinée* industry and the memory of *bande dessinée*. Indeed, the canonization and capitalization of (some) great comics of the past—such as *Blueberry*—has proven to be a highly profitable endeavour for the comics industry, with the organization of exhibitions that generate symbolic capital that raises the

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value (economic capital) of original comics and the sales of reprints, lavish *intégrales* and commemorative editions. However, looking back on the cultural and symbolic capital of the *Blueberry* series to which exhibitions, museums and reprints in omnibus editions have contributed, it is perhaps convenient to remember, as Lesage (2015) has pointed out, that the success of the *intégrale* format precisely exposes the fact that the "memory of *bande dessinée* is ever subject to oblivion," and that the acquisition of symbolic capital by Charlier and Giraud and their *Blueberry* series is an elusive exception.

After this analysis of the publishing and canonization strategies of Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series in a Francophone cultural context, the next chapter will examine how another constitutive element of the comics industry, namely translation, operates. The act of translation is not dissimilar to the republication practices discussed in this chapter, insofar as "[a] translation is both the memory and the active re-membering of another, earlier text. It disengages the original work from its historic envelope, its environment, moving it away from its first readers, and re-constructing, re-membering it for another time, in another place, for another reader or audience" (von Flotow 2011: 142). The following chapter will demonstrate how, through the actions of multiple agents and beyond mere linguistic and cultural aspects, translation ultimately influences the construction of a transnational comics field and the processes of canonization and capitalization in the case of the *Blueberry* series.

Chapter 4. Reframing *Blueberry* in America: Domestication, Adaptation, Localization

In America, [a cartoonist] has only slightly more status than a plumber.[117]

Art Spiegelman

1. Introduction

In the 1970s and 1980s, as McCloud (2000) argues, prominent cartoonists like Will Eisner and Art Spiegelman were of the view that American comics lagged behind their European counterparts. In the 1980s, Spiegelman took matters into his own hands, with the creation of the avant-gardist anthology *Raw* where he and "the French-born Françoise Mouly showcased bold experimental comics from Europe, the U.S. and elsewhere, helping to energize a generation of American comics artists" (McCloud 2000: 43). Mouly's role was decisive. She was the bridge between Spiegelman's American underground comics *savoir faire* and the field of European Francophone *bande dessinée*. In their effort to revitalize the American comics scene, they helped introduce Francophone cartoonists from Europe to the American market.

Another magazine that played a key role in this revolution of the "art comics" phenomenon (McCloud 2000: 42) was *Métal Hurlant*, founded in 1974 by Jean Giraud, Philippe Druillet and Jean-Pierre Dionnet. *Métal Hurlant* was a privileged channel for the French underground and science-fiction comics genres, strongly influenced by the American traditions. Its importance as a point of entry for European Francophone Western comics in America should not be underestimated. Heavily influenced by its French counterpart, the American comics magazine *Heavy Metal* was created by Leonard Mogel in

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[117] Hornblower (1993: 64).

1977. The pages of *Heavy Metal* saw the publication of translations of *bandes dessinées* published originally in *Métal Hurlant*, including comics by Jean Giraud, mainly signed as Moebius. Jean Giraud's talent was soon recognized, admired and imitated, although many readers knew nothing about the identity of the author. Like a quintessential American superhero, Giraud was only read under one of his artistic alter egos; to the American average comics reader, he was Moebius. Consequently, his *bandes dessinées* were increasingly published in the United States under the name Moebius.

The publication of the *Blueberry* series was no exception and all the covers of the *Blueberry* albums published in America are signed Moebius and Charlier.[118] The series was published almost in its entirety in the USA until 1993, a year that saw the publication of Charlier and Giraud's album *Arizona Love* by Dark Horse (Milwaukie, Oregon). Dark Horse's *Arizona Love* was not published in album or comic-book format, but in five consecutive instalments issued in the Oregon-based comics publisher's magazine *Cheval Noir*. This editorial exception in the English-language translations of the *Blueberry* series is worthy of further analysis. Whilst the English-language translations of the *Blueberry* series do not present apparent cases of censorship,[119] there is a striking coincidence in the publication history of the series in the United States: the only album that would not have qualified for publication under the strict standards of the American Comics Code Authority (see Nyberg 1998) was published by Dark Horse—not as a standalone comic-book, but in the *Cheval Noir* magazine, intended for an adult readership. *Arizona Love* (1990) is a special story for many reasons. It was started by the usual creative tandem but Charlier died suddenly, leaving a creative orphan in Giraud with an ongoing album to finish amidst the usual pressing deadlines of the *bande dessinée* industry. Giraud eventually

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[118] Section 4 will carry out an in-depth analysis of this curious strategy, in a detailed paratextual analysis of the *Blueberry* series and its American translations, arguing that it can be included in an overarching process of localization (Zanettin 2014a: 200-219).
[119] Censorship practices in the Spanish translations of the *Blueberry* series will be studied in Chapter 5.

finished the album, completing the art and Charlier's unfinished script.[120]
Arizona Love was an album that readers had been longing for, after a four-year hiatus since the publication of *Le Bout de la piste* (1986). The first few pages are filled with unexpected turns including provocative sexual imagery, and the album was met with enthusiastic critical acclaim. As could be expected, the American comics industry did not entirely share this liberal penchant, and the fact that this volume with graphic and explicit sexual representation had to be published by Dark Horse's magazine *Cheval Noir* indicates censorship of a sort, or at the very least, prudishness. In spite of the publication of the previous *Blueberry* albums by Marvel's Epic Comics imprint between 1989 and 1991, *Arizona Love* (1990) would not be included in the American comics powerhouse catalogue, but was instead published in black and white by *Cheval Noir* magazine, thus making a transnational return to the original publishing format of the series described in Chapter 3.

This situation illustrates the different approaches to comics publishing in France and in America, and the disparity of *habitus* and *illusio* in the transnational field of comics. After the analyses carried out in Chapters 2 and 3, which answered the first research question of this thesis, the example of *Arizona Love* discussed above brings us back to the second and third research questions presented in Chapter 1 (Section 2): How, why and by whom is Western *bande dessinée* translated across comics cultures?; and what do these translations, studied as social artefacts, reveal about the international circulation of comics as cultural goods? The following sections will apply these questions to the main corpus of this thesis, by exploring the agents that dictate the terms of the *illusio* in the field of American comics.

After the study of the European Francophone publication history of the *Blueberry* series, and of the agents involved in its acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital, this chapter builds upon Chapter 3, in a comparative approach to the transnational reception of the series, analysed through the lens of translation. This chapter will integrate data gathered from interviews with key agents of translation and discuss how translation, adaptation, and

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[120] For a detailed account of this story, see Sadoul (2015).

localization strategies have been applied to the English-language (peri)texts of the series in their transnational forms and how the translated *bandes dessinées* function in one of their host polysystems: the field of American comics.

This chapter will present the findings of textual contrastive research in its broadest sense, in a medium characterized by the hybrid word-image relationship, so the object of translational analysis is the icono-text. The case studies for translational analysis in this chapter are extracted from different albums, aiming to cover all the different cycles of the series detailed in Chapter 3, and Klaus Kaindl's (1999) typology, as presented in Chapter 1, will be applied to the close (icono-)textual readings. The direct input of the agents involved in textual production is an important aspect of sociological research and the upside of working with contemporary cultural production allows one to cross the results of close textual readings with those of field research and social interaction with the agents in the field. In this case, it has been possible to contact key agents who provided important insider contributions to this thesis about the motivations for the translation of the *Blueberry* series. One of these agents is Jean Giraud who took an active role in the translation and editing process in America. This chapter relies also on secondary data for this input, mainly drawn from Giraud's interviews with Numa Sadoul (and also from my personal communication with Sadoul, to clarify some aspects of his published interviews with Giraud). This chapter draws on Gouanvic's works presented in Chapter 1 and extends his analytical framework to the transnational field of comics, integrating into the translational analysis primary and secondary data obtained from some of the main agents that influenced the circulation and reception of the *Blueberry* series in the fields of British and American comics.

2. *Blueberry* in English Translation

Focusing on the field of Western comics, Chapter 2 has shown how the American Western genre has historically influenced Franco-Belgian Western *bande dessinée* through translation, adaptation and cross-fertilization between media. In the following sections, the focus will be on the

transnational exchange—or the return journey—in Western comics from Francophone Europe to America.

One of the main representations of this transnational exchange is the translation of *bande dessinée* into the English language. The *Blueberry* series, at the time of the first translations into foreign languages, had already achieved a noteworthy status in France, Belgium and other Francophone countries. Nonetheless, as much as the Western genre is alive and dynamic in Franco-Belgian comics, it might not be so in Anglophone countries anymore. One of the challenges faced not only by the translation, but also by the commercialization of Western *bandes dessinées* in America, is the genre's decreasing popularity in the receiving market. Another challenge is the status of *bande dessinée* in the United States which hosts, alongside France, Belgium and Japan, one of the foremost international comics industries. The power balance would thus be hard to achieve, since agents like translators and publishers would have to consider the localization (Zanettin 2014b) of a cultural product from one dominant mainstream comics culture to another.

Despite the success of the original French series, the translation of the *Blueberry* series has seen different fates. In countries like Italy and Spain, where Western comics have an important tradition, *Blueberry* albums have been translated and sometimes retranslated. In the United Kingdom and the United States, though, their publication has followed a less consistent pattern. This chapter focuses on the English-language editions (and particularly on the American translations), although translations in other languages will be referred to in a comparative translational analysis, in Section 3.1. The *Blueberry* series has been published in the Anglophone comics field by five different imprints in three countries (the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America). Despite the fact that they are fairly recent, many of these translations are out of print and the remaining commercially available volumes prove rather scarce, thus raising their price (economic capital) in the comics collectors' market and accruing in the process considerable symbolic capital. As Jean-Marc Gouanvic (1999: 55-56) posits, agents are a crucial factor that dictate the production, distribution

and reception of cultural goods in translation. In this case study, the agents include Francophone and foreign editors (promotion, selection, production), translators (selection, production), and one of the authors (Jean Giraud; promotion, selection, production). The translators of the series in the United Kingdom (notwithstanding the British distribution of Epic Comics' American translations) were Anthea Bell and Derek Hockridge, both prominent translators who have received distinctions during their careers. Bell has translated fiction—including comics—from French, Danish and German into English.

After Bell's translations of the first albums of the series, the English translations were signed by a Franco-American professional partnership represented by the pen name RJM Lofficier. Behind it are Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier, comics translators and critics who created the English versions of most of the remaining *Blueberry* albums signed by Charlier and Giraud. Gouanvic uses the bourdieusian notion of *habitus* to describe the translator's trajectory and idiosyncrasies. This chapter will closely examine this concept through Bell's and the Lofficiers' professional trajectories and respective *habitus*. The translators are the key agents in the translation process, although neither the only ones nor the ones who most determine what the eventual English version looks like. Publishers, as gatekeepers, might give leeway to translators yet they always have the final word. American publishers, as posited by Brienza (2016: 34-35), "will on occasion [...] orchestrate the production of creative content like the director of a film" in the publishing industry of mainstream comics "where all intellectual property belongs to the publisher, not the artist." There are business interests behind this cultural production and it frequently is more about (economic) capital than culture. Nevertheless, the comics industry has always been a particular business.

The British publishers of the first *Blueberry* albums produced a successful translation of the French *bandes dessinées* but Marvel's Epic imprint went further in their adaptations of the next albums (see Zan 2010a: 69, or Scott 2002: 168-191). As Beaty and Woo (2016: 114) posit, "[f]or a work from one field to enter and become part of another, it is not enough simply to be made

available; it must also be 'domesticated'". The concept of *domestication* as used by Beaty and Woo (2016) does not refer to its denotational value in the field of Translation Studies (see Venuti 1998: 5), but to the meaning attributed by Brienza (2016: 16-18, 35-38) to this term in her sociological study *Manga in America*. Brienza, who is not a translation scholar but a sociologist, argues that "what the American manga industry does cannot merely be called 'translation,' 'adaptation,' 'intermediation,' or 'localization.'" She suggests that "domestication" is "a much better word" (Brienza 2016: 35), since it

> refer[s] simultaneously *both* to the overall macro-process of making manga American as well as the individual labor components and practices of that process, such as translating, editing, lettering, and so forth [...] [original emphasis] (Brienza 2016: 38)

This broad use of the concept of domestication, whilst arguably adequate from a sociological viewpoint, is not applied as such in Translation Studies, but can be connected to the concept of comics *localization* as understood by Zanettin (2014b: 200-219). Sections 3.1.1 and 4. will explore how the localization (or domestication in Brienza's terms) of the *Blueberry* series was achieved textually and paratextually in the American editions. The Lofficiers' American translations come with a critical paratext and, in what could be interpreted as either an effort to grant a 'graphic novel' status to the comics or to cut down on publishing costs, most of the American albums include at least two of the original *bandes dessinées*.

2.1. Translations by Egmont/Methuen (1978) and Dargaud (1983)

The first four albums were published in the United Kingdom by Egmont/Methuen in 1978. The translations are signed by Anthea Bell and Derek Hockridge. To the British readership of *bande dessinée*, Bell and Hockridge need no introduction. They were the translators of René Goscinny's and Albert Uderzo's iconic series *Astérix le Gaulois*, praised by readers, critics and scholars alike. Bell's extensive experience as a translator goes beyond the field of comics. As it has not been possible to interview them

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for this thesis, the data for this section will come from secondary sources (i.e. Bartholomew Hulley's interviews with Anthea Bell). In his research work about the translation of sound in *bande dessinée*, Hulley (2014) includes a volume of annexes, with his email exchanges with Anthea Bell about the translations of *Astérix* (published in the United Kingdom by the Orion imprint). Some of her comments, however, can be transposed to the translations of the four *Blueberry* albums published by Egmont/Methuen in 1978 (see Table 4 below).[121]

French Title	Publisher/ Year	English Title	Publisher/ Year
Fort Navajo	Dargaud (1965)	*Fort Navajo*	Egmont/Methuen (1978)
Tonnerre à l'ouest	Dargaud (1966)	*Thunder in the West*	Egmont/Methuen (1978)
L'Aigle solitaire	Dargaud (1967)	*Lone Eagle*	Egmont/Methuen (1978)
Le Cavalier perdu	Dargaud (1968)	*Mission to Mexico*	Egmont/Methuen (1978)
L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent	Dargaud (1969)	*The Man with the Silver Star*	Dargaud International (1983)

Table 4. First *Blueberry* translations in English published by Egmont/Methuen (UK) and Dargaud International.

Bell and Hockridge's co-translations for Egmont/Methuen are idiomatic yet remain linguistically close to the original French texts and none of the panels in the four albums has been modified or retouched (corresponding to iconic

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[121] The first album of the series, *Fort Navajo*, was previously serialized in fifteen issues of the British comics magazine *Valiant*, from the 15th May to the 21st August 1965.

repetitio in Kaindl's methodology), except for a few cases of *deletio* of explicative footnotes that are not necessary for Anglophone readers, such as "MEDICINE-MEN" and "POW-WOW" in *Thunder in the West* (1978). However, for other peritexts such as panels two and four in the example in Figure 40, from *L'Aigle Solitaire / Lone Eagle* (Charlier and Giraud 1967c: 38), the translators resort to the *repetitio* of Charlier's explicative text about the Child of Water which translates to the album's peritext a photograph of a Native American ethnographic device, akin to those analysed in Chapter 2 (Section 4.4).[122] As for the typography, the strategy of *repetitio* is equally applied throughout the albums to lettering, mirroring the standard black lettering of the source texts in these early albums in which Giraud's characteristic hand-drawn typography followed the standard *habitus* in *bande dessinée*.[123] This editorial strategy is reminiscent of Bell's words about the translations of the *Astérix* series for Orion: "Originally, it was vital to confine oneself to black lettering entirely, which of course included lettering inside speech bubbles" (Hulley 2014: 6). However, the strategy of *detractio* is also sparsely used, as shown in the fourth panel of Figure 41 in which half of the original text in the balloon is omitted in the British edition.[124] This particular case is a striking example (and rare in Bell and Hockridge's translation), which contradicts Bell's *habitus* as revealed to Hulley (2014: 7): "there are [...] constraints peculiar to the BD: the words can't spill out of the speech bubble, and *ought not to be conspicuously too short to fill it satisfactorily* [...]" (own emphasis). Nevertheless, this profusion of empty

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[122] Charlier states in *L'Aigle Solitaire* (Charlier and Giraud 1967c: 38) that "L'ENFANT DE L'EAU" belongs to the Navajo pantheon, whereas scholars such as Lynch (2004) posit that in "Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache tales, Child-of-the-Water is the dominant culture hero. [...] His Navajo (Dineh) counterpart is Born for Water [*Tó bájísh chíní*]" (Lynch 2004: 22). See also Jessica Dawn Palmer (2013: 130-145) for a condensed overview of the Chiricahua myth of "The Birth of Child of Water and the Slaying of the Monsters." However, the British translators seem to have taken Charlier's information at face value, opting for a literal translation; the translators of the American editions, as Section 3 will show, adopted a different approach to the translation of Native American cultural references.
[123] In later albums, Giraud's lettering style will gradually come into its own which will be, as discussed in this chapter, a source of challenges for the translators, letterers and editors in the United States. As Chapter 5 will show, this challenge will not constitute an impediment in the case of the Spanish translations produced during the Francoist regime.
[124] The panels in Figure 41 will be further discussed in Section 3.1.1. and Bell and Hockridge's translation will be compared to Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier's translational *habitus.*

space in the speech bubble does not necessarily entail a contradiction between Bell's theoretical stance and her praxis and this case of *detractio* could also be attributed to other agents such as the editor or the letterer.
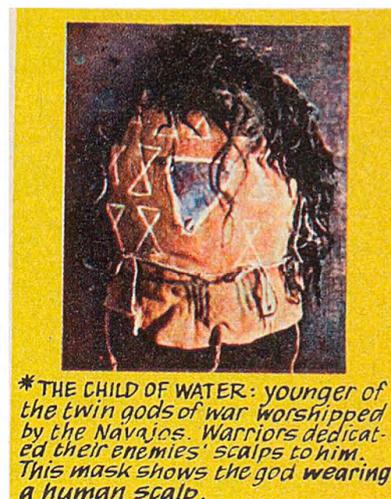
Figure 40. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 1, p. 157. © DARGAUD 2012, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 5 – *Lone Eagle*, p. 38. Translation and text © EGMONT PUBLISHING 1978. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 41. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 1, p. 142. © DARGAUD 2012, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 5 – *Lone Eagle*, p. 23. Translation and text © EGMONT PUBLISHING 1978. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

After the simultaneous publication in Britain of the first four instalments of the *Blueberry* series, the Egmont/Methuen translations came to a halt. The next album of the series, *La Piste des Navajos* (1969), remains unpublished in English to this day,[125] as is the case for the six albums of the original *Blueberry* series written single-handedly by Giraud after *Arizona Love* (1990). This fact contributes to the relatively marginal status of the *Blueberry* series in English translation as an unpublished work "is virtually invisible to [...] readers and critics" (Beaty and Woo 2016: 114). The intertextual effects of this first interruption in the continuity of the series can be perceived in the translations of successive albums. For instance, in the American translations of *Chihuahua Pearl* (1973) and *Ballade pour un cercueil* (1974), the translators have applied alternatively *deletio* and *adiectio* strategies to compensate for this narrative gap imposed on Anglophone readers (see Figures 42 and 43). The American translators deleted, respectively, a footnote that mentions *La Piste des Navajos* in *Chihuahua Pearl*, and added a translator's note in *Ballad for a Coffin* that refers to the title *The Trail of the Navajos* which was never published in English—notwithstanding the scanlations described in Section 2.2.[126] The sixth album, *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent* (1969), is somewhat of an oddity, both the original and its English translation. It was published by Dargaud International in Canada five years after those published by Egmont/Methuen. The translation, entitled *The Man with the Silver Star* (1983), is credited to R. Whitener, and it stands as the only English translation published outside of the United States and the United Kingdom and also the only one not translated by the Bell/Hockridge or the Lofficier tandems (or by scanlators).

