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## Redrawing French Empire Comics

McKinney, Mark

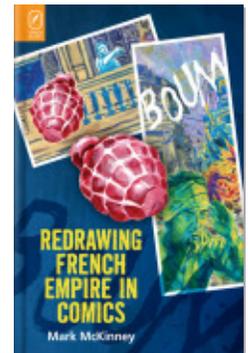
Published by The Ohio State University Press

McKinney, Mark.

Redrawing French Empire Comics.

The Ohio State University Press, 2013.

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## NOTES

### Chapter 1

1. “Beur” is French backslang for “Arab,” and the homophonic “beurre” means “butter.” A ham-and-butter sandwich is typical French lunch fare, but eating ham is, of course, forbidden by Islam.

2. In *Petit Polio* [Little Polio], vol. 2 (Boudjellal 1999: 43–53), whose story chronologically precedes *Jambon-Beur* (Boudjellal 1995) but was drawn and published after it, Abdelsalem Slimani (the paternal grandfather of Charlotte-Badia) is arrested in 1959 in Toulon on suspicion of belonging to the FLN and is beaten by the French police. This could be viewed as the source of his war-related scars in *Jambon-Beur* (14). The same volume of *Petit Polio* (front cover, 24–25) also depicts the death of a French soldier as the motivation for a split between Abdelsalem and his French workmate, César, who is conscripted to fight in Algeria, where a comrade soldier is killed in an ambush. Boudjellal first configured wartime divisions in a related fashion in “Amour d’Alger.” On the war in these stories, see below, pp. 195, 197–201.

3. My analysis of this page in *Jambon-Beur* is indebted to my discussions of it with Michel Pactat and Valérie Dhalenne, to whom I am grateful.

4. This image is reproduced on the website of Morvandiau, whose experimental comic book *D’Algérie* [About/From Algeria] (2007) challenges the French-Algerian affrondier; cf. <http://dalgerie.over-blog.com/article-14179863.html> (accessed 9 December 2012).

5. See below, pp. 197–201.

6. Smith (1993); Merchet (1996).

7. A daughter, Marine Le Pen, replaced him as president of the party.

8. Bourgeon (1980–1994d).

9. Ferrandez (1994a, 1994b).

10. Bardet and Jusseaume (1985–89).

11. See, for example, Dine (1994), on the myths of the French paratrooper, colonial settler and conscripted soldier in and around the Algerian War.

12. The European colonial settlers of Algeria, who mostly moved to France in 1962, at the end of the Algerian War of Independence. “Pied-Noir” literally means “Black-Foot.”

13. At one point Begag (Begag and Defali 2012: 64) represents his father taking part in the nationalist uprising.

14. See below, pp. 69–72, 76, 230n38.

15. In my study I refer to it in this manner, or as the French war in Indochina, in part to distinguish it from the Vietnam War fought by the United States. However, there is an irony in this terminology, which Alain Ruscio (1992: 16) states: “Un des paradoxes de la terminologie historique est que la guerre dite d’Indochine (phase française: 1945–54) ne se déroula presque que sur le territoire du Viet Nam, alors que la guerre dite du Viet Nam (phase américaine: 1954/62–75) ravagea l’ensemble de la région, laboura les terres de toute l’ancienne Indochine” [One of the paradoxes of the historical terminology is that the so-called Indochinese War (French phase: 1945–54) unfolded almost solely on the territory of Vietnam, whereas the so-called Vietnam War (American phase: 1954/62–75) ravaged the entire region, plowed the fields of the entire former Indochina].

16. Cf. Balibar (1998: 82): “Plus encore que la langue, la question des structures familiales et des généalogies est fondamentale” [More than language, the question of family structures and of genealogies is fundamental]. See also Miller (2007: 151–59).

17. If it is true, as Hergé’s biographers have suggested, that he wondered whether Belgium’s King Léopold II was his paternal grandfather (Assouline 1998: 27; Peeters 2002a: 22), then Haddock’s search for his colonial inheritance in *Le secret de la Licorne* [*The Secret of the Unicorn*] and *Le trésor de Rackham le rouge* [*Red Rackham’s Treasure*] (Hergé 2006, 2007), and Tintin’s defense of the colonial riches of the Belgian Congo against American criminals in *Tintin au Congo* [*Tintin in the Congo*], could have had a personal grounding for the cartoonist. See also McKinney (2011b: 3–8).

18. The search for the founding mothers of French comics has barely begun.

19. On the place of the Algerian War in French and Algerian schools, see, for example, Laamirie, et al. (1993).

20. Abdelwahab Meddeb, quoted in Balibar (1998: 82).

21. E.g., *Les soldats blancs de Ho Chi Minh* [The White Soldiers of Ho Chi Minh], in *Les oubliés d’Annam* [The Forgotten Ones of Annam] (Lax and Giroud 1990).

22. E.g., *Azrayen’* (Lax and Giroud 1999), and *La guerre fantôme* [The Phantom War] (Ferrandez 2002). On this strategy, see Ferrandez in Buch (2005: 54) and Lax in Buch, Vernet and Ratier (2010: 18, 39).

23. Morvandiau, for his *D’Algérie*, on <http://dalgerie.over-blog.com/> (accessed 9 December 2012).

24. Cf. <http://bd.casterman.com/zine/articles/5/31/?id=446> (accessed 7 January 2004).

25. I define this broadly: the category of historian includes here those with university training as historians and who may teach (whether in school or university) or research history (e.g., the CNRS), but also those without formal historical training, but who nonetheless publish historical works (cf. Vidal-Naquet 2001: vii).