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[125] Although not published in any English-language imprint, *La Piste des Navajos* is available to English speakers as a scanlation, as are all the albums authored by Giraud after *Arizona Love*, with the exception of *Apaches* (see Section 2.2).
[126] The inclusion of footnotes in the peritexts is a recurrent narrative strategy of the *Blueberry* albums scripted by Charlier.
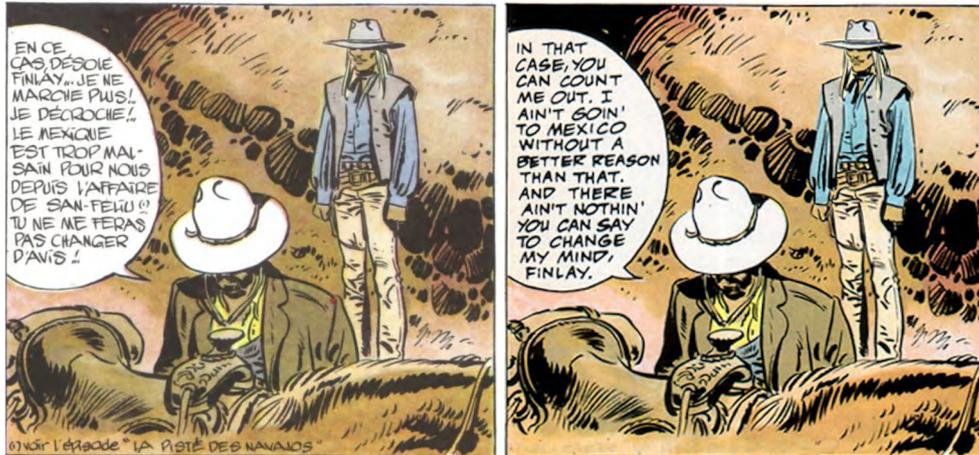
Figure 42. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 5, p. 59. © DARGAUD 2016, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 1 – *Chihuahua Pearl*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 43. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 5, p. 203. © DARGAUD 2016, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 2 – *Ballad for a Coffin*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

2.2. *Blueberry* in the Social Web: Participatory Culture and Scanlations

The second and most significant gap in the publication history of the series in English translation happened after 1991 when Epic Comics discontinued the publication of *Blueberry* before going out of business in 1996. This gap, however, has been filled by the scanlations of the remainder of the series, produced by the *bande dessinée* fan culture (Jenkins 2013: 18), or participatory culture (Jenkins, Clinton, Purushotma, Robison, and Weigel 2007). Jenkins (2013: 18) defines fan culture "as an open challenge to the 'naturalness' and desirability of dominant cultural hierarchies, a refusal of authorial authority and a violation of intellectual property." Participatory culture is a socially connected culture "with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations, and some type of informal mentorship" (Jenkins, Ito and Boyd 2016: 3-4). Scanlation is defined by Fabbretti (2014: 1) as "the process of translation and adaptation of visual narrative texts [...] carried out by an online network of fans." Whilst the *Blueberry* scanlations (see Table 5), by virtue of their digital nature, do not present the same materiality as the original albums, the British and Canadian comic books or the American 'graphic novels', it is interesting to note, after a brief analysis, that the translation of peritextual elements (covers) do not seem to follow a determined strategy in the scanlations. The titles of the original albums are sometimes translated into English and at times the covers and peritexts remain unchanged from the French language, whereas the textual elements are translated into English. As is the case with the albums published in translation in the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States, the images have not been altered, except in the case of (some) ideophones inscribed in the images as opposed to those contained in balloons. Even though the scanlations, as fan culture products, constitute "a refusal of authorial authority," (Jenkins 2013: 18), the translation and edition of the textual component of Charlier and Giraud's *bandes dessinées* is more literal than professional comics translations. However, their open challenge to "dominant cultural hierarchies" (Jenkins 2013: 18) and their unlicensed

status situate them on the fringes of the field of cultural production, unable to generate economic, cultural or symbolic capital.[127]

French Title	Publisher/ Year	English Title
La Piste des Navajos	Dargaud (1969)	*The Trail of the Navajos*
Mister Blueberry	Dargaud (1995)	*Mister Blueberry*
Ombres sur Tombstone	Dargaud (1997)	*Shadows over Tombstone*
Geronimo l'Apache	Dargaud (1999)	*Geronimo the Apache*
OK Corral	Dargaud (2003)	*OK Corral*
Dust	Dargaud (2005)	*Dust*

Table 5. *Blueberry* albums available only as scanlations in English.

2.3. American Translations

As noted by Beaty and Woo (2016: 115), Marvel Comics and Catalan Communications "began translating [in 1982 and 1983, respectively] European (Franco-Belgian but also Spanish and Italian) comics [in America] in the softcover album format, [including] the translation of work by Moebius (Jean Giraud)." For Beaty and Woo (117), "consecrated foreign works can quickly gain a foothold in new comics markets, [yet] this is far from guaranteed." The concept of *allodoxic misrecognition* (116), influenced by Bourdieu's notion of allodoxia,[128] is applied by Beaty and Woo (2016: 109-

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[127] Notwithstanding the income garnered by some websites from clicks and ads.
[128] Bourdieu (2010b: 138) cited in Beaty and Woo (2016: 115-116), defines allodoxia as "a kind of misapprehension resulting from the transposition of knowledge or dispositions from one field to another".

119) to the study of canonization and the acquisition of symbolic capital in the transnational field of comics. For the authors, "[a]llodoxic misrecognition results in some authors and works being overvalued in a new cultural context while others are undervalued" (116). To illustrate the meaning of this concept, Beaty and Woo give the example of Jean Giraud as an overvalued author in contradistinction to the case of Jijé (Joseph Gillain), "Giraud's mentor and every bit his reputational equal in his home country, [who] remains virtually unknown" in the USA (116). As Beaty and Woo posit, "the icons of comics are rarely truly global and no cartoonist is equally esteemed in all comics cultures" (116). Irrespective of their domestic level of consecration, authors "typically enter new fields from a position near the bottom," unless their accrued foreign capital "can be exchanged." In their view, Giraud benefitted from this exchange of foreign capital "because his science-fiction themes [...] and his westerns cleaved closely to American genre traditions" and they "conform to existing domestic cartooning traditions" (117), as shown by Giraud's transnational influences mentioned in the previous two chapters. However, there is more to Beaty and Woo's succinct analysis of Giraud's consecration in the American comics field. The following sections, based on the detailed (textual and paratextual) analysis of American translations of *Blueberry*, and focused on the notion of agency in translation, will explore how the *habitus* of a number of agents, particularly the translators' but also, Jean Giraud's, were key in the American reception of the series. Finally, this chapter will attempt to determine why Charlier and Giraud's *Blueberry* series was almost integrally translated (and reprinted) in the United States, unlike most (Western) *bandes dessinées*—including most of *Blueberry*'s spin-offs.

The lion's share of the albums in the *Blueberry* series were published in America by Marvel's Epic imprint between 1989 and 1991 and translated by Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier. Starwatcher Graphics is credited for the translation of the last published album in English, *Arizona Love*, which was published in Dark Horse's *Cheval Noir* magazine in 1993, yet the translation is also Randy and Jean Marc Lofficier's. The albums included in Table 6 below are generally not included in the original *Blueberry* series created by Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud, as explained in Chapter 3. These

three albums that make up the independent and complementary series *La Jeunesse de Blueberry* (1975-1979) were published in America by Catalan Communications (1989-1990) in translations by Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier, until the publication was "stopped because of Catalan [Communications]'s bankruptcy."[129]

French Title	Publisher/ Year	English Title	Publisher/ Year
La Jeunesse de Blueberry	Dargaud (1975)	*Blueberry's Secret*	Catalan Communications (1989)
Un Yankee nommé Blueberry	Dargaud (1979)	*A Yankee Named Blueberry*	Catalan Communications (1990)
Cavalier Bleu	Dargaud (1979)	*The Blue Coats*	Catalan Communications (1990)

Table 6. *Blueberry* translations published by Catalan Communications (USA).

3. Translations in Epic Comics (1989-1991)

Between 1989 and 1991, Marvel's Epic imprint published sixteen translations of both the main *Blueberry* series and the spin-off series authored by Jean Giraud as scriptwriter and artist. A chronological table is provided below (Table 7) with the *bandes dessinées* in the main corpus alongside their English translations, the publishers and the date of first publication in album format.[130] The album *Apaches*, penned by Giraud alone, is often considered

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[129] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 2 April 2019).
[130] The English translations were published in America, Canada and Great Britain and the translations are signed by American and British translators. When the translations' publisher, date and translator are not provided in the table, this indicates

an *hors-série* (special issue) although it is sometimes also included in the main original series for the storyline is intended as a one-shot prequel of the album *Fort Navajo* and the original *Blueberry* series.

French Title	Publisher/ Year	English Title	Publisher/ Year
Le Cheval de fer	Dargaud (1970)	*The Iron Horse*	Epic Comics (1991)
L'Homme au poing d'acier	Dargaud (1970)	*Steelfingers*	Epic Comics (1991)
La Piste des Sioux	Dargaud (1971)	*The Trail of the Sioux*	Epic Comics (1991)
Général "Tête Jaune"	Dargaud (1971)	*General Golden Mane*	Epic Comics (1991)
La Mine de l'Allemand perdu	Dargaud (1972)	*The Lost Dutchman's Mine*	Epic Comics (1991)
Le Spectre aux balles d'or	Dargaud (1972)	*The Ghost with the Golden Bullets*	Epic Comics (1991)
Chihuahua Pearl	Dargaud (1973)	*Chihuahua Pearl*	Epic Comics (1989)
L'Homme qui valait 500.000$	Dargaud (1973)	*The Half-a-Million Dollar Man*	Epic Comics (1991)
Ballade pour un cercueil	Dargaud (1974)	*Ballad for a Coffin*	Epic Comics (1989)

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a scanlation (for a definition of the term, see Fabbretti 2014). The last album, *Apaches* (2007), is currently neither published nor scanlated.

Le Hors la loi	Dargaud (1974)	*The Outlaw*	Epic Comics (1989)
Angel Face	Dargaud (1975)	*Angel Face*	Epic Comics (1989)
Nez Cassé	Dargaud (1980)	*Broken Nose*	Epic Comics (1989)
La Longue marche	Fleurus (1980)	*The Long March*	Epic Comics (1990)
La Tribu fantôme	Hachette (1982)	*The Ghost Tribe*	Epic Comics (1990)
La Dernière carte	Hachette (1983)	*The Last Card*	Epic Comics (1990)
Le Bout de la piste	Novedi (1986)	*The End of the Trail*	Epic Comics (1990)

Table 7. *Blueberry* translations published by Epic Comics (USA).

Based on Gouanvic's works and extending his analytical framework to the fields of comics and *bande dessinée*, this section will first draw a detailed picture of the main agents that determined and influenced the circulation of the *Blueberry* Western series in the field of American comics. It will then apply Kaindl's methodology presented in Chapter 1 to the textual and peritextual analysis of the corpus.

Editors are agents with considerable power in the *illusio* of the publishing business. This is also true in the field of comics, although there is a hallmark that distinguishes the American market from other comics markets and that

is the leverage of cartoonists in the industry.[131] As described in the first chapter, the Franco-Belgian industry of *bande dessinée* faced arduous struggles in the 1960s when cartoonists eagerly confronted publishers and editors to fight for what they considered were their rights as artists, writers and professionals. One of the most active cartoonists in this fight for power and recognition was Jean Giraud, who parted ways with *Pilote* magazine to found his own publication *Métal Hurlant*. American cartoonists also challenged the industry's professional hierarchy, with varying degrees of success. In the main American publishers—the superhero powerhouses DC Comics and Marvel Comics—cartoonists work for the imprints on one or several series or characters, but they do not own their creation which belongs to the publisher. This has consequences when the published material originates in an extraneous, different national comics field, as is the case with *bande dessinée*. In the American translations of *Blueberry* published by Marvel's Epic imprint, the editors listed in the peritext include—in American comics fashion, or to use Bourdieu's terminology, *habitus*—the Epic Comics' editor and executive editor, the consulting editors (including Claudine Giraud, Jean Giraud's first wife), and also Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier, listed as translators and Starwatcher Graphics editors.

Marie Javins started working for Epic Comics as assistant editor to Margaret Clark and later took on the job as editor with her own assistant. As Javins recalls, Archie Goodwin "was probably key in originating the program back when it started, likely around 1987."[132] When Javins joined Epic Comics in 1988, they had a small department but, by the time she was working alone on the *Blueberry* series, Epic Comics had been integrated into Marvel Comics. Epic Comics shared the production and manufacturing departments with Marvel Comics which allowed Epic to have the best of both worlds: "the advantages of a large company, [and] working on exclusive books that did not sell in the same numbers as Marvel Comics did." Javins worked as an editor on titles such as Moebius, Marshal Law, Groo, and Akira which did not

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[131] For a comparative account of the intricacies of American and European Francophone comics industries, see, for instance, Bartual (2013, 103-116).
[132] From personal communications with Marie Javins (e-mail, 11 September and 31 October 2018).

sell much by comparison with Marvel titles, yet in hindsight Javins appreciates that "people are still talking about Epic Comics books that really had impact." Her primary contact on the Moebius graphic novels series was Jean-Marc Lofficier, who worked alongside Randy Lofficier as translator and as liaison. Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier were closely involved in setting up the deal for the Moebius series and providing Marvel with the material for publication. As Javins explains, "[e]diting a foreign reprint is quite different from editing an original series. The material already exists, so it's more a matter of rearranging and preserving intent, not digging into the story." As the *Blueberry* series editor, she received the material in two parts: the translation and the film copies provided by Dargaud. The film was from the classic Dargaud books from the 1970s and 1980s, although redrawn panels from the original magazine publication in *Pilote* were tracked down and included, as Jean-Marc Lofficier clarified.[133] Javins' job would typically start by reading the translation "(on paper back then)," and discussing any (potential) changes with Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier before the proofreading stage. As Javins explains, the original albums were photocopied, and each page was enlarged up to 11x17 size. Javins claims that the original artwork or colouring was not altered and that only the lettering of the French editions was replaced with English lettering. All the lettering was done by hand. The font size was standardized by the letterer who was usually Michael Heisler. If the letterer added any sound effects to those present in the original artwork (hand-drawn by Giraud), Javins (who was also a colourist) or her assistant would choose the colours. When the English lettering was finished, the result would be proofread and fixed as needed. Finally, and after careful quality control of all components, the film and the mechanicals would be packaged up with new packaging and design and sent off to the printer.[134]

As Javins adds, Jean Giraud, who then lived in Los Angeles, "would come to the office and visit." Indeed, Giraud seemingly endeavoured to accrue his

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[133] From a personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 13 November 2017).
[134] For analysis of the Epic Comics peritexts, see Section 4.1.

cultural and symbolic capital in the American comics field. In Numa Sadoul's words,[135] "à cette époque-là, [Moebius] était conseillé par des gens qui visaient haut pour sa carrière [et] était déjà connu et admiré des professionnels, [mais] il restait à l'imposer auprès du grand public." As Polezzi (2012: 353) argues, "[t]he terrain where translation encounters migration [...] emerges as a key location for the struggle over the control of individual lives as well as social processes." Giraud arguably established his headquarters in Los Angeles, as Sadoul confirms, to gain control over his labour and to free himself from the tutelage of Charlier and of the wheels of the *bande dessinée* industry. Hence, the fact that Epic Comics published the translations of the *Blueberry bandes dessinées*—and of the Moebius series—was arguably not an accidental design, but a pre-meditated strategy. Indeed, *Blueberry* and most other Epic Comics were "creator-owned" which means that the material is owned by the creators, not by Epic Comics or Marvel Comics.[136] As Polezzi argues, travelling and translation are often intimately intertwined concepts:

> [o]nce we consider the mobility of people as well as that of texts, the linear notion of translation as something that happens to an original [...] as it moves across national, cultural and linguistic boundaries becomes largely insufficient. Translation takes place not just when words move on their own, but also, and mostly, when people move into new social and linguistic settings [...] to occupy multiple places and spaces at once, to be part of different yet connected communities [to] have the opportunity to shift from objects of translation to active subjects, to agents in the process. [N]ot just who does the work of translation but also, crucially, who authorizes and enables it are substantive variables that alter the balance of power and the dynamics between the mechanisms of production and reception of that which is being translated. (Polezzi 2012: 348)

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[135] Personal communication with Numa Sadoul (e-mail, 3 April 2019).
[136] Personal communication with Marie Javins (e-mail, 31 October 2018).

Further to Giraud's active (translational) agency in the transnational publication of the *Blueberry* series in America, the focus of this thesis is mainly on the figure(s) of the translator(s). In comics, it is not always easy to determine who is the translator of an album or comic-book, even if this has tended to change in recent years with the inclusion of the translator's name in the peritext.[137] Fortunately, all the English-language *Blueberry* editions do mention the translators and, in some cases, the *habitus* of the other main agents in the field (publishers and editors) bestows considerable leverage on the figure of the translator, to a point that might even be envied by many translators of highbrow literature with greater symbolic and cultural capital.

The translators of the American versions of *Blueberry*, Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier, considerably outgrew the role of translators. They have worked in the comics business for more than thirty years and founded their own company, Hollywood Comics, in 2000. Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier have translated, edited and written a considerable number of comics, as well as screenplays, teleplays and books. Jean-Marc Lofficier has an MBA from the ESCP Paris Business School and a Law Degree from the Sorbonne University in Paris. Randy Lofficier is a member of the Writers Guild of America and of Mystery Writers of America. As translators of the *Blueberry* series, they are arguably the main agents behind the introduction of Charlier and Giraud's Western series to an American readership. Their translations were completed on a work for hire basis for Starwatcher. They translated every *Blueberry* album that was published at the time of their collaboration with Starwatcher, from *Le Cheval de fer* to *Arizona Love* included. They "[did not] feel the need" to translate *La Piste des Navajos* or retranslate the albums published in the United Kingdom by Egmont/Methuen. Their role, described as 'Consulting Editor[s]' by Jean-Marc Lofficier, went beyond simply translating. They decided how best to present the series and what other editorial contents should go with it. For instance, they were responsible for

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[137] This praxis is not internationally homogeneous, however, and in some countries the name of the translators is still not mentioned. Recent Italian translations of *Blueberry*, for example, do not include any reference to the translator(s). The situation tends to be different for graphic novels, memoirs or (auto)biographies; this can perhaps be explained by the different status and symbolic capital that is still granted to graphic novels and comic-books.

writing prefaces, afterwords and notes "when appropriate." In addition to these editorial duties, Jean-Marc Lofficier also served as legal counsel for Starwatcher and his wife, Randy Lofficier, took meetings pitching the various properties to Hollywood producers. The co-translators' *habitus* entails that Jean-Marc Lofficier works on a first draft, which is corrected by Randy Lofficier, before Jean-Marc writes a second draft. In the case of the *Blueberry* series, however, Randy wrote the first draft "because she was more familiar than [Jean-Marc] with the western style of dialogue." Finally, the translators "got to proofread the final copy but didn't interfere with Epic [Comics]'s [or] the letterer's decisions."[138]

In the sections that follow, Kaindl's methodology for the analysis of comics in translation will be applied to selected microtextual examples from Epic Comics' translations. As generally posited by translation theorists, "la lecture d'une traduction est essentiellement comparative" (Lavoie 2002: 12). Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier's translations will thus be compared to the French originals (and in some instances also to Bell and Hockridge's translations) in order better to understand the translators' *habitus* as it emerges from the close reading of the translation product. In Section 4, this microtextual analysis will be complemented by a macro- and microtextual study of the paratexts. Combined, this multiple analysis of the translation shifts, or in Judith Lavoie's words the "multiples petits déplacements qui jalonnent inévitablement une traduction" which she calls the "*bougé* de la traduction" (Lavoie 2002: 12), will shed light on Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier's translation project.[139] As Lavoie (2002) argues in her monograph *Mark Twain et la parole noire*, citing Brisset (1990), she had to "interroger le texte traduit afin de faire émerger le projet de traduction [car] aucun traducteur n'a laissé de mémoires ou de journal de bord" to explain his choices (Lavoie 2002: 12).

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[138] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 13 November 2017 and 7 May 2019).
[139] The term "translation project" as used by Lavoie, "['projet de traduction'] n'est pas à prendre ici au sens de visée ou encore d'intention ; il signifie plutôt un système de choix de traduction actualisés dans le texte" (Lavoie 2002: 15-16), which would correspond to the translator's *habitus* in Gouanvic's terminology applied in this thesis.

As the theoretical framework of this thesis, explained in Chapter 1, is inspired by the sociology of translation and by Gouanvic's works, this analysis will rely on the memories of the translators about their choices and translation strategies.[140] Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier have not written any translation memoirs. Yet, according to the sociological framework adopted in this thesis for the study of translation, they were contacted for interview in order better to understand their choices and to complement the close readings of the target texts. The following linguistic, typographic, and pictorial analyses will thus include Jean-Marc Lofficier's comments about their translational *habitus* and the choices made for these translations and, on a more general level, for the *Blueberry* series' albums published by Epic Comics and reprinted by Graphitti Designs and MoJo Press.

3.1. Textual Analysis: Linguistic Level

Examples that illustrate or correspond to all of Kaindl's categories of translation procedures—particularly at the linguistic level—can be found to some extent in translations of most of the *Blueberry* albums.[141] At the linguistic level, Kaindl includes the following elements: titles, narrations, dialogue texts, onomatopoeias and inscriptions in the pictures. Not all of these will be equally applicable to the analysis of this chapter's corpus. The translation of titles of the albums in the *Blueberry* series, for instance, is straightforward, mainly because of heavily anglicized choices that fall into the most classical tradition of the Western genre and particularly of American

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[140] Translator's memoirs or responses to interviews, like those of any agents or authors, are obviously not to be taken at face value. Their responses and comments in my interviews with them are thus always compared with and analysed in the light of the translation project "tel qu'il a été réalisé dans le texte" (Lavoie 2002: 12). The same approach applies to the discussion of the Spanish translator's input in the following Chapter 5.

[141] Although, as specified in Chapter 1, the analysis of the translation of all the Western *bande dessinée* would be beyond the scope of a Ph.D. thesis—given the (ever-growing) number of series, authors and albums. However, a superficial reading of many series in translation and a more detailed reading of a number of translated albums belonging to a variety of series (*Lucky Luke*, *Les Tuniques bleues*, *Buddy Longway*, etc.) has shown that this might be a general translational and/or editorial *habitus* of comics translation and, to borrow from polysystem theory (Toury 1995, Even-Zohar 1990) perhaps a translation norm.

Western films (see Simmon 2003). Following a thorough comparative analysis of the original version of the albums in the *Blueberry* series and their existing translations, it is at the linguistic level, as expected, that many translation shifts can be found.

Many translation analyses are traditionally focused on the loss inherent to the translation process and there are, doubtless, such cases in the translations of the *Blueberry* series, both in the British translations (see Figure 41 in Section 2.1) and in the American editions, as shown in Figure 44. In the translation of *La Dernière carte* (Charlier and Giraud 1983: 4), Epic Comics' translation misplaces the text in the first and second speech bubbles (*transpositio*), a shift—arguably more attributable to the letterer(s) than to the translators—that breaks the multimodal significance in the panel. In the translated version, Red Neck (whose name is translated, probably for cultural reasons, as Red Wooley in English) makes a positive comment about the bed, whilst it is Mike Blueberry who is sitting on the mattress and who, in the French original, *complains* about the bed's softness, used as he is to sleeping rough. In another example from the album *Angel Face* (Figure 45) the translators replace the footnote that explains Ulysses S. Grant's nickname ("NO SURRENDER") with an intertextual reference to previous albums (*substitutio*), as their choice was to omit in Blueberry's speech balloon the reference to Grant's surname, which is authentic, albeit slightly inexact. Ulysses S. Grant's nickname, earned at the Battle of Fort Donelson in 1862, was in fact 'Unconditional Surrender' Grant (Bearss 1962). However, the following example at the linguistic level shows that there can also be a (multimodal) gain in comics translation, as posited by Grun and Dollerup (2003).

The panel from *Angel Face* in Figure 46 (right) shows how the translators also use a linguistic *substitutio* which, in this panel, restores the multimodal coherence that is lost in the original panel (left). In Charlier's script in the French original, Blueberry is *thinking* about how to escape from Kelly (pictured to his right in the panel's background), yet the balloon drawn by Giraud is a speech balloon rather than a thought balloon. Whilst the balloon could have been replaced with a thought balloon in the translation (pictorial

substitutio), the translators have opted instead for a linguistic *substitutio*—in which Blueberry addresses Kelly. This changes the contents of the narrative but makes sense of the multimodal nature of the balloon.

Figure 44. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 7, p. 76. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 5 – *The End of the Trail*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1990. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 45. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6, p. 72. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 3 – *Angel Face*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.
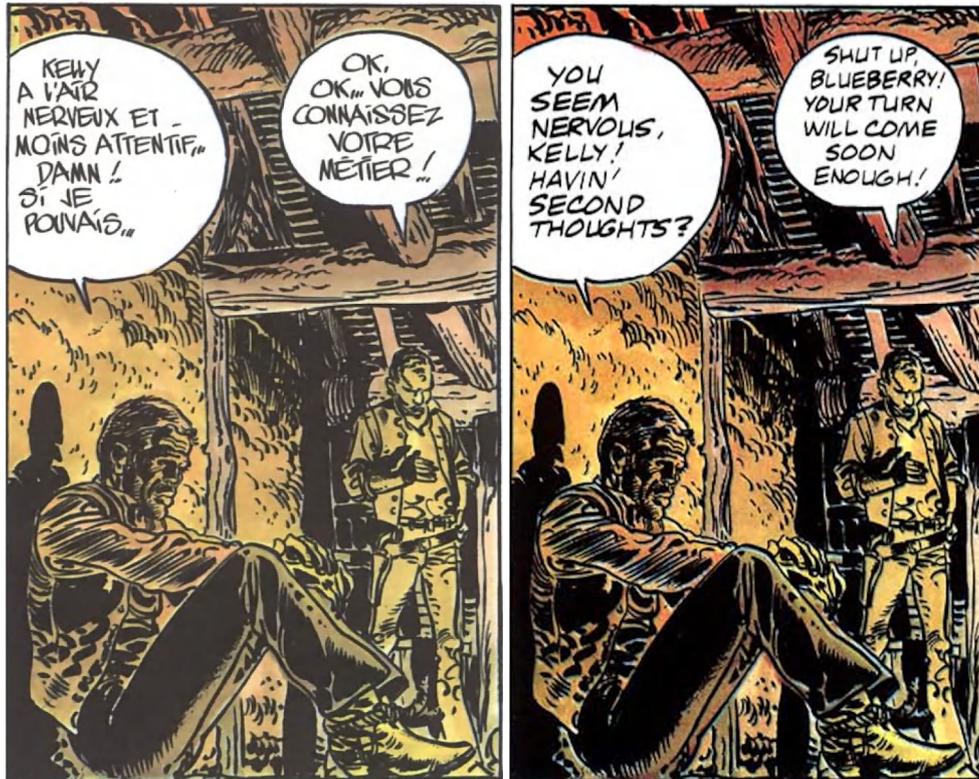
Figure 46. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6, p. 71. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 3 – *Angel Face*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Another example of recurring shifts at the linguistic level concerns the representation of linguistic variation. As described in Chapter 2, the American frontier was not a socially homogeneous setting. Despite its stereotyped representation in most Western films or comics, the frontier was populated by different ethnic groups. From the often depicted European settlers, pioneers, soldiers and outlaws—who did not all share the same ancestry—to the original inhabitants of America belonging to myriad different Native American cultures but often reduced to a vociferous bunch of inarticulate savages in popular culture, the American frontier was a melting pot of different cultures, languages and heterogeneous identities.

An interesting occurrence of this linguistic and social diversity is that of Chihuahua Pearl's voice. This should not, perhaps, be deemed to present a particular interest, since Pearl is an American character so she would be presupposed to resort to standard American English as her language of

choice. Nevertheless, it is precisely because this chapter is concerned with the English translations of the series that this fact is most interesting. Chihuahua Pearl is said to come from the deep south of the United States, just like Mike Blueberry. She hails from Atlanta whereas Blueberry's home was set by Charlier's scripts somewhere in Georgia. When the two characters meet for the very first time in Chihuahua, Mexico, Blueberry says to himself: "PAROLE ! CETTE FILLE A L'ACCENT D'ATLANTA ! D'OÙ DIABLE SORT-ELLE ?" (Figure 47).[142] The target text, however, reads "SAY! THAT GAL'S GOT A SOUTHERN ACCENT! WHERE THE HELL'S SHE FROM?" (Figure 47). There is nothing in the source text to account for Chihuahua Pearl's accent, apart from the information provided by Charlier's script. Nevertheless, the target text—having chosen to render the indications about her southern accent—goes a step further and reflects her geographical origin in the dialogue texts. On page 42 of *Chihuahua Pearl* (1973) for instance, when Blueberry discovers her secret identity as a U.S. government agent, she replies in the following terms: "SURE AH'M! AN' YOU'D BETTER GIT USED TO TH'IDEA!" (Figure 47). The American translation has effectively localized her dialogue text throughout the series in order genuinely to reflect her character's southern identity with the use of eye dialect as shown in this example.[143] The fact that the same translators have worked throughout all the albums of this series makes this achievable, thus being easily able to maintain the homogeneity of the translation project. This is confirmed by the translation of the album *La Dernière carte* (Charlier and Giraud 1983) in which Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier resort again to eye dialect in order to translate the southern origins of the New Orleanian character Lulubelle, Chihuahua Pearl's replacement at the Casa Roja (5).

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[142] When citing text from the *bandes dessinées*, this thesis will respect the original case (for quotes from the *Blueberry* albums and their English translations, the text is thus capitalized).

[143] The term *eye dialect*, coined by George P. Krapp (1925), "refers to the use of graphemic alterations that do not really correspond to non-standard pronunciation but which add to the overall impression that the locator is using dialect, that is, using a speech variety characterized by an assortment of non-standard features" (Picone 2016: 332). According to Picone, whilst eye dialect "can be found in relation to the representation of speech for an assortment of linguistic communities in the United States, with the decline in the use of stereotyped speech features in portrayals of African Americans [...], white Southerners [...] remain the most commonly targeted population groups [...] (332).

Figure 47. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 5, p. 79, 81. © DARGAUD 2016, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 1 – *Chihuahua Pearl*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Another two elements that fall into Kaindl's linguistic category are not related to languages, language variation or linguistic codes. After a thorough reading of the English version of the series, two major categories of shifts include *names* (both patronymic and geographic) and *dates*. The opening panel of the album *Arizona Love* (Charlier and Giraud 1990), and its American translation in issue number 46 of *Cheval Noir* (Dark Horse, 1993), show the significant modification of the date in the caption box (from "JUILLET 1889" in the French edition to "JULY 1873" in the American translation) and a *major* shift in the geographical setting (from "TACOMA, NOUVEAU MEXIQUE" in French to "TUCSON, ARIZONA" in English). A thorough analysis of the entire series has revealed that this case of *substitutio* is not an isolated occurrence but rather a repetitive pattern, attributable hypothetically to the translator's *habitus*. The shifts in these linguistic categories reflect the translators' amendment of continuity details in the series and they restore narrative coherence.[144]

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[144] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 13 November 2017).

After the close textual reading described in the introduction to this chapter, and a microtextual analysis of Epic Comics' translations, the cycle of the Golden Mine emerged as an interesting translational case study for an analysis based on Kaindl's linguistic categories, particularly the album *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu*. All of Kaindl's categories of translation procedures—particularly at the typographic level—can be found to some extent in most of the albums of the *Blueberry* series, although *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu* is the one album where what is perhaps the most significant linguistic shift in the entire series in English translation can be observed.

As shown in Chapter 2, some European Francophone cartoonists took pride in a careful process of (intermedial) documentation. For many of them, the Western was more than a genre, it was a passion. Several authors, like Jijé, Morris and Giraud, were very knowledgeable about the Western genre. In *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu* and *Le Spectre aux balles d'or*, Charlier and Giraud's intermedial documentary zeal goes to uncommon lengths even for a writer known to be compulsive about documentary details, such as Charlier. As Chapter 3 and critics such as Pizzoli (1995) have shown, many of the albums in the *Blueberry* series have a storyline where an observant eye familiar with Western films will discern a number of intertextual references. However, an in-depth study of the Golden Mine diptych has never been undertaken before. Perhaps one possible explanation could be that, unless one is trying to unveil the translational and transmedial nature of the album, this would not present a particular interest. Such a transmedial analytical frame, however, yields fascinating results not only for the intermedial adaptation analysis, but also for the study of the interlingual translation(s).

La Mine de l'Allemand perdu has been repeatedly branded as the best *Blueberry* album, together with the second part of the diptych *Le Spectre aux balles d'or* to the extent that even the authors have on different occasions acknowledged this as a fact. The storyline, adopting a conventional Western trope, begins in a southwestern pioneer town. Blueberry has been assigned by his military hierarchy as the town's marshal. The dramatic appearance of a character never encountered before in the series happens as early as page three and this is a turning point in the story as this new character will

practically (and literally) steal the limelight from Blueberry. He will be known to generations of readers as Prosit Luckner, and his real name is Amadeus von Luckner—at least in the French original version. In Epic's translation, his full name is modified and becomes Amadeus *van* Luckner. This might not seem like a major or even noticeable shift, yet the consequences of this onomastic modification will have much wider ramifications, affecting the entire structure of the plot. On the third panel of page three of *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu*, Prosit Luckner introduces himself as Werner Amadeus von Luckner, a Prussian nobleman. Yet Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier's translation operates a curious shift (*substitutio*) that changes altogether Prosit Luckner's origins to Baron Werner Amadeus van Luckner, from the Netherlands. The translation, read in the American edition independently from the original, would not shock most readers but when compared to the French album, the difference is striking. Luckner is German (or rather, Prussian) in *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu*, yet *The Lost Dutchman's Mine* frames him as a Dutch national.

Interesting questions could be raised by this curious case of *transmutatio*. Why did the American translators change Luckner's identity? Does this fall in line with what we know of the translators' *habitus*? Does this shift have consequences on the story or the plot? If so, which are these? Does this shift reveal anything about the translation project? And if so, what does it reveal? Prosit Luckner is originally a pioneer of German (or Prussian) origins of whom there were so many historically throughout the American frontier in the late 19th century. Yet, in Epic's American edition, he becomes Dutch as in a citizen of the Netherlands. The case of transnationalism is certainly striking but what is this revealing, if anything at all?

It is not clear whether the Lofficiers' choice was a voluntary choice. This is something that only the translators themselves could maybe clarify. In a transnational comparative analysis, the German, Dutch, Spanish and Italian translations have been perused. The German version is entitled *Die vergessene Goldmine* and was published by Delta Verlag in Stuttgart. The Dutch translation, *De mijn van Prosit*, was published by Dargaud Benelux in Brussels. The Spanish version was published in Barcelona by Grijalbo-Dargaud under the title *La mina del alemán perdido*. The Italian translation,

entitled *La miniera del tedesco*, was published by Alessandro Editore in Bologna. It is interesting to observe in these different translations that the only version that has modified Prosit Luckner's identity is Epic Comics' American translation (1991). In the Italian, Spanish, German and Dutch translations, his German (Prussian) origins remain unaltered.[145] Asked about this translation, Jean-Marc Lofficier responded that it was an editorial decision, "in retrospect, probably a bad one [...]. [I]t would have been better to footnote the issue."[146]

As Genette (1982: 18) posits, "[m]oins l'hypertextualité d'une oeuvre est massive et déclarée, plus son analyse dépend d'un élément constitutif, voire d'une décision interprétative du lecteur." Considered by many critics and by Giraud himself as the best albums in the series, the storyline of the Lost Dutchman diptych is acknowledged as an adaptation of J.O. Curwood's novel *The Gold Hunters* (1909), with influences of the Western film *McKenna's Gold* (Thompson 1969) and the American legend of the Lost Dutchman's Mine.[147] These works would form the transtextual/transmedial web of the *bande dessinée* as the hypotexts of which the Gold Mine diptych would be the hypertext (Genette 1982). The English translations published by Epic Comics would be, in turn, hypertexts of the *bandes dessinées*, in this

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[145] Several Italian and Spanish editions have been analysed (some of which are merely reprints, although a few are retranslations) and in none of them is the character's German (Prussian) origin modified.

[146] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 13 November 2017).

[147] Bonelli and Galleppini's Italian Western comics series *Tex* also adapted the legend of the Lost Dutchman's mine, in a closer take on the actual legend than Charlier and Giraud's, in *La miniera del fantasma* and *Montagne Maledette* (Boselli and Ortiz 2000a, 2000b). The authors framed the *fumetto* as "[b]ased on an authentic legend of the West" (Boselli and Ortiz 2000a: 5). The characters are presented as German, yet the names in the original legend (Jacob Waltz and Jacob Weiser) are adapted to Jacob Stolz and Kurt Weiser in *Tex*'s *fumetti* (2000a: 14). The legend of the Lost Dutchman's mine has also been adapted to the comics medium by American cartoonist Don Rosa in the Walt Disney magazine *Uncle Scrooge* (issue no. 319) comic-book *The Dutchman's Secret*. Rosa's comic-book was originally published in 1999 in Denmark in the magazine *Anders And & Co.* (nos. 09-10). The Dutchman's name in the Walt Disney comic-book is Jacob Waltz, as is the name of the historical character in the legend; Donald Duck's nephew Huey enlightens his uncle, telling him that the Dutchman was actually German, not Dutch (Rosa 2003). For a detailed account of the legend, see for instance, Robert Blair (1975), *Tales of the Superstitions: The Origins of the Lost Dutchman's Legend*. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Historical Foundation.

process of double translation (intersemiotic and interlingual). The results of this analysis show that, in Kaindl's (1999) translational terms, and although the English translation is equivalent to the original and successfully operates a domestication of the source text, there is a major difference in the treatment of the original's hypotexts at the linguistic level. This results in an unintended translation shift that corresponds to Kaindl's category of *substitutio*. However, this substitutio, which falls into the linguistic level of textual analysis, is not only a semantic *substitutio.* This shift ultimately disrupts the original script and arguably blurs Jean-Michel Charlier's authorial presence in the American translation. Since Charlier's research work for his scripts has been thoroughly documented, as mentioned in Chapter 3, it would be difficult to sustain that the similarities with the legend of the Lost Dutchman's mine are merely a coincidence. The active agency of Giraud in the United States at the time of the translation of *Blueberry* has arguably been decisive in the translators' "décision interprétative" (Genette 1982: 18), whilst Charlier did not have any input during the translation process, as acknowledged by Jean-Marc Lofficier. In his interviews, Giraud has always privileged J.O. Curwood's novel as the main hypotext of these two albums. As the analysis in this case study shows, the translations into other European languages (Dutch, German, Italian and Spanish) may (and do) introduce other translation shifts, but the reference to the German character (or rather, Prussian, for the sake of historical accuracy) remains unaltered. Considering these five languages, the American translation is the only one that operates this shift that results in a change of nationality where the "Allemand perdu" in the Dargaud edition becomes a "lost Dutchman" (from the Netherlands) in the Epic Comics edition. The Epic Comics translation can thus be considered adequate from a linguistic perspective, but not so from a cultural viewpoint as it bypasses the polysemy of the term *Dutchman* in America which also refers to the Pennsylvania Dutch (*Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch*, also known as Pennsylvania German) which designated the immigrants of German origin who arrived in the United States during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Figure 48. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 3, p. 125. © DARGAUD 2015, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Lieutenant Blueberry* 3 – *General Golden Mane*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1991. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

3.1.1. Translating the "Moving Line": The Localization of Ethnic Stereotypes

The last case that falls into the linguistic level is perhaps the most noteworthy and is revelatory of the translation *habitus* in the target culture at the time of the publication of the *Blueberry* series. The voice of the translator(s), as defined by Alvstad and Assis Rosa (2015: 3-4), can be perceived at critical loci of the narrative, modifying the voices of the characters (and the authorial *habitus*) in the source texts and rewriting "some [...] dialogue[s] which in [their] original version might have been deemed offensive today."[148] This case study of the translator's voice relates to the trope of ethnic stereotypes presented in Section 3.1 of Chapter 2.

Scholars such as Tompkins (1992) have written about the absence of a faithful representation of Native Americans in film and popular culture, yet

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[148] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 13 November 2017).

the literal absence in many Westerns of African Americans or Asians, for instance, does not seem to concern as many writers. And yet, they were also present—and active—in the building of the new American nation west of the Mississippi. There were also Mexicans, more present in films, often portrayed as servile, evil or treacherous characters. All these cultures spoke different languages. Are these languages present in Charlier and Giraud's Western *bandes dessinées*, and how are they represented and translated?

As stated in Chapter 2, black characters are largely absent from Western comics and, when represented, they are often stereotyped. In the *Blueberry* series, black characters are notoriously absent from the narrative and, in the rare cases in which they appear, their representation follows the description given in Section 3.1 of Chapter 2. The panels in Figure 48, from the album *La Piste des Sioux* (Charlier and Giraud 1971b: 12, panel four)*,* depict one of the rare Black characters in the series addressing Charley, a Native American who flees the town (in which he works) on his boss's horse to avoid a lynching. The English translation, published by Epic Comics in 1991, translates the original *petit nègre* speech—also found in *bande dessinée*, for instance, in Goscinny's linguistic characterization of the black pirate lookout in albums such as *La Grande traversée* (Goscinny and Uderzo 1975: 13)— by implementing a domestication strategy. Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier chose to render the character's speech with a Black English sociolect (see Lavoie 2002). Jean-Marc Lofficier explains this choice as follows:

> Truthfully, I never liked the arbitrary literary tradition that made non-Europeans speak in what we call French "petit nègre"—broken or clumsy French—and prior to our own efforts, the French editions of several *Tintin* books (*Coke en stock* comes to mind) had already been rewritten to make Africans speak simple, but grammatically correct, French. (This also applied to Chinese, Japanese, etc.). We decided at the onset that we wouldn't follow that earlier tradition, and that Indians, Mexicans, Blacks, etc., would speak in a basic but correct English. It was entirely our decision, having editorial control (shared with Marvel/Epic), and no one else's. The terms "Injuns" and "redskins" might be considered ethnic epithets by some, but we felt

that those words, in the mouths of certain characters, where appropriate, whereas other more injurious terms might not, no matter the context. Obviously, there were some judgment calls involved, and I'll be the first to admit that there is a "moving line", depending not only on the reader but the times.[149]

True to this *habitus* described by Lofficier, the translators have also sanitized some of Charlier's dialogues "qui, ne l'oublions pas, était un conservateur bon teint,"[150] for other ethnically stereotyped characters such as Asians, as shown in the third balloons in the panels included in Figure 49.