26. By Eliette Abécassis, Fellag and Georges Moustaki; the last two volumes are prefaced by friends of the author who are associated with cartooning and comics, but without a clear connection to North Africa (Jean Giraud [Moebius]; Philippe Val).

27. For a summary of de Chezal’s account, see Ruscio (2002: 200), also cited by Guillemain (2006).

28. I am grateful to Paul Gravett for having kindly given me a copy of the English version of the catalog, which he translated from French.

29. Accessible at [www.lire.fr](http://www.lire.fr).

30. Serge de Beketch, another far-right activist (on Radio Courtoisie [*sic*], for example) and also a cartoonist, published similar reviews of the series (Beketch 1995, 1997).

31. See pp. 154–56, below, and McKinney (2011c).
32. Hunt (2002) makes a fascinating reading of the colonial archive of comics in and around the Belgian Congo.
33. See Groensteen (1988: 65–66) on the difference between a non-narrative series and the sequential narrative arrangement of comic-strip panels.
34. On ocularization in comics, see Miller (2007: 91–94, 106, 110–19). For further exploration of the relationship between comics and film, see, for example, Ciment (1990), Peeters (2002b: 19–24), Miller (2007: 106–8) and Grove (2010: 35–36, 52–54, 108–10).
35. On Algerian comics, see Douglas and Malti-Douglas (1994) and Labter (2009), and on comics in former French colonies in Southeast Asia, see Lent (2011).

## Chapter 2

1. E.g., Apter (1995: 170). This omission is all the more surprising because Nora (1961) himself published a book on the *Pieds-Noirs*. Another, related lacuna, to which Gérard Noiriel (1988: 18–19) drew attention was the absence of immigration as a topic in the same set of volumes. Noiriel's sharp criticism was apparently effective, because Nora invited him to contribute an essay to a later volume in the series.
2. For example, Algeria was declared a French territory and administratively transformed into French *départements* by the Second Republic (Ruedy 1992: 74; cf. Dine 1994: 9), and all residents of Algeria were made citizens of France by the organic law of 20 September 1947 (Ruedy 1992: 150–53).
3. See below, p. 226n12.
4. I am well aware that modernizing and secularizing are not necessarily synonyms: for example, religious revival has often been central to modernity and modernizing.
5. Cf. Bernasconi (1970: 33–37, 68–72), Porterfield (1998: 135–41) and Sessions (2011: 50–51). Porterfield (1998: 211) brought Bernasconi's thesis to my attention.
6. The use of the definite article in “Le sérail” suggests that the seraglio belongs to the most important man of the city. In her novel *L'amour, la fantasia*, Algerian novelist Assia Djebar (1993: 6–8) represented a similar scene, in a passage that may have been inspired by the French caricature.
7. Cf. Julien (1964: e.g., 67–68, 83, 89–94, 128, 132, 153, 192, 201–2, 227–29, and esp. 314–23).
8. Exceptions include Bernasconi (1970), Kunzle (1990), Porterfield (1994, 1998) and Childs (2004). The literature on both orientalist painting and colonial postcards especially is extensive (see below).
9. E.g., Gaumer and Moliterni (1994: 629), Töpffer (1994) and Kunzle (2007). Cf. Miller (1999); McKinney (2008c).
10. Cf. Kunzle (1990: 64–68), Groensteen in Töpffer (1996: 12–13) and Kunzle (2007: 95–108).
11. On Daumier and the harem, see Childs (2004: 170–72).
12. See also the lions and French tourists in North Africa, in Cham's *Les voyages d'agrément* (1849: 14.2; 15.3).
13. On the themes of the voyages out and in, see especially Chapter 5, below.
14. “By the 1850s, the Zouaves were a corps of native French men serving in the French infantry, while the Turcos were indigenous Algerians, recruited by France as skirmishers to serve in separate regiments of the infantry. The Zouave, whose appearance had been familiar to Parisians since the July Monarchy, was now supplanted by the Turco as the most exotic type of French soldier” (Childs 2004: 82); cf. Julien (1964: 273–97), cited by Childs (2004: 96).

15. Cf. Porterfield (1998: 133–34, 207–8) and Alaoui (1999: 22, 96, 105, 114–25).
16. Cham's reference (1849: 14.1) to the length of Ramadan is equally fanciful.
17. See below, pp. 55, 72–78.
18. In the few copies of *Wrill* held by the Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image (by no means a complete run of the publication), I found "Gringalou en Algérie" serialized in no. 107 (17 July 1947). Serial publication was over by no. 185 (13 January 1949). It was also published as a book, in both French and Flemish, no doubt after serial publication (Tilkin 1987: 53; Evrard and Roland 1992: 108, 111). Noé's name is given as "Jean Noé" on the comic book's cover and as "Noë[, ] Jean" in Evrard and Roland (1992: 108). According to a website of the Association Jeune Pied Noir, which republished the work in 2011, it is set during the Centenaire de l'Algérie française [Centennial of French Algeria], in 1930 (<http://jeunepiednoir.pagesperso-orange.fr/jpn.wst/Expositions.htm>; <http://jeunepiednoir.pagesperso-orange.fr/jpn.wst/Histoire%20&%20Memoire.htm>; consulted 10 December 2012). I have found no clear support for this reading, either in the book or in the publication history of the work as I have been able to determine it. The one page in the work that refers to a celebration (p. 25), does not clearly indicate that it is the Centennial. This apparent misreading by Jeune Pied Noir, as well as the republication and celebration of the comic book, suggest that both the work and the Centennial are *lieux de mémoire* for *Pied-Noir* activists determined to return to an *Algérie heureuse* [happy Algeria] (Siblot 1985), that is, to reproduce a colonial, nostalgic vision of Algeria that effaces all traces of French colonial violence, the contradictions that produced the Franco-Algerian affrontier, and decolonization (see above, Chapter 1). For an in-depth analysis of comics related to the Centennial and to other French colonial exhibitions, see McKinney (2011b).
19. For an analysis of similar imagery, see Benjamin (2003b: 102–5) and Prochaska (2003: 133). This is an iconic character for Ferrandez (1994d: 21; cf. Azoulay 1980: 42, 150–51), who inserted an Algerian shoeshine boy into a scene modeled after a couple of famous Tintin episodes (Hergé 1979: 238; and especially Tintin's defense of Zorrino in *Le temple du soleil* [*Prisoners of the Sun*]).
20. See also the racist portrait of an Algerian thief in the casbah (Pinchon and Noé n.d.: 6); and a possible caricature of a Jewish cloth seller (26).
21. The visit seems a bit strange, given the fact that Algeria was then part of France itself, so was administered through the Ministry of the Interior, not the Ministry of Colonies. I analyze the visit of the Pieds Nickelés to Africa in McKinney (2011b: 132–39).
22. MacKenzie (1995: 14) takes Said to task for his lack of interest in popular culture (cf. Said 1992: 246, cited by MacKenzie) and a resulting elitist approach in his analyses of orientalism and imperialism, which is certainly a valid criticism. A telling example of this is Said's (1994a: 330) decision to single out comic books as an example of cultural impoverishment in Japan, despite the long and rich history of comics in Japan (cf. Schodt 1986)—certainly an example of blinding elitism. However, most of MacKenzie's (1995) own subsequent analysis of orientalism remains dedicated to an analysis of arts not usually thought of as popular—such as architecture (though with some examination of orientalist cinema façades and interiors), painting, opera and design. Elsewhere, however, MacKenzie (1986) has significantly increased our understanding of the relationship between imperialism and popular culture. My own study focuses on an art form widely considered to be popular, which on occasion nevertheless "aspire[s] to high art" (MacKenzie 1995: 47) and engages in a conflictual dialogue with its better-connected artistic kin, especially painting (Beaty 2007).
23. Ferrandez (1994–2009). Throughout my study, "Carnets d'Orient" refers to the multi-volume series, which bears this supertitle, whereas *Carnets d'Orient* (Ferrandez 1994a) designates the first volume in the series. Ferrandez began publishing his Algerian comic book saga in 1986.

24. Other models proposed include Regnault, Jean-Joseph Bellel and Benjamin Constant, though the latter was not born until 1845 (all these possibilities are mentioned by Topin [1987]). Ferrandez (1988) also named Pierre Loti. As I show below, a primary model that Ferrandez used for Constant is “Léon Roches, a one-time convert to Islam, and former secretary to the Emir Abd-El-Kader” (Lazreg 1994: 26). Constant studies the Koran (Ferrandez 1994a: 41) and, in order to search for Djemilah, decides to pass himself off as a convert (Ferrandez 1994a: 45) and serve as interpreter to Abdelkader (Ferrandez 1994a: 43, 51, 67), just as Roches claimed to have done. On Roches, see Roches (1904) and French historians Liauzu (2000: 34–35) and Julien (1964: 176, 180, 182, 184, 200).

25. For example, Ferrandez (1994a: 18) based two Jewish women on colonial postcards reproduced in *La nostalgie française* [French Nostalgeria] (Azoulay 1980: 100–101; cards entitled “Jeune fille juive” [Young Jewish Girl] and “Algérie—Jeune juive de Constantine” [Algeria—Young Jewess from Constantine]), and on the account of Gautier (1973: 186–89).

26. In *Carnets d’Orient* (Ferrandez 1994a), on p. 11, two lower frames; p. 13, center frame; p. 18, lower-right frame; p. 26, top frame; and in *Le centenaire* (Ferrandez 1994d), the same building is shown on the book’s back cover and on pages 55–56.

27. In Djebbar (1984), on pages 28–29; 30–31; 32–33; and 50–51, respectively.

28. The reader will no doubt also recognize Ferrandez’s allusion to Mario Puzo, the Italian-American author of *The Godfather*. Ferrandez (1996) explained that in the comic-book character he was also playfully representing a personal friend. On French imperialism and battlefield paintings, see Porterfield (1998: 43–79).

29. A websearch for this image, using its caption, on 27 January 2007, via Google Images, produced a symptomatic pair of websites (the only ones) with it: the Ligue des droits de l’homme de Toulon [Human Rights League of Toulon] (<http://www.ldh-toulon.net/spip.php?article489>) and a *Pied-Noir* site ([http://aj.garcia.free.fr/site\\_hist\\_colo/livre2/L2p257.htm](http://aj.garcia.free.fr/site_hist_colo/livre2/L2p257.htm)).