Figure 49. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 5, p. 116. © DARGAUD 2016, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 1 – *Chihuahua Pearl*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

However, this translation strategy is applied differently to the translation of the speech of, and the references to, Hispanic and Native American ethnic groups represented in the *Blueberry* series, who are far more numerous than Black characters. The cycle of the Confederate gold and the albums *La Dernière carte* and *Le Bout de la piste*, which are often set in Mexico, have many Mexican characters. The French-language speech bubbles often include terms in Spanish or sometimes longer utterances which aim to produce for the reader an "effet de réel" (Barthes 1968, cited in Gouanvic 2014: 125), such as in panel eight on page 27 in the album *Angel Face*. Here, a little girl in Durango warns a fleeing Blueberry, framed for the attempted assassination of Ulysses S. Grant, with the following words: "CUIDADO

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[149] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 2 April 2019).
[150] Personal communication with Numa Sadoul (e-mail, 3 April 2019).

SEÑOR GRINGO... MI TÍO ESTÁ BUSCANDO LA POLICÍA! PARA USTED!". These terms are maintained in Spanish by Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier.

Another example is shown on Figure 50 in which a Mexican character's speech bubble alternates between an exclamation in (Mexican) Spanish that aims to produce an "effet de réel" (Barthes 1968) and a sentence in French that provides important narrative information for readers. The Mexican characters' names, however, are often modified, as noted in this section for characters in general, in what is clearly part of the translators' *habitus* yet, according to my interviews with Jean-Marc Lofficier, did not constitute a conscious choice. These changes in patronyms include, for instance, the *substitutio* of the undertaker's name from "ADOLFO MENDEZ" to "EMILIO GARCIA" in *La Dernière carte* / *The Last Card* (Charlier and Giraud 1983: 12). After a contrastive examination of this instance of linguistic shifts in the *Blueberry* series' albums, they can be classified according to the following categories: the first category includes (apparently) random choices, as described by Jean-Marc Lofficier in my interviews with him; the second category reflects a conscious *habitus* and a careful close reading of the series by the translators that restores the internal logic of the narrative. The previous example of *La Dernière carte* / *The Last Card*, for instance, would fall into the second category. As the album's panels reveal eleven pages later (Charlier and Giraud 1983: 23), the French original refers to the undertaker either as "ADOLFO MENDEZ" or as "GARCIA". The panels in the following pages consistently stick to "GARCIA", and the third panel on page 30 and panels two, three, five and seven on page 31 show the undertaker's name "GARCIA (Y) SANTOS" painted on his wagon. These name changes can often be found in the French *Blueberry* series. They could theoretically be attributed to the scriptwriter, the letterer or the editor yet, in this particular instance, it is an established fact that Charlier was rather inconsistent with such details in his scripts, as signalled by critics such as Pizzoli (1995: 31) and acknowledged by the Belgian scriptwriter himself (Peeters 1986: 57).

Although the translator's agency is notable on this point, there is another locus in which the translators' voice can be clearly perceived. This is related to the previous example of the translation and domestication of French *petit nègre* and ethnic stereotypes. For instance, in *La Dernière carte* (Charlier and Giraud 1983: 19, panel seven), Blueberry calls Vigo "CHICANO", which is translated as "VIGO", in a *substitutio* that goes beyond the simple replacement of patronym. Similarly, in the album *Ballade pour un cercueil* (Charlier and Giraud 1974a: 5, panel five), the term "CHICANOS" is omitted in the translation in a *deletio* that also includes Charlier's associated footnote that reads "SURNOM PÉJORATIF QUE LES AMÉRICAINS DONNENT AUX MEXICAINS" (5). These are not isolated cases but the result of the translators' *habitus*, arguably inscribed in a localization strategy. It is important to note that France, as the original publication context of the *Blueberry* series, differed substantially from a social and political viewpoint from the United States at the time of the publication of the Epic Comics editions and their subsequent reprints by Graphitti Designs. The United States shares a border with Mexico and an important section of the American population (and of potential comics readers) is Hispanic or of Hispanic descent. Hence, a literal translation of the racial slurs that are intended by Charlier to give an authentic Western flavour to the series would be inappropriate in the receiving comics field and in the target culture. As the second and fourth panels in Figure 50 show, the derogatory "LE CROQUEUR DE PIMENTS" is adapted as "ONE TRIGGER-HAPPY MEXICAN" on the ninth panel of page 5 in the album *Chihuahua Pearl*. This translator's *habitus* could also reflect, and be explained as an element of correction in some instances, because the term *Chicano* commented above does not signal disrespect any more but is owned and used now by Mexican Americans themselves, as well as in the academy.

Figure 50. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 5, p. 42. © DARGAUD 2016, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 1 – *Chihuahua Pearl*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Further to the analysis of the translators' voice in the translation and domestication of Hispanic ethnic stereotypes, the following paragraphs will shift focus to the translation of Native American ethnic stereotypes in the series and the differences between the British and the American translations. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, Charlier's self-confessed patchy memory, his writing *habitus* and his multitasking nature left a visible trace in the *Blueberry* series.

In a similar vein to the change of names and places mentioned earlier in this section, the names of Native Americans were also modified (operating Kaindl's *substitutio*) in some albums of the Sioux Wars cycle. This, and in contradistinction to the patronymic changes of Hispanic names, can arguably be inscribed in a localization strategy. Whilst Francophone readers might not be familiar with authentic names of Native Americans, except perhaps those

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most present in Western films, the readers of the Epic Comics editions include (Native) Americans who would be more versed in the Western genre and in the history of the American frontier.

In the album *L'Homme au poing d'acier* (Charlier and Giraud 1970b: 21, panel five) the names of "LOUP-TACHETÉ" and the Cheyenne "OURS-SOLITAIRE" are replaced (*substitutio*) with "SPOTTED TAIL" and "CRAZY HORSE" respectively, whilst the names of the historical Native American characters are maintained: for instance, "FEUILLE-ROUGE" is translated literally as "RED LEAF", "NUAGE-ROUGE" as "RED CLOUD", and "TAUREAU-ASSIS" as "SITTING BULL". Amongst similar cases of *substitutio* is one of the most obvious: in the second Apache cycle (the albums *Nez Cassé*, *La Longue Marche*, and *La Tribu fantôme*), Charlier's scripts refer, alternatively, to the (same) tribe as Navajos and Apaches. Two of the central characters in these albums, Cochise and Vittorio, are inspired by the historical figures of Cochise and Victorio, who belonged historically to the Chokenen and Chihenne bands of the Chiricahua Apache, respectively (Griffin-Pierce 2000: 383). As Griffin-Pierce posits, whilst the *Apachean* group includes the Navajo tribe, the Navajo are not *Apache* [original emphasis]. The Apache tribes include the Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, Lipan, Western Apache and Kiowa-Apache (2000: 366).[151] This cultural inaccuracy in Charlier's scripts is in the nature of the "nature fantasmée" of Western *bandes dessinées*, as noted by Villerbu (2015: 221) and in the previous chapter.

The confusion between Apaches and Navajos goes back to the first albums of the *Blueberry* series, in which Cochise already appears. For instance, the opening caption box (or *récitatif* in French) of the album *Tonnerre à l'Ouest* (Charlier and Giraud 1966: 3) includes the Navajos amongst the Apache tribes that are present at a pow-wow with Cochise. Nevertheless, as explained to Barrett (1906: 13) by Geronimo himself: "the Navajo [...] were not of the same blood as the Apaches. We held councils with all Apache

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[151] For a detailed historical and ethnographic account, see Griffin-Pierce (2000), Opler (1983), or Sweeney (1991).

tribes, but never with the Navajo Indians." Yet, Charlier's inaccuracies—derived from the smorgasbord of intermedial documentation that makes up the hypotexts of the *Blueberry* series as explained in Chapter 3—would not be noteworthy in themselves but it is precisely his inconsistent terminology that ultimately draws the reader's attention to this fact. Indeed, the three albums of the second Apache cycle are a pastiche of (historical and fictional) Western narratives about the Apache, the Navajo and other Native American tribes. These potential intermedial hypotexts include the escape of Victorio's Apache band from the San Carlos Reservation in 1877 (see Section 4.1 in Chapter 3, and Griffin-Pierce 2000: 387, or Hutton 2016: 227), the 250-mile Long Walk of the Navajo through New Mexico in 1864 (see Griffin-Pierce 2000: 322), or John Ford's classic Western, *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964). Whilst the French-language editions routinely continue to reprint the albums without editing these narrative inconsistencies and the British translations of the first Apache cycle stuck literally to the original wording (see *Thunder in The West* [Charlier and Giraud 1977b: 3], for instance), Randy and Jean-Marc's Lofficier's translations have addressed these inaccuracies, making a "décision interprétative" (Genette 1982: 18) about Charlier's hypotexts with the consistent *substitutio* of the term *Navajo(s)* by that of *Apache(s)*.

Jean-Michel Charlier's alternate use of standard French and the *petit nègre* speech (referred to by Lofficier) in the *Blueberry* scripts functions as a further narrative device, albeit one that is inconsistently used. One effective example appears on page 23 of the album *L'Aigle Solitaire* (see Figure 41, in Section 2.1), with the Apache Quanah's characterization in these panels as a cunning traitor. This is one of the tropes related to the ethnic stereotypes of the Western genre discussed in Chapter 2. The speech balloons on this page expose Quanah's duplicitous nature and the linguistic artifice to which he resorts in order to mislead the Blue Coats. Quanah arguably embodies the figure of the trickster, "capable de manipuler" (Lavoie 2002: 15), as posited by Lavoie in her analysis of the linguistic characterization of the Black protagonist character, Jim, in Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. His speech in the French original, alternating as it does between the colonialist French *petit nègre* and the standard variety of the French language, is an authorial device that aims to structure the narrative and

functions as a diegetic clue for the readers. However, Charlier's scriptwriting inconsistency is again apparent on this page (see Figure 41), as the alternative use of the two linguistic varieties does not always follow the narrative logic exposed in the preceding lines. In panel two, Quanah breaks the fourth wall, seemingly staring at, and addressing the reader in standard French and reveals his cunning scheme to outwit the Blue Coats. Yet in panel three, Charlier's script as transcribed by Giraud's lettering disrupts this narrative logic. Quanah utters "**MOI DIRE** 'PAUVRE QUANAH ÊTRE TOMBÉ DANS EMBUSCADE APACHE !'," (emphasis added) instead of maintaining the character's alternating speech varieties in a consistent manner, for instance with a sentence such as: JE DIRAI: 'PAUVRE QUANAH ÊTRE TOMBÉ DANS EMBUSCADE APACHE !, that would preserve the narrative logic and Quanah's cunning scheme. By way of comparison, and contrary to the sanitization of the ethnically stereotyped dialogues of Native Americans that conforms to Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier's *habitus*, Bell and Hockridge's translation mirrors Charlier's narrative device (panels 4-6 in Figure 41) to the point of reproducing his narrative inconsistency (panel six) in a literal translation that alternates standard English and stereotyped "Hollywood Injun English" (Meek 2006: 95). Instead of not picking up Charlier's (tentative) textual dynamics, the translation could arguably have rectified the original script, as the American translations discussed earlier in this section have done.[152] Indeed, the translation choices of Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier, "vu les déplacements qu'ils opèrent, sont porteurs de sens et nous révèlent non seulement la présence du traducteur, mais sa position [idéologique], sa propre lecture de l'œuvre originale" (Lavoie 2002: 61), as acknowledged by Jean-Marc Lofficier.

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[152] It is interesting to note that the French successive editions have not amended these, and other, mistakes (such as the alternative and confusing use of the terms Apache and Navajo discussed in this section). Translations in other languages also seem to have missed this point (or chose not to address this): in the Spanish translations, for instance, only the last edition published by Norma Editorial has amended Quanah's speech balloons shown in Figure 41.

3.2. Textual Analysis: Typographic Level

Further to Kaindl's (1999) analysis of typography presented in Chapter 1 (Section 4.1.2), this section will apply his methodological proposal to case studies from the *Blueberry* series as a visual token of the strategies applied to the translation of typographic signs in comics. Figure 51 shows how the first panel on page five of the seventeenth album in the series, *Angel Face* (1975), keeps parts of the original hand-written lettering ("**YAP YAP YAP!**") and ideophones ("**?!**") unaltered with the original size and colour. This is commonplace throughout the series, as with many translations of comics. When the ideophone works in the target language, it is usually kept in the source language. Panel two displays a set of different options that the translators/letterers/editors have chosen in order to deal with the original typography. In this panel, the second text balloon reveals that the text has been translated and the typography of the original has been kept in the target text.[153] Conversely, the first balloon has altered the typography in the first sentence of the source text: "**TIREZ!**" is written in bold, red characters, whereas the target text's "FIRE!" is kept in red but written in a standard font. This is a textbook example of constrained translation in comics, where the space of the balloon determines the amount of text that will be used in the target text, as well as the choice of typography. In the second balloon everything was kept as in the original, thus rendering the urgency of the utterance with the chromatic choice of red typography and the volume of the character's voice, in combination with the picture, that suggests the rapid movement of the tilbury. Notwithstanding the question of the respect for the author's work, the choices in the target text render the sense of urgency and the dramatism of the panel. The typography in the first balloon has been partially modified as a result of constrained space, but the communicative and audial characteristics have been retained. The same translation strategy is used throughout. Perhaps the most interesting occurrence can be spotted in Guffie Palmer's close-up panel inserted in the second panel. In the source text, Guffie cries out in her attempt to warn Ulysses S. Grant of the danger looming (literally) over his head, with sharpshooter Duke O'Shaughnessy

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[153] The standard reading direction of balloons in *bande dessinée* is from top to bottom and from left to right.

(Duke O'Hare in the English translation) about to take his life from the top of a nearby building.[154] The translators/letterers/editors have opted to keep the original typography, yet they have applied a different strategy here. Bypassing the constraints of the tiny panel, the target text includes an additional balloon—partially hiding a fragment of the picture—to allow for the insertion of the characters ("IT'S **GRANT!**"). This is a telling example of the (minor) manipulation of the original panel with the *adiectio* of a text balloon.

Similar examples of typographic shifts abound in the Epic Comics translations, as shown in Figures 52 and 53. In the second panel of Figure 52, from the album *L'Homme qui valait 500 000 $*, the double agent Boudini overhears Chihuahua Pearl, Red Neck and McClure's false plan to free Blueberry and Chihuahua Pearl's husband Trevor from the Corvado fortress where they are held by the governor of Chihuahua, General Lopez. Whilst Pearl's voice is lettered directly on, and chromatically merged with the image in the original panel, the text is inscribed in a speech balloon in the translation (fourth panel), in an *adiectio* that alters the graphic suggestion of the sound of a voice tenuously filtered through the wall. The translation in the third panel, however, compensates for this to some extent by means of explicitation. Indeed, Chihuahua Pearl breaks the fourth wall, as Quanah did in *L'Aigle Solitaire* (see Figure 41) and seems to look the reader directly in the eye as she mutters: "WE'RE GONNA LET HIM **'OVERHEAR'** OUR CONVERSATION" (Charlier and Giraud 1973 :19) [emphasis added]. However, the lettering of the translation alters again the sound effect of the original in this speech bubble by standardizing the size of Pearl's next words (third panel), which were distinctly drawn in larger characters by Giraud (first panel) to convey the raised volume of her voice, as she intends Boudini to overhear the words "VOICI MON PLAN..." (Charlier and Giraud 1973 :19). A

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[154] Some critics have pointed out the parallel between this scene in Charlier's script and the historical assassination of John F. Kennedy in Dallas in 1963. This was not a coincidence, given the publication date of *Angel Face* (1975) and Charlier's fascination with historic and political events and his documentary ethos, as explained by the Belgian writer. Western scholars, such as Grady (2017) with respect to the *Blueberry* series, have shown that the Western genre can also be read from a cultural studies perspective as a critical approach to contemporary events like the Vietnam War or the Algerian War of Independence (see commentary of Hergé 1946: 21, and Figure 2 in Chapter 2 [Section 3.1]).

similar typographic alteration that affects the representation of sound can be found in the album *Angel Face* (Figure 53). In the Epic Comics edition, the ideophone that represents the sound of one of the Pinkerton detectives who is spying on the conspirers has been deleted (presumably to substitute it with a translation) but not replaced (third panel). This alters the narrative continuity with the next panel in which Duke has visibly (and inexplicably) heard the (missing) noise represented in the previous panel. This is an occurrence of *deletio*, however, that is presumably attributable to the letterer rather than the translator.
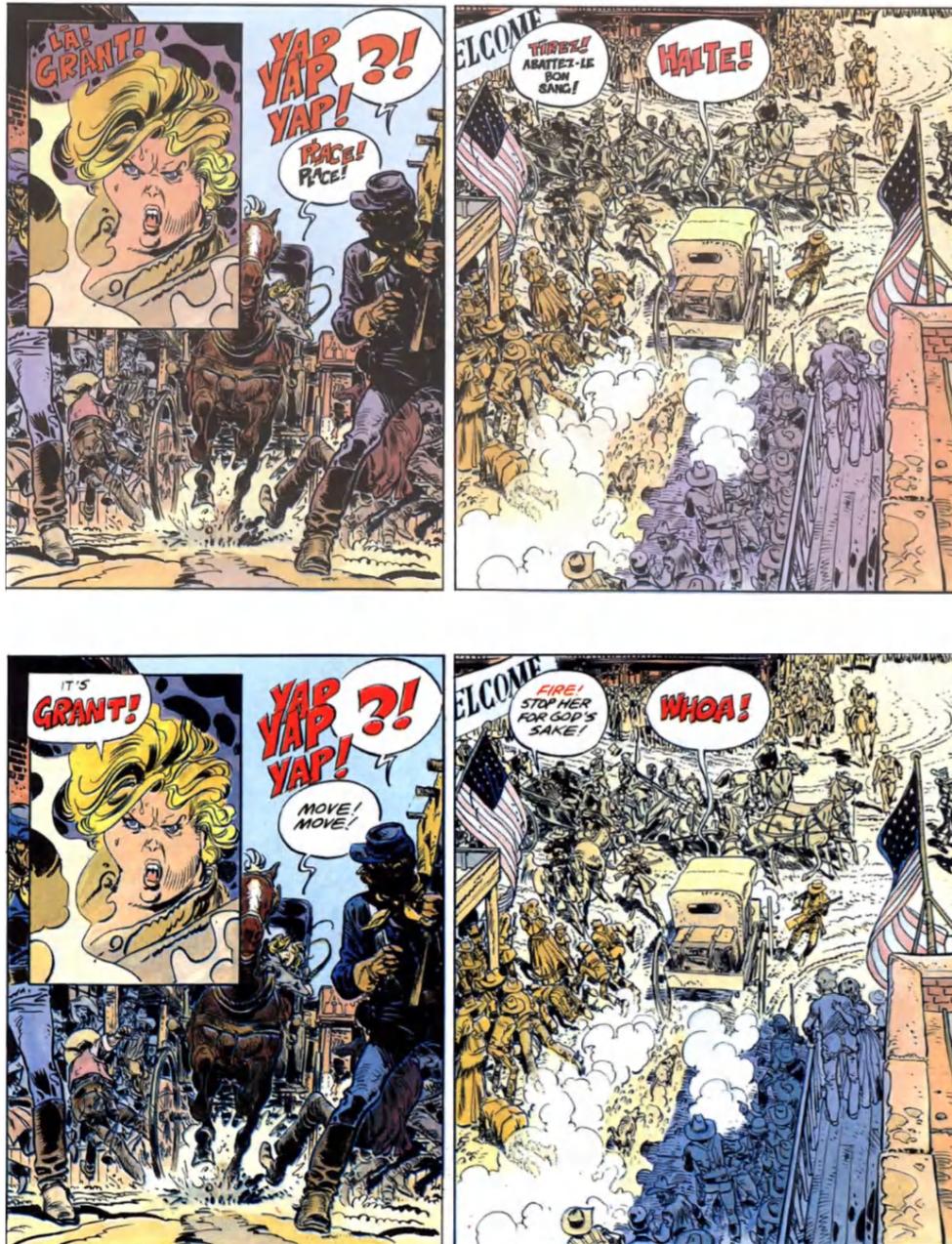
Figure 51. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6, p. 74. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 3 – *Angel Face*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.
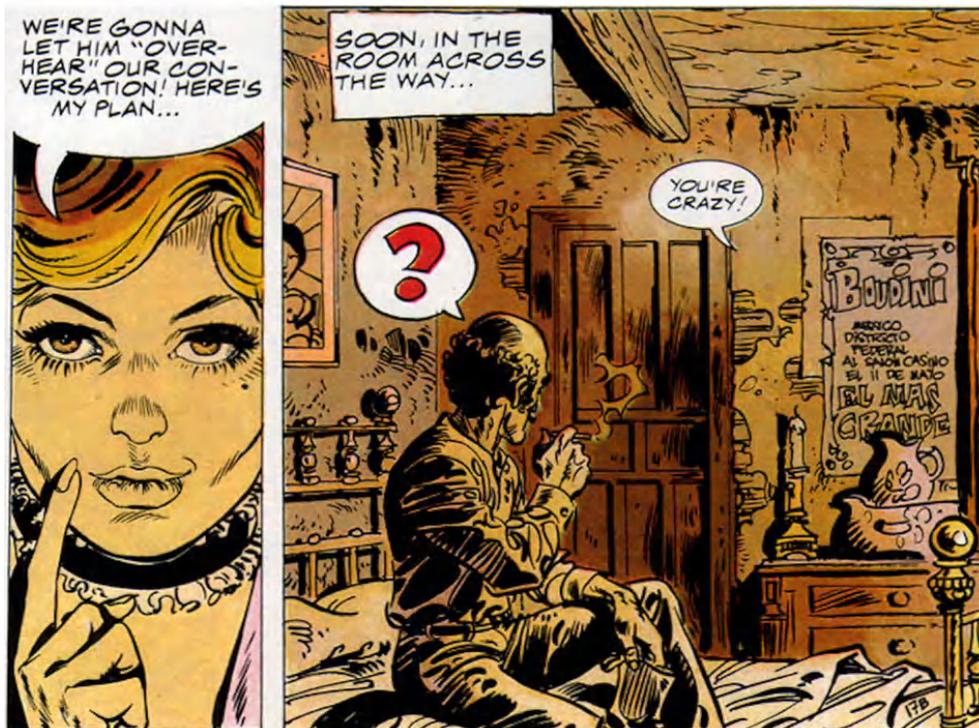
Figure 52. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 5, p. 104. © DARGAUD 2016, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 1 – *Chihuahua Pearl*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 53. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6, p. 96. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 3 – *Angel Face*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

3.3. Textual Analysis: Pictorial Level

Further to the analysis of typography, the next level of textual analysis in Kaindl's methodological model is the pictorial level. As explained in Chapter 1, the combination of pictorial and typographic aspects is a key element in comics analysis. A good example of the chromatic meaningfulness of typography in the *Blueberry* series can be found on pages nine and 44 of the album *Angel Face*. The last panel on page nine shows Ulysses S. Grant having just witnessed the death of his former lover Guffie Palmer (in *Blueberry*'s fiction and Charlier's creative imagination). For his words in the first balloon, Giraud used green typography. Green is a colour that is associated in many European cultures with instability, jealousy and immaturity. It has also been traditionally used to embody threatening and negative forces of nature in popular culture, from devils to dragons. Interestingly, the green colour pigment contains cyanide in its composition,

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a highly toxic, poisonous element. A few pages later, Giraud uses again the same shade of green. Contrary to the previous example, this time the subjective colouring is not used in the text balloons, but in a character's close-up panel. Duke O'Shaughnessy, who in the third panel of strip 44 (Figure 54) is a few gutters away from earning his nickname Angel Face— also the ironically evocative title of the album—embodies these negative characteristics. He is here about to engage in a fight with Blueberry, the outcome of which will bear fatal consequences for both of them as narrated in subsequent albums.