30. Julien’s *Histoire de l’Algérie contemporaine: La conquête et les débuts de la colonisation (1827–1871)* [History of Contemporary Algeria: The Conquest and the Beginnings of Colonization, 1827–71] is Ferrandez’s source for a great quantity of facts, text and images in *Carnets d’Orient*. There is some overlap between Esquer (1929), Julien (1964) and Djebbar (1984), in terms of nineteenth-century imagery, so it is not always clear from which work Ferrandez borrowed certain images.

31. Also sometimes given as “Kulughlis,” but spelled “Coulouglis” in Ferrandez. They are described in the graphic novel as tyrants who preceded the French in the domination of Algeria (1994a: 42–43). This ethnically mixed group, descended from Turkish soldiers and Algerian women, was one of the pillars of Ottoman authority in Algeria. See Ruedy (1992: 22, 35, 43, 53, 58–59) and Abun-Nasr (1987: 159, 167–68, 255). For another Couloughli character in a comic about Algeria, see Bardet and Jusseume’s *Les portes d’Alger* [The Doors of Algiers] (1989: 12, 46).

32. Adrien Marnier (Ferrandez 1995: 41), the orientalist painter who utters these words, is himself “boursoufflé” and represents (Ferrandez 1995: 14) the kind of untalented painting that he criticizes (cf. Tribak-Geoffroy 1997: 125–26).

33. The two paintings by Dinet from which Ferrandez copies in this frame are *Le petit fellah* [The Young Peasant] (also known as *L’enfant à la citrouille* [The Child with the Pumpkin]) and *Fillettes revenant du jardin* [Young Girls Returning from the Garden], both painted during the period 1904–13 (Brahimi and Benchikou 1991: 94–95, 177, 210).

34. In fact, Ferrandez (1994a: 67–70) provides one of the few accounts in fiction of one of the French army’s horrendous massacres of Algerians who had taken refuge in caves. In *L’amour, la fantasia*, Assia Djebbar (1985: 77–93) reconstructs the same events. Cf. Gautier (1920: 11–54); Julien (1964: 201–2). A more recent French comic-book biography of *Abd*

*el-Kader* (Corteggiani and Dupuis 2009: 70) also represents the massacres. See also below, p. 183, on a similar scene in a later book in Ferrandez's series.

35. The notebooks from Delacroix's visit to North Africa are clearly the model and inspiration for the title ("Carnets d'Orient") and the sketchbook format of Ferrandez's series.

36. Cf. reproductions of Dinét's work in Brahimi and Benchikou (1991) and Pouillon (1997). Nochlin (1989) and Goldberg (1999: 15) describe the tendency toward kitsch in orientalist painting.

37. Ferrandez (1996) acknowledged that Dinét's painted Orient might be just as contrived as the other orientalist works that the cartoonist dismissed as artificial within his series:

FERRANDEZ: The good [in orientalist painting] would be Dinét, but Dinét is later in fact [than Delacroix], so he too may have had the chance to digest all that, and plus since he really then lived in Algeria and converted to Islam, he came to appreciate. . . . Having said that, in discussing with a true specialist of Dinét, he told me that [the work of] Dinét was just as fantasized as the rest: the young girl who bathed in streams, even. . . in Bou Saâda, wasn't as common as all that. There too is a version. . . .

MCKINNEY: A bit fictionalized?

FERRANDEZ: Yes, a bit fictionalized.

38. Biblical imagery and references appear periodically throughout the series: for example, (1) Joseph Constant could be seen as the Old Testament Joseph, sold into exile in Egypt and working for the Pharaoh (Abdelkader?), or as a New Testament Joseph, the human father of Jesus, which raises interesting questions about filiation; (2) edenic colonial imagery of a pioneer couple bathing (Ferrandez 1994b: 76); (3) two later characters (first in Ferrandez 1995) are Sauveur [Savior], a medical student, and Marianne, whose name is an obvious allusion to the figure symbolizing the French Republic, but also perhaps to the biblical Mary (and her mother, Anne), the mother of Jesus, or to Mary Magdalene—Marianne's virginity is questioned, because she does nude modeling in order to pay her way through art school. Cf. the biblical allusion in Cham's *Les voyages d'agrément* (n.p.).

39. See also Rosenthal's (1982: 137–41) discussion of a related painting by Lewis, *The Hhareem*, probably shown at the 1855 Exposition Universelle in Paris.

40. The painting is bequeathed by Victor Barthélémy—who returned to France to buy it when Amélie died (Ferrandez 1994c: 74)—to his daughter, Olympe, the wife of the station-master and Paul's mother (Ferrandez 1994c: 72–74; 1994d: 52–53).

41. Khamès (1995: 71). Other possible models are Albert Londres (mentioned in Ferrandez 1994d: 38) and Tintin, Hergé's comic-book character. Ferrandez (in Poncet and Morin 1996: 77) speaks of the remarkable similarities between Camus's description of childhood in *Le premier homme* [*The First Man*] and the childhood of Ferrandez's own father, who was a few years younger than the celebrated author, lived in a house opposite Camus's childhood home in the Belcourt quarter of Algiers, and attended the same lycée as Camus.

42. I.e., the oldest section of the city, which became the Algerian quarter when the French arrived and began building housing for themselves.

43. It does, however, echo the cover of an earlier comic book set in Morocco in the same time period (Loustal and Paringaux 1985, 1991). The visual composition and the tensions represented on the cover are similar in the two books. It has also been plausibly suggested to me that Ferrandez's (1994d) cover and the tensions it reflects were inspired by Julien Duvivier's film *Pépé le Moko* (1937).

44. Alloula (1981: 56, 71; 1986: 83, 110); the same women appear in other postcards reproduced in Alloula (1981: 25, 40, 77, back cover; 1986: 30, 56, 121).

45. Lazreg (1994: 190–91) argues that Alloula did the same thing through the publication of his book (specifically, she discusses the English translation published in the United States). She makes important points: for example, the fact that the publication of Alloula's book makes these images available to “contemporary ‘orientalists’” (Lazreg 1994: 191) as well as to American college students interested in it mainly for “its ‘pornographic’ import.”

46. Alloula (1981: 56, 77, back cover, 78–79; 1986: 83, 121, 123–24). Ferrandez's watercolors are reproduced in Ferrandez (Buch 2005: 75) and Poncet and Morin (1996: 70–71); information on the exhibition is from the latter (p. 83).

47. The book by Mimouni and Ferrandez (1993) is unpaginated. The images to which I refer here are the 23rd and 24th.

48. Cf. other related passages in Flaubert (1996: 129–30, 157–59, 200, 220).

49. E.g. Azoulay (1980), Alloula (1981, 1986, 2001), Zimmerman (1986), Hebrard and Hebrard (1990), as well as Ferrandez and Joann Sfar.

50. For a perceptive critique of the colonialist ideology of Algerian postcards, see Prochaska (1990a), and on their problematic role in post-colonial French books, especially those by *Pieds-Noirs*, see Siblot (1985: 156–57).

51. “There’s a treatment of the Orient [in orientalist painting] that is really on the order of fantasy, and moreover that one finds—I have a compelling book on it, on *The Colonial Harem*. The photographers acted in the same manner, by having the girls pose in a completely unrealistic manner.”

52. Although I focus my analysis on the way that Ferrandez uses colonial-era postcards as sources of representations of Algerian women, there is another important related area on which I have not commented here: his use of these postcards as sources for various other North African ethnic types, including blacks, Jews and Italians. Ferrandez's reproduction of these types in his comics raises questions about the extent to which he succeeds in escaping the erroneous and degrading colonial ethnographic assumptions of which the postcards and their ideology of the picturesque are one expression (cf. Nochlin 1989: 50–52).

53. Cf. Laronde (1993: 183–85), and below, pp. 138–39.

54. Inaccurately associated with the second of the five French volumes (instead of the first) in the copyright listings within the published version in English translation. The inclusion of Vidal-Bué in the copyright line of some subsequent French and English editions of “The Rabbi's Cat” raises the question of whether his wholesale borrowing of images from Vidal-Bué's book (see also below) without acknowledgment of his source constituted copyright infringement. Sfar also thanked the painters of Algiers in subsequent editions of his comic book: e.g., in the collected edition (*L'intégrale*) “Cet album est un hommage de l'auteur à tous les peintres d'Alger au XXe siècle. Il tient en particulier à citer l'ouvrage de Marion Vidal-Bué, *Alger et ses peintres, 1830–1960*, publié aux Editions Paris Méditerranée” [This album is an homage by the author to all the painters of Algiers in the 20th century. He especially wishes to cite the work by Marion Vidal-Bué, *Algiers and Its Painters, 1830–1960*, published by Editions Paris Méditerranée] (Sfar 2010: 6).

55. Another one is Leroy (2011), who makes a brilliant analysis of the roles of Chagall and painting in the fifth volume of “Le chat du rabbin.”

56. On Masmoudi, see *Festival international de la bande dessinée et de la caricature. Bordj-el-Kiffan du 30 juin au 5 juillet 1987* [International Festival of Comics and Caricature. Bordj-el-Kiffan, 30 June to 5 July 1987] (1987: n.p.) and Labter (2009: 213, 244).

57. I recognize that the ideological and historical position that Masmoudi and his co-authors present in their comic book was central, not marginal, in Algeria when they published their comic book, and to a considerable extent still is (see Khelladi 1995; McKinney 2007a, 2008c; Labter 2009). Its marginality is therefore retrospective (i.e., within the context of colonial Algeria) and to some extent external (say, in France today).

58. For example, Bessaih, Bakhti and Masmoudi (1986: 14) and Ferrandez (1994a: 14.1) both redrew *Pavillon de la Casbah* [Pavillion of the Casbah], a famous engraving by W. Wyld, which depicts the place of the fly-whisk incident, purported to have sparked the French attack on Algiers in 1830. The cartoonists no doubt copied it from a work edited by Assia Djebar (1984: 51; for a photograph of it, see Adès and Zaragozi [1999: 30]). Whereas Ferrandez leaves the famous building in Algiers where it belongs, the Algerian cartoonists move it to Oran and modify its features (e.g., adding bars over windows and a crenelated wall on top), turning it into a French military fortress. In his unpublished comic book “Le coup de l'éventail” (n.d.), Algerian cartoonist Slim inserts excerpts from, or copies, this and many other engravings that are no doubt from Djebar's volume. Space unfortunately prohibits me from analyzing that fascinating work here.