Figure 54. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6, p. 113. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 3 – *Angel Face*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

The colour choice for this close-up is not arbitrary but a highly symbolic narrative feature of Giraud's. The choice of green for the typography in the last panel of page nine—where the fictional Ulysses S. Grant threatens Blueberry—might also convey the momentarily unstable mood of the character, as well as the threatening ambiance of the setting. The target text has kept as expected the menacing green shade on Duke's face in Figure 54 but, perhaps more importantly, it has also maintained in the first text balloon ("THE SAME MAN WHO TRIED TO KILL ME!") a similar green tone to the French original's for Grant's words, that visually contributes to his ominous presence in the panel (see Figure 55).

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Figure 55. *Blueberry* – Intégrale 6, p. 78. © DARGAUD 2017, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Blueberry* 3 – *Angel Face*. Translation and text © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

4. Paratextual Analysis

As posited in Chapter 1 (Section 4.2), Genette's (1987) paratextual theory contains useful categories for the study of comics (in translation), a medium that is absent in the French literary theorist's study. This section will examine elements of the peritexts and epitexts of the English-language editions of the *Blueberry* series. As it was the main corpus of study previously selected in Section 3, the principal focus of this section will also be on the Epic Comics translations. The peritexts of the reprints of these translations by Graphitti Designs will also be analysed below.

The original series of *Blueberry bandes dessinées* is marketed in the Anglosphere in different ways and in heterogeneous formats. Early British translations by Anthea Bell and Derek Hockridge, and the single comic book published by Dargaud International Publishing, *The Man with the Silver Star* (1983), translated by R. Whitener, appeared in classic softcover format with full-colour panels. Epic Comics and Graphitti designs published softcover and hardcover editions, respectively, in the United States. By contrast, also

in the USA, MoJo Press published a black and white omnibus edition of the Confederate Gold cycle, and Dark Horse's single *Blueberry* translation (*Arizona Love*) appeared in serialized form in the magazine *Cheval Noir*, also in black and white panels.[155] The publisher Graphitti Designs "took [the Epic Comics] signatures and repurposed them into high-end hardcover books" between 1989 and 1991.[156] At the time (the 1980s) when graphic novels were an emerging format in the United States, Graphitti Designs "began producing limited-edition hardcover books in 1985 [...] to make available deluxe, signed editions of some of the best comics material being published."[157] These reprints are quality hardbound volumes with dust jackets, in signed editions limited to one thousand five hundred copies for each volume of the collected works of Moebius, each one of them signed by Jean Giraud (interestingly, as "Gir"). As Bob Chapman explains,

> [w]e had the opportunity to produce a definite collection of Moebius' work for the fans and collectors of his work. Though not well-known in the US, the *Blueberry* stories were a part of his body of work.[158]

The fourth volume collects *Blueberry* 1-4 of the Epic Comics editions, and includes in the peritext the biography of Blueberry, as published in the French original edition of the album *Ballade pour un cercueil* (see Section 4.1 in Chapter 3). A two-page peritext (an original preface entitled "May you live during interesting times"), signed by Mike Dunphy (not published in the Epic Comics edition), precedes Charlier's biography of Blueberry which includes twelve pages with reproductions of historic photographs "translated and edited by Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier" as "The Life and Times of

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[155] As Jean-Marc Lofficier explains: "By then, Marvel had stopped publishing [*Blueberry*]; the rights had reverted, and it seemed like a good idea [for Mojo Press] to do a reprint book, although the intention was to do it in [black and white] only, not gray tones; that experiment did not work too well. [...] [Later,] I was co-editing *Cheval Noir* and, with Marvel out of the picture, we'd already done some Moebius [with] Dark Horse, thanks to David Scroggy, and it seemed only natural to include *Arizona Love* in *Cheval Noir*, in proper [black and white] this time. We intended to collect it [and] publish it in color but Starwatcher was disbanded before we could do it." (Personal communication, 2 April 2019)
[156] Personal communication with Marie Javins (e-mail, 11 September 2018).
[157] Personal communication with Bob Chapman (e-mail, 20 October 2018).
[158] Personal communication with Bob Chapman (e-mail, 20 October 2018).

Lieutenant Blueberry" (Charlier and Giraud 1989e).[159] The inside covers are different than those of the French editions with new art by Giraud yet in a similar style to the original French edition's frontispiece.

One of the main peritextual elements, a book's title, may have several functions according to Genette (1987). The fourth of these functions is the "fonction dite séductive [qui] peut se révéler positive, négative ou nulle selon les récepteurs, qui ne se conforment pas toujours à l'idée que le destinateur se fait de son destinataire" (1987: 97). The case of the generic title of the *Blueberry* series, which is identical for all the editions (French, British, Canadian and American), poses an interesting dilemma. As the editor Marie Javins claims, she was "unsure if the US audience was ready for an American story made by Europeans with some pastel tones, and with a tough protagonist whose name was not very tough."[160] The decision to maintain the original title—and name of the leading character—was thus, at the time, taking a significant risk that could effectively influence the reception of the whole series.

The American epitexts of the *Blueberry* series are another paratextual element that potentially contributes to its reception. As Gérard Genette states, one of several epitextual elements, the public interview, "peut fonctionner [...] comme un avantageux substitut de préface" (Genette 1987: 361). One of the interviews that functioned as such was Kim Thompson's (1987: 85-105) interview with Jean Giraud, published in issue number 118 of the iconic publication *The Comics Journal*. This arguably paved the way for the American translations of Jean Giraud/Moebius' works by Marvel. Closer in time to the publication of the first *Blueberry* translation by Epic Comics, Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier (1989) wrote a critical piece that prepared the reception of the *Blueberry* series in an American comics field dominated by mainstream superheroes. Their article, entitled "Before Nick Fury, there

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[159] Interestingly, this fictional biography is also published in the MoJo Press translation, albeit without the photographic peritexts. It was not published at all by Epic Comics for "[r]easons of space, and also poor reproduction quality of the materials we got" (Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier [e-mail, 22 July 2019]).
[160] Personal communication (e-mail, 11 September 2018).

was… Lieutenant Blueberry," was published in issue number 79 of the comics magazine *Marvel Age*, and framed the *Blueberry* series as "Moebius's western masterpiece, [...] not like any other western ever written [...], which offers a new, fascinating look into a 'What If?' history of [the United States]" (Lofficier 1989: 20) .

4.1. Translations in Epic Comics (1989-1991)

Blueberry was published by Marvel's imprint Epic Comics in sixteen volumes framed as graphic novels. Practically all the volumes publish two of the original French albums, unlike the French originals—except for the *intégrale* editions.[161] "This was likely a decision made by the publisher in conjunction with discussions with the sales department [...] most likely related to keep in the style of the earlier Giraud/Moebius US graphic novels," as explained by Jean-Marc Lofficier, who was a consultant editor as well as co-translator. Lofficier and Marie Javins also add that the peritextual material was created "[i]n order to provide context as well as added value",[162] based on the editorial needs "once a book map [was created]".[163]

Marie Javins and Jean-Marc Lofficier's input, and their close professional relationship with Jean Giraud, were crucial in the framing of the *Blueberry* series in the field of American comics. As Genette (1997) argues in *Seuils*, the title of James Joyce's *Dubliners* frames the text and programmes its reading. Likewise, it can be argued that *Moebius* is also a powerful framing device. Even though the British translations and Dargaud International's single comic book respect the authors' names as published in the original editions ("Charlier & Giraud" in Bell and Hockridge's translations and "J.M. Charlier" and "J. Giraud" in R. Whitener's single contribution to the translated series), the Epic Comics translations invariably display on the covers

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[161] Only *The Iron Horse* and *Steelfingers* were published as single volumes. *The Trail of the Sioux* and *General Golden Mane* "were initially going to [be released] as two slimmer volumes [too], but a last-minute economic decision made us instead revert to the 2-in-1 format" (Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier [e-mail, 13 November 2017]).
[162] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 13 November 2017).
[163] Personal communication with Marie Javins (e-mail, 11 September 2018).

"Charlier" and "Moebius". As mentioned above in Section 1, Moebius was the alternate artistic identity and the signature used by Jean Giraud as a distinctive framing device for his more personal work, mainly in the science-fiction and fantasy genres. Yet each of his albums and contributions to the Western genre is signed either as 'Giraud' or 'Gir' in the French-language versions.[164] It was, however, a unanimous decision to use the Moebius signature for the American translations of *Blueberry*. As Jean-Marc Lofficier explains, "it was felt both by Marvel and us that [Jean Giraud] was known in the US as Moebius and from a marketing standpoint, it was easier. The credit pages inside the books used Jean 'Moebius' Giraud, too."[165]

Figure 56. *Blueberry* 10 – *Général "Tête Jaune"*. © DARGAUD 1971, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission. / Lieutenant *Blueberry* 3 – *General Golden Mane*. Translation © STARWATCHER GRAPHICS 1989. All rights reserved. (Image courtesy of Moebius Production.)

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[164] See Ahmed (2009) and Screech (2005: 95-127) for an extended analysis of the different aliases of Jean Giraud.

[165] Personal communication with Jean-Marc Lofficier (e-mail, 22 July 2019).

The Epic Comics covers are original and distinct from the French editions. Marie Javins explains that this was a publishing strategy "to create something unique for the American editions."[166] In the albums *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu* and *Le Spectre aux balles d'or*, Giraud subversively translates the actor Spencer B. Tracy from the silver screen to the comics panels as the abject character of bounty hunter Wally Blount. Similarly, the Epic Comics cover of *General Golden Mane* intermedially adapts a still from the Western film *Dances with Wolves*, graphically translating Lieutenant Dunbar (Kevin Costner) to the comics medium (see Figure 56). This is a recurring practice in the *Blueberry* album covers, including the French (or Belgian) editions. For instance, a memorable scene from the theatrical poster of John Ford's film *The Searchers* (1956) is apparent as an intermedial palimpsest (Genette 1982) in the peritext of *Ballade pour un cercueil* (Charlier and Giraud 1974), as noted in Charlier and Giraud (2016: 4). The storylines of the *Blueberry* album and Ford's film could not be more different (the intertexts of *Ballade pour un cercueil* are much closer to Spaghetti Westerns like *The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly* than to *The Searchers*). The same happens with the peritext of *General Golden Mane*, as Lieutenant Dunbar is antithetic to General Golden Mane, whose physical characterization in the comic-books is closer to period photographs of George R. Custer, one of the inspirations behind the comics character. However, the intended function of this intermedial translation in the peritext of *General Golden Mane* (and indeed in other Epic Comics *Blueberry* covers) is essentially the same as Genette's fourth function of the title, the "fonction séductive" (Genette 1987: 97), inscribed in the (peritextual) localization process of the *Blueberry* series for an American readership, further to the textual localization discussed in Section 3.1.1. As mentioned in Section 3, Giraud was actively involved in this translation and localization process and he was aware of the added value that the Epic Comics translations would mean for him, as an international comics artist and writer. As Jean-Marc Lofficier explains,

> [h]e was very supportive of the project, volunteered to do new covers in a more "Moebius" style [for the US market, as opposed to the

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[166] Personal communication (e-mail, 11 September 2018).

Giraud style used for the French covers], agreed to the mini-interviews [included in the peritexts], and was thrilled to see "his" western "come home", i.e.: be published in America, the land of John Ford and all the great classic movie westerns he loved.[167]

Marie Javins, the series' American editor, confirms Lofficier's perception: "Moebius was quite cooperative about generating whatever we needed for the series, and frequently visited the [Marvel] office."[168] This *habitus* evidences and reinforces the perception that Giraud actively sought to accrue his cultural and symbolic capital by living and working in Los Angeles (Sadoul 2015: 74) and actively taking part in, and promoting the publication of his work (including the *Blueberry* series) in America. As Numa Sadoul further confirms,

[Jean Giraud] avait une parfaite conscience de son génie, il en attendait la juste récompense à la mesure de sa puissance. Je pense donc qu'il attachait de l'importance à la réussite, ou plutôt à la reconnaissance, aux États-Unis qui sont en quelque sorte la Mecque du comic-book tel que Jean en avait été nourri. Pouvoir se dire "de" L.A. avait forcément plus de prestige pour lui que de se réclamer de Montrouge.[169]

5. Coda

This chapter has applied a sociological analysis to the English-language translations of the *Blueberry* series, inspired by Gouanvic's sociological studies of literary translation and adaptation. For the microtextual analysis, this chapter has applied Kaindl's suggested methodology for the study of comics in translation and it has further developed Kaindl's incipient leads for the typographic level and, particularly, for the pictorial level. Given the nature of the corpus, this chapter argues that translation shifts at the linguistic level

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[167] Personal communications (e-mail, 13 November 2017 and 2 April 2019).
[168] Personal communication (e-mail, 11 September 2018).
[169] Personal communication with Numa Sadoul (e-mail, 3 April 2019).

are the most representative of the translated comics studied in this thesis. Nonetheless, major translation shifts pertaining to Kaindl's typographic and pictorial levels have also been identified, as described in Sections 3.2 and 3.3. This chapter also highlights that a translational analysis of comics requires taking into account elements that are not usually analysed in other— less polysemic—media and that the unique semiosis of comics calls for an equally original translational approach. By exploring the intermedial and transnational context of Western genre comics, the preceding chapters 2 and 3 have shown the intermedial and transnational networks in Western *bande dessinée* and their role in the authorial construction of the *Blueberry* series as a classic of Western *bande dessinée*. The choice of an iconic series, *Blueberry*, that theoretically should not present major obstacles to a smooth and direct translation into English,[170] allowed this research to demonstrate that inter-linguistic translation is not necessarily the major challenge in the translation of comics. Paradoxically, as comics are still widely considered to be paraliteratures characterized by a "fonction principalement ludique" (Fondanèche 2005: 436) and apt only for mass consumption, the visibility of the translators (Venuti 1995) is often apparent in the publisher's peritexts, as shown in Section 4, whilst more literary works (including canonical literature) still hide the translator's name in the peritexts. Not only are the names of translators present in the editorial peritexts of the *Blueberry* series' translations, but they may even be visible in the editorial or public epitexts. This might be explained in part by the fact that comics translators tend to be also cartoonists themselves or comics editors, scholars or critics and, as such, have an investment, both creative and monetary, in the *illusio* of the comics industry. As this chapter has shown, adaptation, translation, and localization are interwoven in the process of transnational publishing and a considerable group of agents hold the power to influence the process and the product of translation. In a hybrid medium like comics, the text/image rapport is as crucial in translation as it is at the production stage of originals,

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[170] Unlike for instance Morris and Goscinny's *Lucky Luke*, a series based on (visual and verbal) humour that may entail many a challenge for translation, particularly in the albums written by René Goscinny, whose wit and humour has proved to be a considerable challenge for translators, one that Anthea Bell and Derek Hockridge excelled at in their co-translations of the *Astérix* series.

and visual literacy is key in the translation process.

Comics are cultural products and, as such, when transposed to a different linguistic and cultural setting need to undergo a localization process, much like films, videogames, software, etc. (see Zanettin 2014b: 200-219). This process entails changes and sometimes the bigger changes do not fall in the traditional inter-linguistic translation category, also known as "translation proper" (Jakobson 2000). With the translations published by Marvel's Epic imprint, the paratextual clues provided by the publishers and editors have gifted Jean Giraud with invisibility, by preferring Moebius as an authorial presence. This has, paradoxically, obscured the presence of the scriptwriter, Jean-Michel Charlier, widely considered in France and in Belgium as the brains behind the success of the *Blueberry* series (Pasamonik 2013a). The editorial peritext further contributes to the occultation of his presence by praising Moebius and including elements that contribute to building his canonical figure in the United States where he resided at the time of the publication of Epic's *Blueberry* series and where he is admired under his alter ego.[171] A quote attributed to René Goscinny—and inspired by the iconic Western *The Man who Shot Liberty Valance* (Ford 1962)—may be fitting to describe this localization strategy: "Quand la légende est plus belle que la réalité, imprimez la légende !". As the editor Marie Javins explains,[172] at the time of the publication of the *Blueberry* series and, "[l]ike many of [Marvel's] titles, [*Blueberry*] was ahead of its time and did not catch on until later." Indeed, the Western series "did not sell well at all at the time ([p]robably a few thousand [copies] were sold at most)," probably because, as Javins argues, "[t]he US was not ready for a western by Europeans about a guy named 'Blueberry.' That's a stretch for the US market." In the long term, however, the combination of "allodoxic misrecognition", as posited by Beaty and Woo (2016: 116) and the active transnational agency of Jean Giraud in the translation, adaptation and localization process of the series contributed

[171] In an interview with French critic Numa Sadoul (2015: 64) Giraud tells the story of his visit to the Marvel studios, where none of the staff seemed to acknowledge his presence when introduced as Jean Giraud, yet he instantly captured everyone's undivided attention when referred to as Moebius.
[172] Personal communication (e-mail, 11 September 2018).

to the accrual of cultural and symbolic capital for the French cartoonist (if not for the *Blueberry* series itself) in America. The translator and consultant editor Jean-Marc Lofficier agrees with Marie Javins' analysis of Giraud/Moebius' reception in the United States, adding that the *Blueberry* series "was cutting edge [in the 1980s and 1990s] and arguably still is today." In Lofficier's words, "Jean [Giraud] was considered by both pros and fans as one of the best comic artists in the world, and I suppose it hasn't changed."[173] Indeed, for Beaty and Woo (2016: 117), Giraud benefits in the United States from the exchange value of his foreign capital. Yet, as Sadoul would stress, what defines the case of Giraud is the fact that the cartoonist was an active (transnational) agent in this process, "[i]l était de la trempe des plus indépendants, de ces artistes qui se construisent *quel que soit le cadre*, en dépit de toutes les limitations possibles" [own emphasis].[174] As Giraud himself (1999: 17) would put it: "*I am a bridge*" [original emphasis].

In contradistinction to the translation process of the *Blueberry* series in the field of American comics, the translation of *Blueberry* in other countries, such as Spain, did not benefit from Giraud's (or Charlier's) active agency. The following chapter will show how the analysis of the Spanish translations, and particularly that of the first translations, reveals the decisive power of censors as key agents in the translation and reception of the series in the field of Spanish comics.