59. For example, Sfar borrows from a work that was also earlier a source for Ferrandez: Azoulay's *La nostalgie française* (1980). Already in the first volume of “Carnets d'Orient,” Ferrandez copies a postcard depicting a Jewish Algerian man (Azoulay 1980: 20; Ferrandez 1994a: 47.5) and two North African Jewish women (see above). Later borrowings include a racist postcard depiction of a black man (Azoulay 1980: 25; Ferrandez 1994c: 44.6). These examples do not exhaust the list of the cartoonist's borrowings from Azoulay—on them, see also above, pp. 228n19, 229n25, and McKinney (2001). The most striking and absolutely unmistakable of Sfar's borrowings from Azoulay is an image of a brass stand or pot (a fire urn?) and a kettle, originally on a postcard representing a Jewish artisan at work in front of his shop (Azoulay 1980: 153), which Sfar (2003a: 31) copies into his nostalgic nightmare sequence of the Rabbi's world turned upside down (drinking wine from a hookah, his cat turned into a non-kosher, bottom-feeding catfish, etc.). Other, possible borrowings include architectural features of homes (Azoulay 1980: 64, 138–39), again in the Rabbi's nightmare (Sfar 2003a: 30), and the same postcard depictions of Jewish women used by Ferrandez (see above), here for the clothing of Zlabya, the Rabbi's daughter (Azoulay 1980: 100–101; Sfar 2003a: 4–5, 21, etc.). By inserting images from *La nostalgie française* into the nostalgic nightmare sequence, Sfar figures precisely the sense of loss that Azoulay's book appeals to and is a product of, as well as (inadvertently?) the problematic nature of the ethnographic and historical iconography on the colonial postcards.

Another, less troubling use of imagery that Sfar may have borrowed from a colonial postcard occurs in *Le malka des lions* [*Malka of the Lions*] (Sfar 2003b: 13–18). The Rabbi's French dictation clearly represents the cultural colonization by French mainland Jews of Algerian Jews after the Crémieux decree imparted French citizenship to the latter (Eisenstein 2008: 169–70; Harris 2008: 184). The dictation unfolds in a French school outside of which looms a statue that, although unnamed, is recognizably that of Jean Pierre Hippolyte Blandan (1819–1842), a French sergeant from Lyon who died while fighting to colonize Algeria (cf. Eisenstein 2008: 169–70, 180n32). The statue, originally erected in colonial-era Boufarik (Algeria), was repatriated to Nancy (France) at the end of the Algerian War (Amato 1979: 136–42; cf. Bourdieu, Schultheis and Frisinghelli 2003: 48; Sessions 2011: 169). In *Le malka des lions* it threateningly connects France's linguistic imperialism with its military conquest and domination of Algeria. Another statue of the same soldier plays a similar role in *Le gone du Chaâba* [*The Shantytown Kid*], by Algerian-French novelist Azouz Begag (2006: e.g., 195).

60. This is the case already for the volume by Bessaih, Bakhti and Masmoudi (1986): Boualem Bessaih based his comic strip script on his earlier film script for a historical film on Cheikh Bouamama. Bessaih was a professor of letters and holds a doctorate in Letters and Human Sciences. He held a high position in the FLN during the Algerian War and subsequently occupied many high positions in the Algerian government. He has published several

historical and literary studies. See [www.conseil-constitutionnel.dz/cv\\_bessaih.htm](http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.dz/cv_bessaih.htm) (accessed 9 December 2012).

61. For example, Masmoudi's work was based on a movie about Bouamama, and the comic book borrows from the conventions of the film western, which suggests that the movie may well have done so too.

62. Ferrandez partially serialized the first volume in his "Carnets d'Orient" series in 1986, and it was first issued as a book in 1987. However, I have not detected any references to or borrowings from Dinét in this first volume (I explore Masmoudi's debt to Dinét below); instead, his influence appears later in the series.

63. Sfar's borrowings from Delacroix include: Zlabya's clothes and the domestic setting—door, wall hangings, tapestries, and cushions—(Sfar 2003a: 9.2) from *Homme et femme dans un intérieur—chez les Bouzaglo* [Man and Woman In An Interior—In the Home of the Bouzaglo] (Alaoui 1999: 74), *La femme et la fille d'Abraham Ben-Chimol* [The Wife and Daughter of Abraham Ben-Chimol] (album of the comte de Mornay; Alaoui 1999: 179), *Etudes de femmes juives* [Studies of Jewish Women] (sketchbook; Alaoui 1999: 64) and *Une cour à Tanger* [A Courtyard in Tangiers] (1832; Sérullaz 1951: 17; Alaoui 1999: 170–71), reworked in *Noce juive au Maroc* [Jewish Wedding In Morocco] (1837–41; Alaoui 1999: 68–69). However, Sfar does not explicitly refer to Moroccan Jews until volume two, *Le Malka des lions* (2003b: 27).

64. Sfar also goes through Algerian Arabs and their music to re-/produce the ethnic identity of Algerian Jews in Paris in the 1930s (see Benhaïm [2007] and McKinney [2009] on this topic).

65. Other borrowings from famous orientalist paintings include Zlabya's posture (Sfar 2003a: 36.4) from Henri Matisse's *Odalisque à la culotte rouge* (1923; Benjamin 2003b: 15); cf. Renoir's *Femme d'Alger* (1870; Benjamin 2003b: 18).