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[173] Personal communication (e-mail, 2 April 2019).
[174] Personal communication (e-mail, 3 April 2019).

Chapter 5. Reframing *Blueberry* in Francoist Spain: Censorship, Adaptation, Localization

How can [a translation] be interesting when the text has been emptied beforehand and all that remains is a thin profile without density or excitement? [175]

José Ortega y Gasset

1. Introduction

In a multimodal and historical analysis of the Spanish translations of a French comics series, Chapter 5 investigates how media censorship policies and norms enforced by a complex network of agents affected the itineraries of the (re)translations of the *Blueberry* comics, from their first publication in Francoist Spain in 1968 until 1983. The chapter analyses the editorial evolution of the comics series in Spanish translation, from the initial periodical issues to (re)translations in album form. Yves Gambier (1994: 415) notes that retranslations could be considered "in part as first translations," when they concern "passages that were formerly cut, censored." Since the foundational articles of Berman and Bensimon (1990) in *Palimpsestes*, the topic of retranslation has been studied at length, yet not exhausted, by scholars such as Vanderschelden (2000), Venuti (2004), Brownlie (2006), Tahir Gürçağlar (2009), Desmidt (2009); Koskinen and Paloposki (2010), Deane-Cox (2014), Alvstad and Assis Rosa (2015), Massardier-Kenney (2015); Cadera and Walsh (2017) or Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar (2019). The case studies that will be used in this chapter build on Zanettin (2014b) and comprise the Spanish retranslations—or 're-localizations' (Zanettin 2014b: 200)—of the *Blueberry* series.[176] As stated in previous

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[175] Ortega y Gasset (2000: 62).
[176] The primary sources consulted for this research include private comics collections and the archives of the Centre de documentation de la Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image in Angoulême, and those of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

chapters, this series was perceived as subversive and transgressive in France at the time of its first publication in the 1960s. Thus, the decision on the part of Editorial Bruguera to publish such a series in Francoist Spain in periodicals aimed at a juvenile readership may seem, in hindsight, surprising. In a multimodal analysis that is best suited to the hybrid nature of comics, this chapter will investigate how media censorship policies and the *habitus* (Gouanvic 2005) of a complex network of agents affected the translation process and product in Spain.

Media censorship practices in translation in Francoist Spain have been extensively researched in the fields of literary narrative, theatre and film (see for instance Abellán 1980; Gutiérrez-Lanza 2000; Merino and Rabadán 2002; Camus and Gómez Castro 2008; or Cornellà-Detrell 2012, 2013). However, there is comparatively less research on Francoist censorship in comics translation. This chapter contributes to filling this gap in scholarship by adopting a multimodal approach to translation (Kaindl 2013; O'Sullivan 2013; Borodo 2015). In the following sections, Kaindl's analytical model will be applied to several representative examples chosen from the Spanish translations of the *Blueberry* series in the magazines *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito*, and *Mortadelo*, in an attempt to uncover how the norms and cultural policies that regulated the publication of domestic comics were applied to foreign production by translation agents in postbellum Spain. These agents showed proof of a multimodal self-censorship zeal that mirrored the post-war censorship policies of other countries such as Italy (Zanettin 2014a, 2014b, 2018; Sinibaldi 2016; Fernández Sarasola 2019), France, the United States, or the United Kingdom (Nyberg 1998; Crépin 2013; Zanettin 2018, Fernández Sarasola 2019) that had, however, entirely different political systems. Moreover, this chapter shows that the concepts of *norm* and *habitus* in Translation Studies can be linked, as posited by Simeoni (1998). Indeed, as evidenced by the (icono-)textual analysis in Section 3.3, when translation agents are routinely subservient to norms, their professional *habitus* is arguably structured by "norms [that] become integrated into an individual's routines [and] internalized as dispositions, propensities to act in certain ways" (Hermans 1999: 82). For Hermans, "[t]he directive or normative force of a norm is a matter of social pressure, backed up with inducements

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and rewards or the threat of sanctions," as shown in Dirk de Geest's (1992) semiotic square—reproduced in Table 8 below (Hermans 1999: 82-83). The (censorship) norms applied under Francoist rule to the *Blueberry* comics that are analysed in this chapter would arguably fall into the upper right corner of de Geest's square, namely into the modality of prohibition. This part of de Geest's square, as argued by Hermans, "contains strong, clearly recognized and well-defined norms and rules [...] which may be backed up by sanctions or supported by strong attitudes and belief systems" (1999: 83).

OBLIGATION			PROHIBITION
What you must do or say			What you must not do or say
Obligatory			Forbidden or inadvisable
NON-PROHIBITION			NON-OBLIGATION
What you are not forbidden			What you are not obliged
to do or say			to do or say
What you may say			What you can say
Tolerated			Recommended or permitted
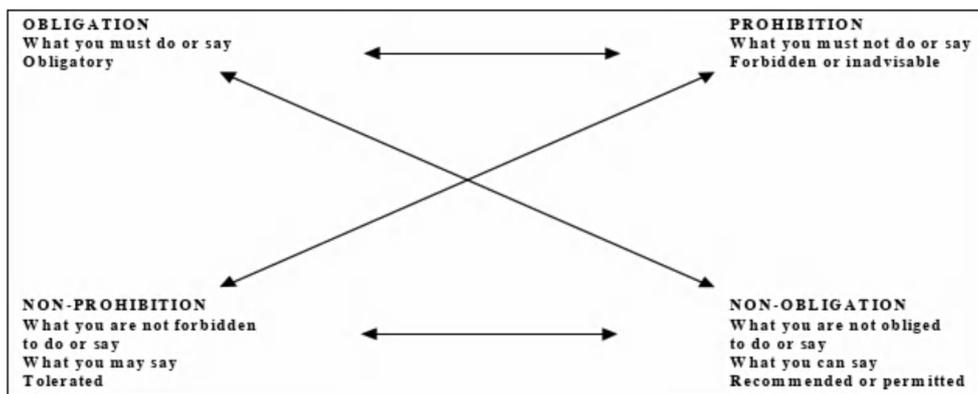
Table 8. Dirk de Geest's (1992) semiotic square of the modalities of normative force. From Theo Hermans' *Translation in Systems* (1999: 83).

One of these belief systems which supported strong—yet not always well-defined—norms and rules was in place in Francoist Spain (1939-1975). The pioneering studies of the application of Francoist censorship to Spanish *historietas*, undertaken by Altarriba (2006), Sanchís (2010), Fernández Sarasola (2014) and McGlade (2018) take an approach focused on the Spanish national production context. This chapter aims to further their analyses by means of a twofold approach. Firstly, it will widen the scope of their studies by including a translational (and transnational) angle, thereby focusing on the (re)translations of French comics in Spanish periodicals. Secondly, my analysis will adopt a historical approach, by analysing the itineraries of the (re)translations, revisions and re-editions of these comics from their first publication in Francoist Spain in 1968 until 1983, when the consolidation of the Spanish transition to democracy was arguably

achieved.[177] Finally, the evolution of the series from the initial periodical issues to editions in album form will be analysed, in order to determine whether the latter can be classified as retranslations, revisions (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010) or mere re-editions.

2. 1952-1976: Censorship and the *Junta Asesora de Prensa Infantil*

Altarriba (2006), Sanchís (2010), Fernández Sarasola (2014, 2019), McGlade (2018), and Tena Fernández (2018) have shown that censorship was widespread in Spanish graphic narratives under the Francoist regime, particularly from 1952, with the establishment of the Junta Asesora de la Prensa Infantil. McGlade posits that this institution marked "a turning point in the history of Spain's comics," which had "remained relatively free from censorial intervention [u]ntil the 1950s" (2018: 30). With the advent of Francoism's *aperturismo* (1956-1973) and the evolution of the dictatorship towards less isolationism, new legislation passed in 1966 replaced the preventive censorship, or *censura previa*, established in 1952 with *autocensura*, or self-censorship (Sanchís 2010; Fernández Sarasola 2014, 2019; Tena Fernández 2018).[178] This, however, did not really apply to the comics field, as children and adolescents were considered by the Francoist regime as strategic demographic groups that had to be indoctrinated and protected from noxious influences, and a prescriptive and a priori censorship remained for this segment. Francoist censorship practices are particularly noticeable in comics periodicals. As Fernández Sarasola (2014), Crépin and Groensteen (1999) and Nyberg (1998) have thoroughly documented, this censorship aimed at comics was neither a national endeavour, nor was it

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[177] Although historians do not agree on an exact date (ranging from 1978 to 1986) to the end of the Spanish transition to democracy, there seems to be a certain consensus (Le Guellec 2007) to situate it at the beginning of the first socialist government (18 November 1982 - 23 April 1986).

[178] For a detailed overview, see the following legislation: Ley 14/1966, de 18 de marzo, de Prensa e Imprenta. *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 67, 19 March 1966, pp. 3310-3315; and: Decreto 195/1967, de 19 de enero, por el que se aprueba el Estatuto de Publicaciones Infantiles y Juveniles. *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 37, 13 February 1967, pp. 1964-1967.

limited to any particular medium. Nyberg posits that "the debate over comic books fits into a broad pattern of efforts to control children's culture. As film, radio, and comic books each were introduced and became part of children's leisure activities, guardians of children's morality renewed their attacks on the mass media" (1998: viii). Since the 1950s, other Western countries, such as the United States, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, developed and enforced restrictive legislation for the comics publishing field (Fernández Sarasola 2014:142, 2019), resulting in a strictly regulated transnational comics polysystem. As a result of these restrictive policies, for instance, the *Blueberry* series only started fully to develop its characteristic dark and violent atmosphere in France after 1968—with the (relative) relaxation of the *Loi du 16 juillet 1949 sur les publications destinées à la jeunesse* [Law of 16 July 1949 on publications aimed at youth] that controlled the French comics market—a date that coincides with that of the first Spanish translations of the series, which, as the following sections will show, were subjected to stricter censorship regulations than those implemented by the *Loi du 16 juillet 1949 sur les publications destinées à la jeunesse*.[179]

3. *Blueberry* in Spanish Translation: Serializations in *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito*, and *Mortadelo* (1968-1971)

Heavily influenced by *Pilote hebdomadaire* and by Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée*, as was the Spanish comics field in general in the 1960s, the Spanish comics magazines *Bravo* and *Gran Pulgarcito*, published by Editorial Bruguera, were created respectively by Heliodoro Lillo Lutteroth (1903-1980) in 1968 and by Jorge Gubern Ribalta (1924-1996) in 1969. In 1964, Editorial Bruguera, applying the legislation passed by the Francoist government in 1952 and updated in 1966, established strict house rules for

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[179] This legislation banned any publications that included illustrations or narratives that "presented in a good light banditry, falsehood, theft, sloth, cowardice, hatred, debauchery or any acts considered crimes or offences, or calculated to demoralize childhood or youth" (Art. 2). Additionally, Article 13 extended the ban to "the import for the purpose of sale or free distribution in France" of such publications, and to their export "when they have been published in France." (Loi n° 49-956 du 16 juillet 1949 sur les publications destinées à la jeunesse. *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 19 July 1949, pp. 7006-7008).

self-censorship that included avoiding the representation of excessive violence and any reference to suicide (Fernández Sarasola 2014: 142-143), and the inclusion of foul or disrespectful language (Tena Fernández 2018: 179). As Tena Fernández (2018: 180) posits, these censorship rules were vigorously applied whenever any violent actions were performed by women in comics, as this deviant gender representation (for the Spanish censorship boards) would contravene the models of femininity imposed by the Francoist rule, which were based on gender stereotypes of women considered as virtuous models of discretion, complacency, submission and domesticity.[180] While in the early *Blueberry* series the authors and the French publishers already self-regulated violent content in accordance with the *Loi du 16 juillet 1949 sur les publications destinées à la jeunesse*, in Spain Francoist censorship was another turn of the screw that further restricted what could and could not be published in translation.

Bravo and *Gran Pulgarcito* published several translations of *bandes dessinées* originally serialized in *Pilote hebdomadaire*, including the popular series *Astérix*, *Achille Talon*, *Michel Tanguy*, *Buck Danny* and *Blueberry*. The first instalments of the *Blueberry* series appeared initially in the Spanish language in *Bravo* between February and December 1968, only a few years after their publication in France. This included the episodes *Fort Navajo* [*Fort Navajo*], *Tormenta en el oeste* [*Tonnerre à l'ouest*], *El águila solitaria* [*L'Aigle solitaire*] and *El jinete perdido* [*Le Cavalier perdu*]. After the publication of *Bravo* came to a standstill in December 1968,[181] the new Bruguera magazine *Gran Pulgarcito* published the following episodes of the series from January 1969 until June 1970: *La ruta de los Navajos* [*La Piste des Navajos*], *El hombre de la estrella de plata* [*L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*], *El caballo de hierro* [*Le Cheval de fer*], *El hombre del puño de acero* [*L'Homme au poing d'acier*], *La ruta de los Sioux* [*La Piste des Sioux*] and *El general Cabellera Rubia* [*Général "Tête Jaune"*]. These translations were subject to the same Francoist press censorship that applied to domestic Spanish comics

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[180] For comparison with, and an overview of, gender stereotypes in Western *bande dessinée*, see Section 3.3 in Chapter 2.
[181] *Bravo* was published again in 1976 and until 1984 yet did not include any *Blueberry* comics.

production, although this has not been addressed by researchers who have studied the effects of censorship on Spanish comics. Fernández Sarasola (2014: 140) does point out that foreign translated publications were most affected by bowdlerization, but he does not undertake a study of any one corpus in detail, since his research is focused on Spanish graphic narratives. Tena Fernández (2018: 179), however, remarks that the control of imported comics grew gradually during the Francoist regime, and that Spanish comics magazines were not allowed to include more than twenty-five percent of foreign content in any of their issues.

The *Blueberry* series was initially serialized in the magazine *Bravo* from number one to number forty (see Table 9 below), and later replaced with the western *Pithy Raine*, by Carlos Albiac (writer) and Carlos Casalla (artist), from number forty-one to number forty-six. *Bravo* alternated full-colour and bichrome pages in greenish tones in the last months of its run of the *Blueberry* series. Although the translators of the *Blueberry* series are never credited, an advertising page in the magazine's peritexts (for instance, in *Bravo* no. 41, p. 5) announces Editorial Bruguera's new collection of hard-bound, full-colour 48-page comic book translations in the new collection, *Pilote*—which includes translations of the *bandes dessinées Blueberry*, *Astérix*, *Michel Tanguy* and *Achille Talon*. This peritext states that these editions are part of "[u]na presentación a nivel europeo" of "los famosos personajes de los creadores de la moderna historieta: Uderzo, Gil [sic.] y Greg", published with an "[i]mpresión impecable", and in translations that are "confiadas a especialistas de la historieta gráfica" (*Bravo* 41: 5).

Title in *Pilote hebdomadaire*	Publisher/ Year	Title in *Bravo*	Issues
Fort Navajo	Dargaud (1965)	*Fort Navajo*	*Bravo* [nos.1-11]
Tonnerre à l'ouest	Dargaud (1966)	*Tormenta en el oeste*	*Bravo* [nos.12-23]

L'Aigle solitaire	Dargaud (1967)	*El águila solitaria*	*Bravo* [nos. 24-31]
Le Cavalier perdu	Dargaud (1968)	*El jinete perdido*	*Bravo* [nos. 32-40]

Table 9. *Blueberry* translations serialized in the comics magazine *Bravo*.

After Editorial Bruguera's discontinuation of *Bravo*, the publication of the *Blueberry* series shifted to the new magazine *Gran Pulgarcito* (see Table 10 below). With the first issue of *Gran Pulgarcito*, an advertising leaflet (paratext) described the format (forty pages of 30x21cm), price (10 pesetas), and contents of the new comics magazine. Alongside Spanish humoristic *tebeos* such as Vázquez's *Don Polillo* or Ibáñez's *Mortadelo y Filemón*, *Gran Pulgarcito* published translations of the following French *bandes dessinées*: *Michel Tanguy*, *Achille Talon*, *Astérix*, *Iznogoud*, and *Blueberry*. *Blueberry* was introduced in this paratext as "¡Arrollador...! ¡Irresistible...! [...] ¡El mejor "Oeste" de Europa! ¡Sus aventuras son... únicas!" (*Gran Pulgarcito* 1). As Sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 will show, some of the pages of the *Blueberry* series are indeed unique in the pages of *Gran Pulgarcito*, and as they would also be (to a lesser extent) in the magazine *Mortadelo*. As was the case in *Bravo*, the translators of *Blueberry* are not credited in any of the issues of *Gran Pulgarcito*, although it has been possible to determine the identity of the translator. Andreu Martín, a native of Barcelona, currently established as a writer who has published mainly crime fiction, is the translator of most of the albums of the *Blueberry* series published in Spain, and of those previously serialized in *Gran Pulgarcito*.[182] He initially started working as the translator of the *Blueberry* series in *Gran Pulgarcito*, before being hired by Editorial Grijalbo to continue working as a translator and editor of the series.

[182] Andreu Martín is also the translator of several albums of the Western *bande dessinée* Mac Coy, and of other *bandes dessinées* such as Lauzier's *Tranches de vie*. Approached for an interview, he shared some of his memories about the translation and publication processes of *Blueberry* in *Gran Pulgarcito*. His responses inform this chapter as those of Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier informed Chapter 4.

This job also included the lettering of the *Blueberry* albums published by Grijalbo, a task which was later carried out by Eduardo (Lalo) Quintana. As was the case for the American translations analysed in Chapter 4, the Spanish translators, letterers and editors worked with film copies provided by Dargaud.[183] The lettering in the magazine *Mortadelo*, as in *Bravo* and *Gran Pulgarcito*, is mechanical, and so is the typography in the *Blueberry* episodes, except in a few cases where manual lettering is employed.

Title in *Pilote hebdomadaire*	Publisher/ Year	Title in *Gran Pulgarcito*	Issues
La Piste des Navajos	Dargaud (1969)	*La ruta de los Navajos*	*Gran Pulgarcito* [nos. 1-23]
L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent	Dargaud (1969)	*El hombre de la estrella de plata*	*Gran Pulgarcito* [nos. 23-34]
Le Cheval de fer	Dargaud (1970)	*El caballo de hierro*	*Gran Pulgarcito* [nos. 35-46]
L'Homme au poing d'acier	Dargaud (1970)	*El hombre del puño de acero*	*Gran Pulgarcito* [nos. 46-57]
La Piste des Sioux	Dargaud (1971)	*La ruta de los sioux*	*Gran Pulgarcito* [nos. 58-69]
Général Tête Jaune	Dargaud (1971)	*El general Cabellera Rubia*	*Gran Pulgarcito* [nos. 69-81]

Table 10. *Blueberry* translations serialized in the comics magazine *Gran Pulgarcito*.

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[183] Personal communication with Andreu Martín (e-mail, 9 June 2018).

With the discontinuation of *Gran Pulgarcito*, the serialization of the *Blueberry* series in Spain was not discontinued, however. Editorial Bruguera included *Pilote hebdomadaire*'s Western *bande dessinée* in its new comics magazine, *Mortadelo*, first published (issue no. 0) on 16 November 1970. The first instalment consisted of the episode *La mina del alemán perdido*. *Mortadelo* published seven episodes without interruption (except for a one-issue hiatus prior to the first instalment of the translation of *Ballade pour un cercueil*), including the abovementioned translation of *La Mine de l'Allemand perdu*, and *El espectro de las balas de oro*, *Chihuahua Pearl*, *El hombre que valía 500.000 dólares*, *Por un par de botas*, *El fugitivo*, and *Angel Face* (see Table 11 below). The first instalment of the serialization of *Chihuahua Pearl* in *Mortadelo*—in issue no. 49 (1 November 1971)—is the first time a translator of *Blueberry* is credited in any of the Editorial Bruguera magazines. All the subsequent translations of *Blueberry* in *Mortadelo* are credited to "A. Palé," which arguably corresponds to Ana María Palé, listed in the Spanish website Tebeosfera as a comics translator.[184] It is at the pictorial level that *Mortadelo* is most original when compared to *Gran Pulgarcito* and *Bravo*. Since its inception in 1970, *Mortadelo* alternated full-colour and bichrome pages in red and grey tones, and *Blueberry* (as opposed to *Astérix*, for instance) was always published in bichrome pages.

Title in *Pilote hebdomadaire*	Publisher/ Year	Title in *Mortadelo*	Issues
La Mine de l'Allemand perdu	Dargaud (1972)	*La mina del alemán perdido*	*Mortadelo* [nos. 0-22]
Le Spectre aux balles d'or	Dargaud (1972)	*El fantasma de las balas de oro*	*Mortadelo* [nos. 23-48]

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[184] In spite of my best attempts to interview her in the context of this research, Ana María Palé could not be contacted, nor could her authorship of the translations be definitively established.