66. The extensive borrowings by Sfar (2003a) [S] from Vidal-Bué (2000) [VB] include: the rabbi's clothes and white beard (S, e.g. 2.3) from Alphonse Lévy, *Rabbin enseignant un enfant* (VB 167); the clothes of Zlabya (e.g., S front cover, 4–6.3, etc.) from numerous possible sources, including Alexandre Lunois, *Femmes juives écoutant la lecture des textes sacrés* (VB 168), François Lauret *La danse de la jeune mariée* (VB 169) and especially Eugène Delacroix, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (1834; VB 218; cf. *Etudes de femmes juives*, in Alaoui [1999: 64])—Zlabya's pose in a later image (S 8.1) is modeled after that of the seated woman on the right of Delacroix's *Femmes d'Alger*; profiles of Zlabya (S 4.1–4) from Baya, *L'oiseau de paradis* (VB 236); a panorama shot of the old neighborhood of Algiers (S 16.6) from Louis Bénisti, *Terrasses du quartier de la marine*, and Simon Mondzain, *La casbah vue d'une terrasse* (VB 188–89); an image of a cemetery, with mosque in the background (S 20.2) from Abdelhalim Hemche, *Djamâa Sidi Abder Rahmane* (1937; VB 161); an image of the port of Algiers (S 20.3) from William Wyld, *Bureaux et magasins de la Marine* (1833; VB 91, also reproduced in Djebar [1984: 33], another probable source of Sfar; for an almost identical image, see Ferrandez [1994a: 1]); another port scene (S 20.4) from René Levrel, *Les voûtes de l'Amirauté* (VB 94); yet another one (S 20.6) from Maurice Bouviolle, *La Pêcherie* (VB 97); a fisherman at the port (S 21.2) from Marius de Buzon, *La kemia, port d'Alger* (VB 109); fisherman in the port (S 21.3) from Benjamin Sarraillon, *Le départ des pêcheurs* (VB 96); the port and its balcony (S 21.4) from Jean Bouchaud, *Le balcon du port* (1928; VB 105); an interior courtyard with columns and balcony (S 27.1) from Hippolyte Dubois, *Femme dans la galerie d'une villa algéroise* (VB 229); a column in the Rabbi's nightmare (S 29) from Jean-Abel Lordon, *Café maure à Alger* (1834; VB 122); a courtyard (S 30.5) from Gustave-Clarence Boulanger, *Le harem, Alger* (VB 201); a stand with cups and pitchers (S 31.6) from Eugène Girardet, *Café arabe* (VB 123); a street in the casbah (S 32.2) from Numa Marzocchi de Bellucci, *Une rue de la Casbah* (VB 125);

an outdoors garden, patio and arcades (S 37.1–3) from Eugène Deshayes, *Jardin d'Alger*, David E. de Noter, *Villa Mahieddine, Alger* and Georges-Antoine Rochegrosse, *L'allée de la noria, Djenan Meryem* (VB 206); two French women at/and the Place du Gouvernement (S 39.1–5) from Jean-Désiré Bascouls, *Les élégantes, place du Gouvernement, Alger* (VB 136; cf. 137–39, 148–49); a high shot of the Place du Gouvernement (S 39.6) from André Hambourg, *Place du Gouvernement* (around 1941; VB 137); a café terrace with sailors drinking (S 42.1) from Etienne Bouchaud, *Café rue Bab-el-Oued* (VB 152; cf. other props in S 42.1 taken from other paintings on VB 152–53—oranges and possibly clothing and characters); a synagogue (S 42.4) from Charles Brouty, *La synagogue de la place Randon* (VB 159); and prostitutes and their neighborhood (S 44–46) from Eugène Corneau, *Les dames de la Casbah* (VB 128; cf. esp. S 44.1), Jean Launois, *Femmes algériennes au rideau rose* (around 1924; VB 129; cf. esp. S 44.3)—cf. Armand Assus, *Les tirailleurs sénégalais* (VB 130) for the warm colors in these pages of Sfar's *La bar mitsva*. There may be other correspondences between Sfar and Vidal-Bué that I have missed.

67. Goldberg (1999: 15); cf. Liauzu (2000: 41). Benjamin (2003a: 92) states that “many critics of his [Dinet's] day were unhappy about its literality [i.e., that of Dinet's art], brazen color, and frequent mawkishness.” Cf. Benjamin (2003a: 103, 238).

68. Masmoudi borrows from other paintings by Dinet: e.g., elders in the southern Algerian village brutally attacked by the French army (Bessaih, Bakhti and Masmoudi 1986: 41.1) from Dinet's *La procession* (Brahimi and Benchikou 1991: 99). Masmoudi also (Bessaih, Bakhti and Masmoudi 1986: 14.2) redraws the “Pavillon du coup d'éventail” [Pavilion of the Fly Whisk Blow], moving it from Algiers to Oran. Ferrandez (1994a: 26.1) too redraws this building. The source of both artists is probably Djebar (1984: 51); cf. Julien (1964: plate 1); Adès and Zaragozi (1999: 30).

## Chapter 3

1. On the French government's censorship of the book in 1950, see Crépin and Groensteen (1999: 122).

2. Because the comics of Séra and Tian set in Southeast Asia focus primarily not on French Indochina and the Indochinese War, but instead on the Khmer Rouge and the horrific carnage under their regime, I analyze them elsewhere. Of course the rise of the Khmer Rouge was linked to the history of French colonialism and American imperialism in the region.

3. Cf. <http://electricblogbaloup.over-blog.com/>; [www.krinein.com/bd/automne-hanoi-4799.html](http://www.krinein.com/bd/automne-hanoi-4799.html) (accessed 9 December 2012).