Chihuahua Pearl	Dargaud (1973)	*Chihuahua Pearl*	*Mortadelo* [nos. 49-71]
L'Homme qui valait 500.000$	Dargaud (1973)	*El hombre que valía 500.000 dólares*	*Mortadelo* [nos. 72-94; Extra de Primavera de 1972]
Ballade pour un cercueil	Dargaud (1974)	*Por un par de botas*	*Mortadelo* [nos. 95-126]
Le Hors la loi	Dargaud (1974)	*El fugitivo*	*Mortadelo* [nos. 154-175]

Table 11. *Blueberry* translations serialized in the comics magazine *Mortadelo*.

3.1. Translation and Multimodal Censorship (I): *Deletio*, *Detractio*

For Kaindl (1999: 277), the reasons that explain the (textual or pictorial) cuts entailed by the translation procedures of *deletio* and *detractio* "can often be found in censorship regulations." One of the first occurrences of multimodal censorship in the serialization of the *Blueberry* series can be found in the translation of *Tonnerre à l'Ouest* (*Tormenta en el Oeste*). In the album *Tonnerre à l'Ouest*, that narrates a fictionalized account of the war between the United States government and the Apache (serialized in 1964 in *Pilote hebdomadaire*, nos. 236-258), Lieutenant Blueberry finds three dead Mexicans who have been tied to cacti, stuck full of arrows and scalped by the Apache (Charlier and Giraud 1966f: 17). The Spanish translation in *Bravo* (Figure 57) completely omits this information (Charlier and Giraud 1968b: 29), in a multimodal translation that applies strategies of *deletio* and *detractio* to alter both the pictures and the text balloons. Every single one of the eleven arrows in the panel has been (grossly) deleted, following the censors' norms that strictly forbade any representation of torture or violence, and Blueberry's mention of the tortures endured by the Mexicans has all but disappeared in the balloons of *Bravo*'s edition. Other panels of *Tormenta en el oeste* have been accordingly bowdlerized, thus rendering a sanitized translation for the

Spanish readers that followed Francoist policies to the letter (see Boletín Oficial del Estado 1967: 1964-1965).

Figure 57. *Blueberry – Tonnerre à l'Ouest* (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 253, p. 17) © DARGAUD 1964, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Tormenta en el Oeste*. (*Bravo* no. 20, p. 29) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Amongst the most notable of the many cases of multimodal censorship that can be found in the pages of *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito* and (to a lesser extent), *Mortadelo*, are the following examples of *detractio* and *deletio* in *El jinete perdido* and *El hombre de la estrella de plata* (see Figures 58, 59 and 60), in which entire panels have been bowdlerized, redrawn and rewritten (Figures 58, 59 and 60), or simply cut altogether from the page (Figures 58 and 59). These figures show the implementation of Francoist censorship regulations that forbade the graphic or textual representation of "immoral behaviours", such as "violence" or "sadism", in the publications aimed at children or adolescents (Boletín Oficial del Estado 1967: 1965).

Interestingly, Figure 60 shows how the state regulations for multimodal censorship resulted in the removal of the school children from the scene of violence in panel four—thus reinforcing a perception of the innocence of the child reader and the morality of the censors that saw childhood as cordoned off from violence—and in the sanitization of the speech panels in panels two and five, to conform to the Francoist model of femininity described in Section 3.

Figure 58. *Blueberry – Le Cavalier perdu*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 291, p. 16) ©
DARGAUD 1965, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El jinete perdido*.
(*Bravo* no. 33, p. 25) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved.
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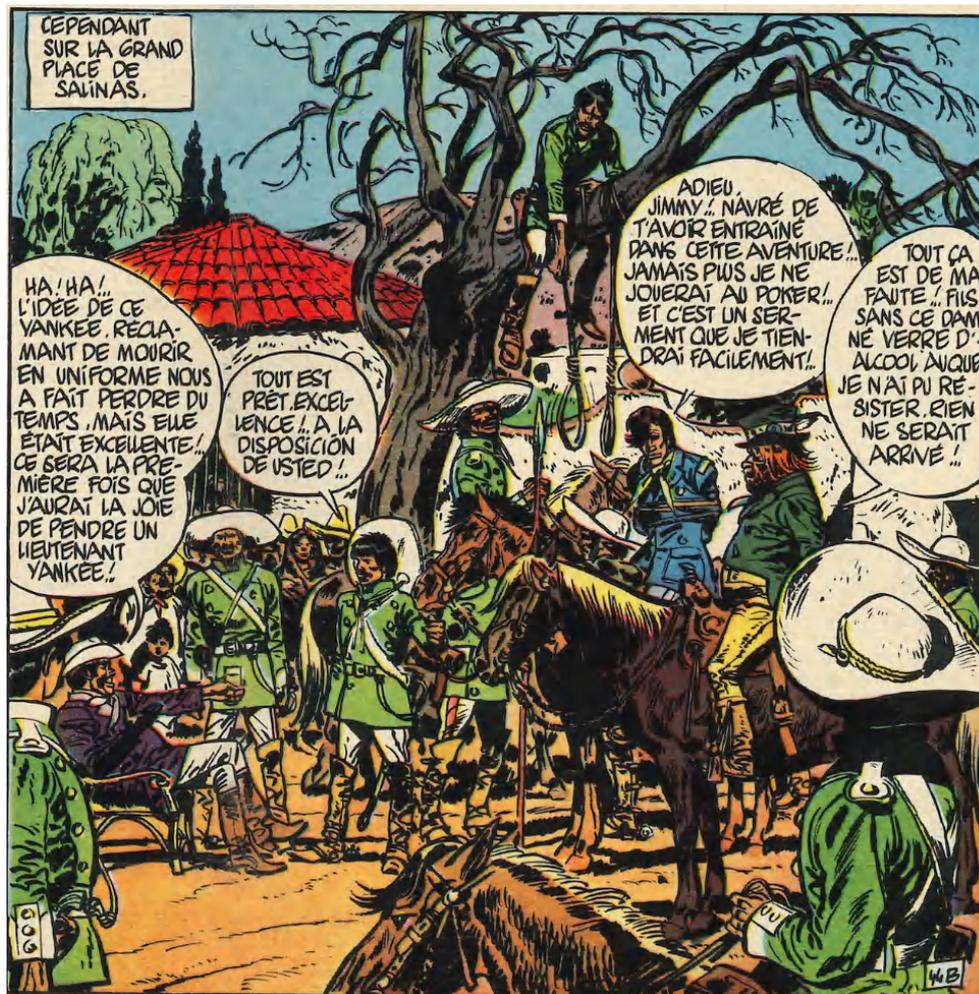
Figure 59. *Blueberry – Le cavalier perdu*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 310, p. 41, & no. 311, p. 40) © DARGAUD 1965, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El jinete perdido*. (*Bravo* no. 40, p. 24) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 60. *Blueberry – L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 353, p. 45) © DARGAUD 1966, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El hombre de la estrella de plata*. (*Gran Pulgarcito* no. 31, p. 29) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

3.2. Translation and Multimodal Censorship (II): *Adiectio, Substitutio*

Further to the citation of Kaindl (1999: 277) in Section 3.1, this section posits that other translation procedures, namely *adiectio* and *substitutio*, are equally influenced by censorship regulations, as shown, for instance, in *El caballo de hierro*, serialized in *Gran Pulgarcito*. The background of the original French panel reproduced in Figure 61 shows Steelfingers, one of Blueberry's main antagonists in *Le Cheval de fer* (serialized in *Pilote* magazine between November 1966 and April 1967), using the unconscious Curly as a shield, while he opens fire and wounds one of the guards who was escorting him (Charlier and Giraud 1967a: 46). The agents of the Spanish translation (Charlier and Giraud 1969h: 24) resort to multimodal *adiectio* and *substitutio* strategies to modify the text of the caption and redraw the scene in the panel, deleting any textual and pictorial reference to shots being fired (to the extent of replacing the hat on the wounded guard's head). The translation in *Gran Pulgarcito* arguably goes even further in using multimodality to eliminate any violent references in the panel as it also alters the original colours, replacing the original's warm tones with softer tints.[185] Moreover, the text balloon in which the guard says "AAHH! JE SUIS BLESSÉ!" ["Aagh! He got me!"] is deleted and replaced by a different one where he shouts "¡NO LE DEJÉIS ESCAPAR!" [Don't let him escape!].[186] Similarly, in a panel from the serialization of the following album, *El hombre del puño de acero*, the French original's image and ideophones have been bowdlerized (deletio) and partly redrawn (substitutio), whilst a speech balloon that is non-existent in the French original has been added (adiectio), which results in a comparative reading that is nothing short of comical (see Figure 62).

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[185] The translations published by Editorial Bruguera in *Bravo* and *Gran Pulgarcito* (and later in album form) often altered the original colours, unlike later (re)translations by Editorial Junior/Grijalbo-Dargaud.

[186] Translation by J.-M. and R. Lofficier (Charlier and Giraud 1991a).

Figure 61. *Blueberry – Le Cheval de fer*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 386, p. 46.) © DARGAUD 1967, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El caballo de hierro*. (*Gran Pulgarcito* no. 43, p. 24) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 62. *Blueberry – L'Homme au poing d'acier*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 414, p. 40) © DARGAUD 1967, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El hombre del puño de acero*. (*Gran Pulgarcito* no. 55, p. 28) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Another representative example of substitutio can be found in *La ruta de los Navajos* (*Gran Pulgarcito*). As stated in previous sections, and further to the bowdlerization of violent scenes, Francoist censors—influenced by the Catholic church—also eliminated any reference to suicide (see Boletín Oficial del Estado 1967: 1965). In this instance, this was achieved by means of pictorial and textual *substitutio* (see, respectively, the first and fourth, and third and sixth panels in Figure 63), in which the panel where Quanah falls upon his own tomahawk is replaced with a black background and the *repetitio* of the text in panels two and five; and in panel six, the original text (panel three) "L'AIGLE SOLITAIRE **S'EST TUÉ LUI-MÊME** [...]" is replaced with the impersonal sentence construction "ÁGUILA SOLITARIA **HA ENCONTRADO LA MUERTE** [...]" [added emphasis].

Figure 63. *Blueberry – La Piste des Navajos*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 335, p. 17) © DARGAUD 1966, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *La ruta de los Navajos*. (*Gran Pulgarcito* no. 23, p. 25) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Further to the contention advanced by Tena Fernández (2018) in a citation from his work referenced previously, the zeal of Francoist censorship was also directed towards the dismissive treatment, or improper representations of women, and the graphic or textual representations of erotism (see Boletín Oficial del Estado 1967: 1965) such as those shown in Figures 64, 65 and 66 below). Multimodal censorship resorts to *substitutio*, and to *adiectio* translation procedures, in order to conceal the scenes (three panels) of the kidnapping of the schoolmarm in *El hombre de la estrella de plata*. These are replaced by a single red caption box in *Gran Pulgarcito* (see Figure 64). In Figure 65, the censors cloak Charlier and Giraud's explicit representation of Chihuahua Pearl iconographically, with the (prudish) pictorial *adiectio* of extra fabric to her décolleté. This is also achieved textually, with the *deletio* of the term "CATIN" in the speech balloon.

Figure 64. *Blueberry – L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 355, p. 32-33) © DARGAUD 1966, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El hombre de la estrella de plata*. (*Gran Pulgarcito* no. 32, p. 37) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 65. *Blueberry – L'Homme qui valait 500 000 $*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 613, p. 32-33) © DARGAUD 1971, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El hombre que valía 500.000 dólares*. (*Mortadelo* no. 80, p. 27) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

The last example of this case study is in itself a condensed illustration of the censorship norms that applied to comics translation in Spain in the 1960s and 1970s. *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*, serialized in *Pilote hebdomadaire* between April and September 1966, was the sixth instalment of the *Blueberry* series. In the last few pages (Charlier and Giraud 1966: 32), Blueberry tracks down and finds the kidnappers of Miss Muriel. When compared to the French original, the panels translated in *Gran Pulgarcito* (Charlier and Giraud 1969b: 36) are hardly recognizable (Figure 66). Not only have the text and the images been censored as in the example shown in Figure 65, but the last two strips have been entirely altered. In a striking occurrence of multimodal translation, the seventh and eighth panels have substituted the picture with text (*substitutio* strategy). In panel three, the original French panel shows Buddy Bass, dead at the feet of Blueberry, who tells him that he was wrong to confront him ("TU AS EU TORT, BUDDY" [Darned fool thing to do, Buddy!]).[187] In *Gran Pulgarcito*, the panel has been replaced with a moralizing narrative caption that reads:

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[187] Translation by R. Whitener (Charlier and Giraud 1983b).

BUDDY BASS CAYÓ. SU LARGA CARRERA DE HOMBRE SIN ESCRÚPULOS TUVO UN BRUSCO FINAL. NO CAYÓ SOBRE ÉL EL PESO DE LA LEY, DE LA QUE SIEMPRE SE HABÍA BURLADO, PERO FUE UN REPRESENTANTE DEL ORDEN QUIEN, OBLIGADO A DEFENDERSE, LE PARÓ PARA SIEMPRE LOS PIES…

[Buddy Bass fell. His long career as an unscrupulous man met a sudden end. The weight of the law, which he had always mocked, did not fall on him, but a law enforcement officer, forced to defend himself, stopped him forever…]

As the writer and translator Andreu Martín explains, and thereby corroborating the results of research by Sanchís (2010) and Fernández Sarasola (2014), "hubo una época en que la censura de prensa infantil prohibía que se viera a algún personaje cayendo muerto. Yo debía tenerlo en cuenta cuando escribía mis guiones. Y así se retocaban las páginas." [There was a time when the censorship of children's press forbade the portrayal of any character dropping dead. I had to be aware of this when writing my scripts. And so the pages were retouched].[188] This example is also indicative of what Tena Fernández (2018) has called the Francoist model of a new cartoon hero "who justifies the use of violence to impose his [patriotic] values" (178), and constitutes an educational and role model for the young comics readers who would eventually grow into "courageous men" who would "defend the interests of the country" (179).[189] This is also a good example of texts being changed to defend the rule of law and to maintain the idea that nobody could escape justice, which was also applied in film censorship.

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[188] Personal communication with Andreu Martín (e-mail, 9 June 2018).
[189] See also J. Pérez de Urbel (1941). "Las revistas infantiles y su poder educador", in *Revista Nacional de Educación*, 1, pp. 55-58.

Figure 66. *Blueberry – L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*. (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 359, p. 32.) © DARGAUD 1966, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *El hombre de la estrella de plata*. (*Gran Pulgarcito* no. 34, p. 36) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

As the previous examples have shown, multimodal translation strategies were heavily applied to operate a strict (multimodal) (self-) censorship in the translation of the *Blueberry* series in the comics magazines *Bravo* and *Gran Pulgarcito* in 1968 and 1969, shortly after the passing of the Francoist legislation in 1966 that triggered the application of self-censorship norms by the Spanish comics industry. The *Blueberry* series was also reprinted in album format from 1968, first by Editorial Bruguera and later by Editorial Junior, an imprint whose name changed to Grijalbo-Dargaud in 1980, after the signing of a publishing agreement with the French publishing house Dargaud. Section 4 will analyse if these album reprints have addressed the bowdlerization of the translations that appeared in periodicals, and whether they can be categorized as retranslations, revisions (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010), first translations (Gambier 1994: 415) or mere re-editions.

3.3. Old *Habitus* Die Hard: *Transmutatio* in *Gran Pulgarcito*

As Sanchís (2010) and Fernández Sarasola (2014, 2019) have shown, Francoist censorship affected the entire "anatomy of comics" (Kaindl 1999) in the 1960s and 1970s. Censors advised and imposed alterations to, and entire cuts of Spanish comics panels, affecting verbal and non-verbal elements alike. The distribution of comics imported from abroad, when not banned altogether in Spain, was equally subjected to strict bowdlerization, akin to that applied to the national production. Perhaps encouraged by the harsh norms enforced by the Ministerio de Información y Turismo, the *habitus* (Gouanvic 2005) of translation agents had interiorized cut and paste techniques, to the point of applying them in excess of censorship requirements. The translation of *La Piste des Navajos*, serialized in the pages of *Pilote hebdomadaire* and first published in Spanish translation in 1969 in *Gran Pulgarcito*, provides a unique example of *transmutatio* that goes beyond translation or censorship, and illustrates the concept of loss and gain (Grun and Dollerup 2003) in comics translation.

Page 16 of *Pilote hebdomadaire* no. 327 contains a scene in eight panels of *La Piste des Navajos* where Blueberry, MacClure and Pinto come across a collapsed track that runs along the cliffs (Charlier and Giraud 1966a: 16). In order to reach the other side of the precipice and continue their progression, Blueberry uses a rope, dexterously fixed to a ledge, to swing over the gap. As some critics such as Bocquet (2013c: 11) have remarked, a mistake in the perspective is visible in panels one and two (Figure 67).[190] On page 28 of *La ruta de los Navajos*, *Gran Pulgarcito* published a modified translated version of the original (Charlier and Giraud 1969c: 28). Nothing in the linguistic group of signs appears to diverge essentially from an idiomatic translation, and due to the nature of the scenes depicted in the panels, censorship was not deemed necessary, hence no cuts or alterations were called for. Andreu Martín, a writer, cartoonist, and the first translator of most of the *Blueberry* series in Spanish, explained this as follows:

> En el álbum de Dargaud, el precipicio queda, en unas viñetas, a la derecha de Blueberry y, en otras viñetas, queda a su izquierda. Un error de Giraud, sin duda, aunque sus adoradores dijeran en aquel momento que era una licencia que se tomaba el gran artista para compensar y equilibrar volúmenes en la página […] Bueno, pues en Bruguera (cuando se publicó en el Gran Pulgarcito yo trabajaba en la editorial) nos percatamos del tema […] Hicimos copia de los fotolitos originales […] para disponer de una copia manipulable y […] en esa copia, recortamos las viñetas bailonas y las pegamos al revés para que el precipicio siempre estuviera en el mismo sitio. Un trabajón. Pero certificábamos que, en el Gran Pulgarcito, Giraud no había cometido ningún error.[191]
>
> [In Dargaud's album, the cliff remains, in some panels, to the right of Blueberry and, in other panels, it is to his left. [This is] a mistake of

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[191] Personal communication with Andreu Martín (e-mail, 9 June 2018).

Giraud's, undoubtedly, yet his worshipers said at the time that it was a license that the great artist took to compensate and balance volumes on the page [...] Well, in Bruguera (when it was published in *Gran Pulgarcito* I worked at [that] publishing house) we noticed the issue […] We made a copy of the original film copies […] to have an editable copy and […] on that copy, we cut out the inconsistent panels and we flipped them over and glued them so that the cliff was always in the same place. A lot of work. But we made sure that, in *Gran Pulgarcito*, Giraud had not made any mistakes.]

In this example, *transmutatio* was neither a translation strategy nor the result of censorship but was used to amend a perceived pictorial error in the original, akin to the *habitus* of Randy and Jean-Marc Lofficier analysed in some of the American translations in Chapter 4. As Martín argues, Giraud did not appear to have made any mistakes in the Spanish translated version of *La Piste des Navajos*, or at least this was the purpose of Editorial Bruguera's translation agents. However, a closer examination of the panels reveals the danger of manipulating original comics panels. The flipping of comics panels is a common strategy in the translation of Japanese *manga* (Zanettin 2014c; Fabbretti 2014: 75-76) that entails certain difficulties. In this case, a consequence of this well-intended manipulation to amend a mistake in the original results in another unfortunate visual error. By merely flipping the panel, the cliff in *La ruta de los Navajos* effectively remains in the same place and the perspective is apparently corrected. However, Blueberry's holster swings from his right to his left hip, thus maintaining the mistake in the panels, yet on a smaller scale. What was intended as a gain by the translator and the publisher was only a partially successful strategy, as it eventually resulted in a loss. To completely amend Giraud's mistake, a *substitutio* strategy, or redrawing of the panel would be necessary.

Figure 67. *Blueberry – La Piste des Navajos* (*Pilote Hebdomadaire* no. 327, p. 16) © DARGAUD 1966, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *La ruta de los Navajos*. (*Gran Pulgarcito* no. 15, p. 28) Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

As the chart in Table 12 below shows, there was a notable evolution in the multimodal translation procedures applied in the *Blueberry* series for (self-)censorship reasons, over the fifteen albums analysed for this chapter: namely, the first cycle of the Apache wars (five albums); the cycle of the Sioux wars (four albums); and the cycle of the Confederate gold (three albums); the standalone album *L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent*; and the diptych of the Lost Dutchman.[192] In 1968, *Bravo* resorted mainly to *deletio*. Between 1969 and 1970, there was a marked decline in the use of *deletio* in *Gran Pulgarcito*, whereas the proportion of occurrences of *detractio*, *substitutio* and *adiectio* doubled. This tendency continued until 1972 in *Mortadelo* for the proportion of *substitutio*, whilst the use of *detractio* and *adiectio* decreased to proportions similar to those observed in *Bravo* in 1968, and the application of the procedure of *deletio* was discontinued. The general tendency, as the data reflected by the chart evidences, was towards an overall (and progressive) reduction in multimodal censorship, whereas the purely textual bowdlerization was maintained until the very end of Franco's dictatorship.

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[192] See Chapter 3, for an overview of the different cycles and albums in the *Blueberry* series.
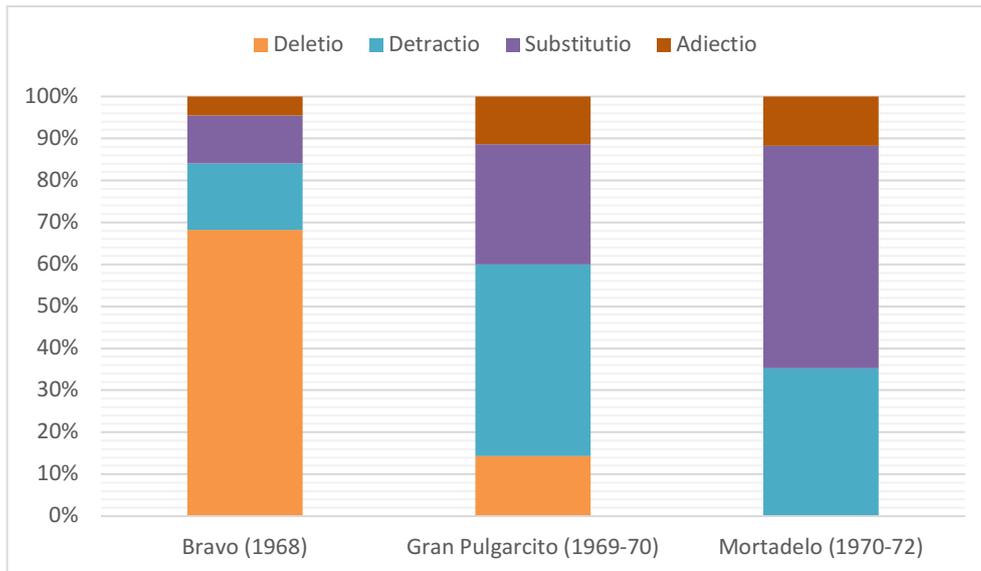
Table 12. Comparative chart of multimodal translation procedures in *Blueberry* influenced by censorship regulations, in Editorial Bruguera's comics magazines.

4. Bruguera, Junior and Grijalbo-Dargaud: (Re)Translations, Revisions and Reprints (1968-1983)

With the end of the dictatorship after Franco's death in November 1975 and the slow democratization of Spain, the expectation would be for censorship laws to be abrogated, and, as a result, that censorship policies would effectively become a practice of the past. However, Cornellà-Detrell (2012, 2013) has undertaken significant work that challenges such assumptions. His research shows that, to this day, many literary narratives that were censored during Francoism have been reprinted since 1975 using texts "that were expurgated by the censors" (Cornellà-Detrell 2013) and currently stack library shelves, mostly undetected. Many of these books are still being reprinted today, either concurrently with, or instead of updated and uncensored translations. As research into censorship practices in the comics field by Sanchís (2010), Fernández Sarasola (2014) or McGlade (2018) has demonstrated, the bowdlerization of national comics was at least comparable to censorship of literary texts.

The evidence in the case study of the present chapter shows that, following the publication of the *Blueberry* series in comics magazines in Spain, the series has been (re)published between 1968 and 2019 in album form under five different Spanish imprints: Editorial Bruguera, Ediciones Junior, Grijalbo-Dargaud, Norma Editorial and Grupo Planeta-DeAgostini. Four of the *Blueberry* albums analysed in this chapter, *Tempestad en el oeste*, *La ruta de los Navajos*, *El hombre de la estrella de plata* and *El caballo de hierro*, were all republished several times. Norma Editorial's editions constitute an interesting case study that falls beyond the scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, a succinct but representative example of retranslation is worth mentioning here. As one of the two most recent *Blueberry* Spanish editions, and based on the latest Dargaud *intégrale*, Norma Editorial's translations are credited to "Norma Editorial" and "Barba Ink" (Barba Ink is a graphic studio based in Spain) in the Spanish *intégrales*. The first volume appeared in December 2015 and includes the albums *Fort Navajo*, *Tormenta en el Oeste*, and *Águila Solitaria*. In the latter album, the speech of Apache scout and war chief Quanah reflects coherently for the first time in the Spanish (re-)editions his dual identity (see Egmont/Methuen's sanitized/politically correct English translation of *L'Aigle Solitaire* in Chapter 4), alternating broken Spanish when addressing the soldiers with a perfect Spanish syntax in interior monologues (thought balloons) and in his conversations with other Apache people, much like in the French albums—minus the original's incoherencies which result, in Jorge Luis Borges's words, in an original that is "unfaithful to a translation" (Kristal 2002: 1).

Bravo's serialization (Charlier and Giraud 1968b) of *Tormenta en el Oeste* was reprinted in 1969 by Editorial Bruguera in its Colección Pilote, in a translation by Jorge Bayona titled *Tempestad en el oeste* (Charlier and Giraud 1969i). The first translation published in *Bravo* is uncredited (as are all *Bravo*'s and *Gran Pulgarcito*'s translations). However, close contrastive analysis of *Bravo*'s and Editorial Bruguera's translations (see Figure 68 below) shows minor differences in both text and image, mostly restorations

of the original images and of the (almost) complete texts in balloons and/or captions. This would allow us to describe Editorial Bruguera's 1969 edition as a revised translation, where differences between translations are minor (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010). Editorial Grijalbo-Dargaud published a new edition of this instalment in 1982 with the new title *Tormenta en el Oeste*, closer to the French original. Translated by Andreu Martín (Charlier and Giraud 1982c), this is indeed a retranslation, as shown by consistent stylistic and lexical differences in Martín's and Bayona's texts. While Martín does not operate any multimodal (re)translation, since all the visually censored panels in *Bravo* have been restored in Bayona's translation (Charlier and Giraud 1969i), he does, however, fully restore the bowdlerized texts (see Figure 68), in what could be perhaps best defined as a first translation (Gambier 1994: 415).

Figure 68. *Blueberry – Tonnerre à l'Ouest* © DARGAUD 1964, by Charlier & Giraud. www.dargaud.com. / *Tempestad en el Oeste*. Translation and text © BRUGUERA 1969 / *Tormenta en el Oeste*. Translation and text © GRIJALBO-DARGAUD 1982. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

The *Blueberry* comics serialized in *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito*, and *Mortadelo* that are analysed in this chapter were also reprinted by Editorial Bruguera, and by Ediciones Junior and Grijalbo-Dargaud, in translations penned by Jordi Bayona and Andreu Martín, respectively (see Table 13 below). According to Paloposki and Koskinen's (2010) criteria, these include a combination of multimodal retranslation, in the case of the bowdlerized or redrawn panels which were restored as early as the late 1960s in the album reprints, or for the title retranslation in *La ruta de los Navajos*/*La pista de los Navajos* (Charlier and Giraud 1969c, 1969d, 1983c), with revisions or re-editions where the differences between translations are minor, if any.

Similarly to the retranslation of the album *Tempestad en el oeste* by Andreu Martín mentioned above (Charlier and Giraud 1982c), where deleted and redrawn panels were restored in Editorial Grijalbo-Dargaud's reprints, this would arguably fall in the category of first translations (Gambier 1994: 415).

The results presented in this case study show that, contrary to the non-retranslation of many censored literary narratives in Spain after Franco's dictatorship (Cornellà-Detrell 2012, 2013), the *Blueberry* comics series was indeed retranslated and reprinted in the twilight and the aftermath of Francoism in a way that erased any traces of censorship and restored the original panels and the texts that had been (sometimes, grossly) bowdlerized (see Table 13 below). Granted, the kind of multimodal surgery that makes this possible is arguably more practicable with comics than with a more linear prose text. Ironically, this Francoist censorship has created commercial opportunities for republishing comics in which collectors and comics historians would arguably want to see what was missing from, or changed in, the earlier versions.

French Title	Publisher/ Year	Spanish Title	Publisher/ Year
Fort Navajo	Dargaud (1965)	*Fort Navajo*	Editorial Bruguera (1968)
		Fort Navajo	Grijalbo/Dargaud (1982)
Tonnerre à l'ouest	Dargaud (1966)	*Tempestad en el Oeste*	Editorial Bruguera (1969)
		Tormenta en el Oeste	Grijalbo/Dargaud (1982)

L'Aigle solitaire	Dargaud (1967)	*El Águila Solitaria*	Editorial Bruguera (1970)
		Águila solitaria	Grijalbo/Dargaud (1982)
Le Cavalier perdu	Dargaud (1968)	*El jinete perdido*	Grijalbo/Dargaud (1982)
La Piste des Navajos	Dargaud (1969)	*La pista de los Navajos*	Grijalbo/Dargaud (1983)
L'Homme à l'étoile d'argent	Dargaud (1969)	*El hombre de la estrella de plata*	Grijalbo/Dargaud (1982)
Le Cheval de fer	Dargaud (1970)	*El caballo de hierro*	Ediciones Junior (1977)
L'Homme au poing d'acier	Dargaud (1970)	*El hombre del puño de acero*	Ediciones Junior (1978)
La Piste des Sioux	Dargaud (1971)	*La pista de los Sioux*	Ediciones Junior (1978)
Général "Tête Jaune"	Dargaud (1971)	*El general "Cabellos Rubios"*	Ediciones Junior (1978)
La Mine de l'Allemand perdu	Dargaud (1972)	*La mina del alemán perdido*	Ediciones Junior (1977)
Le Spectre aux balles d'or	Dargaud (1972)	*El fantasma de las balas de oro*	Ediciones Junior (1977)
Chihuahua Pearl	Dargaud (1973)	*Chihuahua Pearl*	Ediciones Junior (1979)

L'Homme qui valait 500.000$	Dargaud (1973)	*El hombre que valía 500.000 dólares*	Ediciones Junior (1979)
Ballade pour un cercueil	Dargaud (1974)	*Balada por un ataúd*	Ediciones Junior (1979)
Le Hors la loi	Dargaud (1974)	*Fuera de la ley*	Ediciones Junior (1977)

Table 13. *Blueberry* first translations republished in album form.

5. Coda

This chapter has shown, from the perspective of (re)translation and multimodality, how the sociological and historical analysis of comics translation can shed light on broader cultural and political issues and contexts. Drawing on works of comics studies and translation studies scholars, sociologists and cultural historians, it contributes to the scholarship on censorship and translation practices in the comics field. A combination of theoretical models by Gouanvic (2005) and Kaindl (1999) was applied to the macro- and microtextual analyses of the Spanish translations of the *Blueberry* comics series. An initial contrastive analysis that scoped all the *Blueberry* translations published in Spain and the corresponding French originals serialized in *Pilote hebdomadaire* and published in album form was followed by an in-depth case study of their (re)translations in album form. As a result of this analytical phase, major translation shifts pertaining to Kaindl's linguistic and pictorial levels were observed and catalogued, evidencing the causal relationships between the translation shifts and the cultural policies at work in Francoist Spain.

Beyond the academic aspect of this research, the final point of this chapter is that from a cultural—perhaps even from a reader's—standpoint, it would have been worthwhile to include these first periodical translations in one of the recent Spanish omnibus or commemorative editions of the *Blueberry*

series. Otherwise, what is the added value of such editions, beyond the obvious commercial argument? Norma Editorial and Editorial Planeta have recently published commemorative editions of the entire *Blueberry* series. Norma Editorial has published an omnibus edition whose editors may have had little leverage over whether or not to include any additional material in their volumes, since Norma's edition is a translation of the latest *Blueberry intégrale* published in France by Dargaud. Dargaud's *intégrale* already includes a wealth of peritextual material, hence the addition of supplementary peritexts would probably be a tall order for Norma Editorial. However, Editorial Planeta could have produced its own (expanded) peritextual apparatus to account for the different publication history and reception of the series in Spain, thus adding cultural value and symbolic capital to its commemorative edition and distinguishing itself in the comics market. This apparent reluctance to reprint the bowdlerized panels could arguably point towards an enduring reluctance to make as palpable as a side by side edition would the incursions of the Francoist censors, or perhaps a lack of interest in reassessment. Editorial Planeta has opted instead for a republication of the entire *Blueberry* series in single volumes whose peritexts consist of an abridged version of Norma Editorial's translation of Dargaud's peritexts that fails to credit any sources or authorial information, contrary to Norma Editorial's edition.

Indeed, the study of the translated (and censored) editions published in the comics magazines *Bravo*, *Gran Pulgarcito*, and *Mortadelo* contributes to the growing scholarship on the cultural history of graphic narratives. As Tena Fernández (2018: 182) posits, a (popular) cultural product such as comics, initially relegated to the gutter of the literary market, was turned into an ideological weapon by the Francoist regime to instil its propaganda into the minds of young readers. This chapter corroborates how cultural policies that had an effect in diverse national, cultural, social, and linguistic contexts similarly affected the comics medium: the manipulation and marginalization of narratives by way of censorship impinged on graphic narratives too, in the name of the Establishment and its putative interest in the moral protection of young readers and the preservation of innocence.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Les histoires sont sans frontières.[193]

Roger Chartier

This thesis has endeavoured to show what the translation, adaptation, and localization of (Western) *bande dessinée* can entail, going beyond traditional binary (and thus limited) comparisons of faithful/unfaithful adaptations and good/bad translations. Following the appearance in the 1970s of a handful of isolated and pioneering works (see Zanettin 2014a: 270-306), the hybrid comics medium has become increasingly prominent as a topic of discussion in the academic conversation in the discipline of Translation Studies (see, for instance, Béghain and Licari-Guillaume 2019). Thus, this medium can be seen as ideally suited to the exploration of key questions in Translation Studies. This thesis has highlighted the crucial figures of diverse comics translation agents, and the adequacy of comics as a privileged subject of enquiry around which to explore and analyse the processes of translation, adaptation and localization.

1. Contributions

This thesis is a contribution towards the body of work about comics in translation and the sociology of translation. The preceding chapters build on the exploration of the three research questions posed at the outset of this research (Chapter 1, Section 2), and have explored how the Western genre was intermedially translated in Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée* and subsequently travelled (back) to America, and to Spain, in translation. Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud's *Blueberry bandes dessinées* and their

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[193] Chartier (2015: 105).

translations into English and Spanish constituted the main case study series used to support answers to the broader research questions posed.

1.1. Reframing the Western Genre in European *Bande Dessinée*

Based on, and mainly inspired by, the sociology of literature developed by Bourdieu (1998) and its application to Translation Studies by Gouanvic (1999, 2005, 2007, 2014) and Heilbron and Sapiro (2007), discussed in Chapter 1, this thesis has highlighted that the multimodal and intertextual relation between source and target texts in Western comics involves myriad media and languages beyond the written word and written representation of the spoken word, as shown in Chapter 2. Indeed, this chapter explored the ways in which Western *bande dessinée* draws on a multimedial pool of hypotexts that include Western films, but also other media such as painting and photography, to (re)frame the Western genre in Francophone Europe. Chapter 2 includes amongst these intermedial hypotexts obscured representations of the American frontier such as ledger art narratives. Chapter 3 builds on the general findings presented in Chapter 2 and develops an in-depth study of the intermedial translation and the panelization of major visual influences of the Western genre in the *Blueberry* series, after a complete analysis of the editorial history of the series and its canonization in the field of *bande dessinée*. This chapter also analyses an apparent, progressive shift in Jean Giraud's work on the *Blueberry* series, where the artistic persona of Moebius takes over from Giraud and enriches the series, bringing it to new creative heights. His art is far removed from the clear line style commonly associated with the Franco-Belgian school of *bande dessinée*, and brings an unusually polished level of draughtsmanship to the landscape which had not previously been drawn in this way in Western comics—similarly jolting to Salvador Dalí's use of photographic realism and draughtsmanship to the depiction of dreams. In doing this, Giraud establishes new standards, not just in Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée*, but in the comics medium as a whole, in much the same way as Will Eisner or Art Spiegelman redefined the graphic novel.

1.2. The International Circulation of Comics as Cultural Goods: The Translation, Adaptation, and Localization of Western *Bande Dessinée*

From a translational viewpoint, this thesis has demonstrated, beyond the analysis of the (icono-)textual level in *bande dessinée*, the importance of the paratextual framing of the text in the translation process. This touches on notions of genre, authorship, and reception, as evidenced in Chapter 4. The construction of a culturally adapted, or localized, target product is the result of a series of domesticating strategies that aim to inscribe it in the target culture and comics market and, as a result, can shed new light and reveal novel interpretations of the source text, or hidden meanings that were not apparent in the original. The agents involved in this complex process of cultural translation include translators but also other comics professionals, such as editors, publishers, colourists and letterers. Building on works by Zanettin (1998, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2018) and Kaindl (1999), and combining them with the research of Gouanvic and Genette (the sociology of translation and narratology), this thesis has explored changes in translation and how these changes contribute to the cultural and symbolic capital of the works studied and of their authors. The sociological concepts of agency, field, *habitus* and *illusio* and Genette's narratological concept of transtextuality have allowed the exploration of the transmedial, translingual and transnational aspects of Western comics. This exploration, and, crucially, the data gathered from the interviews with select agents of translation, also show how the discovery of the *context* in which decisions were taken (and without which they might seem irrelevant), can yield surprising insights on the (im)perception and reception of comics and cartoonists beyond linguistic and cultural borders. Through the analysis of a set of diverse examples, the outcomes of this research offer a typology of intermedial and multimodal translation strategies in Western *bande dessinée* between the 1960s and the turn of the 21st century in the *Blueberry* series. The application of Kaindl's typology to the study of the main corpus of the thesis demonstrates the effectiveness of his analytical categories in providing an understanding of comics translation that can effectively go beyond the description of the linguistic transfer of meaning. This includes

areas of interest such as the impact of a sociological analysis on the understanding of how translations are framed by socio-cultural and political constraints, beyond the concept of semiotically constrained translation. This shows how the translation of comics as a mass cultural product can be used ideologically to frame societal expectations and influence popular culture, as confirmed by close analysis of the main corpus of the thesis, and by primary materials gathered in the interviews with key agents of translation, such as the American editors and translators, and the main Spanish translator, of the *Blueberry* series. For this purpose, this work also evaluates the meaning of localization in Translation Studies as posited by Zanettin and shows the extent to which the term has evolved from its initial concept, which "usually refers to the 'translation' of electronic products like software programmes, web sites and videogames (see e.g. Esselink 2000, Yunker 2003, Scholand 2002)" (Zanettin 2014b: 200), and can be applied more broadly to a larger body of work in Translation Studies. Even-Zohar's (1990: 50-51) polysystemic hypothesis about (non-)adequate translations was tested in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 against actual translations of the *Blueberry bandes dessinées*. Chapter 4 seems to have validated, as expected, Even-Zohar's polysystemic hypothesis presented in Chapter 1 (Section 3.1.1), which posits that whenever translated texts take "a central position [...] the chances that translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy [...] are greater than otherwise", whilst when translated literature "occupies a peripheral position [...] the result tends to be a non-adequate translation" (1990: 50-51). However, Chapter 5 provides a counterexample, thus suggesting that Zanettin's application of the concept of localization might be better suited to the study of comics translation. Chapter 5 is also a contribution to existing scholarship on censorship and translation practices in the comics field and shows how the sociological and historical analysis of comics translation can shed light on wider cultural and political issues. Klaus Kaindl's (1999) theoretical model was also applied in this chapter to the microtextual analysis of the Spanish (re)translations of the *Blueberry* series. This resulted in the identification and interpretation of major translation shifts that evidence the causal relationships between cultural policies implemented in Francoist Spain and the Spanish translations of Western *bande dessinée* in the 1960s and 1970s.

2. Future Research

The history of translation evoked in Chapter 5 elucidates in unexpected ways wider questions of (cultural) history, unveiling how rescuing old and dated comics translations from the realms of institutional and private archives operates a valuable and unique contribution to culture and society. This is a contribution to the history of translation, as advocated by Merino and Rabadán, who posit that it is "necessary to fill in the gaps in publications about the history of literature and the history of culture that systematically ignore translation, no matter how vital the role translation may have played in boosting or creating culture" (2002: 128). This is also stressed by Bastin and Bandia, who state that "[t]ranslation in history is now being linked to themes such as otherness, ideology, manipulation, and power" (2006: 2). These themes are relevant to the study of comics in translation. Like film or literature, graphic narratives undoubtedly constitute a productive locus for the observation and interpretation of issues related to manipulation, otherness, ideology and power that shape cultures, societies and individuals through translations and the actions of translation agents. This is of interest for the analysis of power and ideology, as evidenced in studies such as Tymoczko and Gentzler's *Translation and Power* (2002). Yet the potential that lies in the combination of Comics Studies and Translation Studies is yet to be exploited to its full potential. Akin to the historical, cultural, and sociological study of translation, the study of comics as cultural artefacts, as demonstrated by scholars such as Nyberg (1998), Crépin and Groensteen (1999), or Sanchís (2010), is bound to yield findings that challenge accepted views. After the pragmatic turn of the 1970s or the cultural turn of the 1980s (Snell-Hornby 2006) and the sociological turn of the new millennium (Angelelli 2014), it is time for the graphic turn in Translation Studies (or the translational turn in Comics Studies) as this thesis advocates.

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