4. See pp. 8–19, 56, 78, 173, 185–87, above and below.

5. Chancel went on to host “Radioscopie,” one of France's longest-running radio shows.

6. E.g., Jack Yeager (1987), Panivong Norindr (1996), Dina Sherzer (1998), Nicola Cooper (2001), Leakthina Chau-Pech Ollier (Winston and Ollier 2001) and Jane Winston (2001).

7. Cf. Stora (1997: 33–34, 247); Norindr (1996: 137).

8. See Stora (1997: 214–19) on the French distribution and reception of U.S. films on the Vietnam War; a review article by Jean-Luc Macia (1992) “Dien Bien Phu, notre ‘Apocalypse Now,’” *La Croix L'Événement*, March 6, p. 2—of Pierre Schoendoerffer's war movie, *Dien Bien Phu* (1992)—quoted in Norindr (1996: 179).

9. Pp. 6, 78–83, above.

10. E.g., of civilians in Haiphong, in November 1946 (Ruscio 1992: 77–81; Benot 2001: 97–113).

11. On French torture during France's war in Vietnam, see Ruscio (1992: 161–64), Benot (2001: 165–69), Vidal-Naquet (2001: 15–20).

12. Cf. [www.primaline.com/slocombe](http://www.primaline.com/slocombe) (accessed 9 December 2012). The eroticization of tortured bodies of the colonized also appears in comics about the Algerian War (e.g., Ferrandez 2005a: 9, 21–22); on this, see Chapter 4, below.

13. According to Guillemain (2006: 174), “Commandant Perrin-Houdon . . . served in ‘Indochina.’” Elsewhere (185) he refers to “the *Captain Perrin-Houdon*” (my emphasis).

14. He goes on to say that “The other two books were about the adventures of Buck Danny by the Belgian authors Jean-Michel Charlier and Victor Hubinon: *Ciel de Corée* [Korean Sky] and *Avion sans pilote* [Plane without a Pilot]. They related the fight of American pilots against the Communist Korean Army.” Crépin cites as his source the minutes of the Commission's second meeting of 31 March 1950.

15. My analysis is based on thirteen parts of the serialized version, nos. 191–203 (24 February–19 May 1949), at the Cité internationale de la bande dessinée et de l'image, Angoulême (accessed summer 2006) and on Le Rallic (1976). According to Evrard and Roland (1992: 122), the episode ran in issues 178–202. The last issue of the magazine was no. 204 (26 May 1949; cf. Béra, Denni and Mellot 1996: 583; Evrard and Rolland 1992).

16. Guillemain (2006: 187–88) concludes that, although propagandistic, the message of “Parachutés au Laos” is primarily religious, not military: “It makes audible the voice of the Catholic church, and also gives the aspergillum preeminence over the saber, that nonetheless attends to the salvation of the Empire. . . . One completely imagines the two brothers, Henri and Xavier, having returned to Viêt-Nam, trying to build, with Hmongs and Annamites of good will, a harmonious society, nourished with Christian values and respect for the other.” Although I agree with much of his analysis of the comic, this conclusion is inaccurate. One can certainly imagine that this undepicted ending is what the future would ideally hold, according to the logic of the Christian comic and publisher, but the overwhelming focus of the comic is precisely on the French war to retake Indochina: although Henri and Xavier are shown praying and seeking out Christian friends, they are soldiers first and foremost, and Henri's prayer is for success in his military mission (no. 215, 14 January 1951). Even when French missionaries are depicted, their association with, and assistance of, French soldiers is foregrounded (no. 222 [4 March 1951]; no. 243 [29 July 1951]; no. 244 [5 August 1951]). It is therefore inaccurate to argue, as Guillemain (2006: 180) does, that in “Parachutés au Laos”: “What brings together the members of this coalition, of French and indigenous allies, against the ‘Viets,’ the ‘rebels,’ is less the defense of French colonization than that of the Christian West.”

17. No. 246 (19 August 1951).

18. No. 259 (18 November 1951).

19. No. 268 (20 January 1952). For a more detailed summary of this military itinerary in the comic, see Guillemain (2006: 175).

20. Henri Joubert, in *Les oubliés d'Annam* (Lax and Giroud 1990, 1991), analyzed below.

21. E.g., in *L'année de feu* [The Year of Fire] (Ferrandez 1994b) and *Le centenaire* [The Centennial/Centenarian] (Ferrandez 1994d); see Chapter 2, above.

22. E.g., Cosme Tirard in *Azrayen* (Lax and Giroud 1998, 1999, 2004); and Octave Alban in the “Carnets d'Orient” series, beginning in *La guerre fantôme* [The Phantom War] (Ferrandez 2002). See below, Chapter 4.

23. Guillemain (2006: 176) attributes the declaration of loyalty, just quoted, to Hao Ming. However, it is a different character who speaks: this one has no earrings, whereas Hao Ming wears a large hoop in each ear.

24. No. 247 (26 August 1951); no. 248 (1 September 1951). Guillemain mistakenly states that Mr. Hoan, the family friend, also goes to the cathedral with Xavier.

25. E.g., the Kha group in “Parachutés au Laos” (nos. 230, 29 April 1951; 231, 6 May 1951); the montagnards Moï in *Paul* (Raives and Varnauts 1986: 20), *Little Saigon: Mémoires de Viet Kieu* (Baloup 2012: 161–63) and *Le dragon de bambou* (Truong and Leroi 1991: 36–39); the montagnards Muong, in *L'ombre du triangle* (Christin and Aymond 1999: 20–23; cf. 14); possible images of montagnards, but not named, in *Soldats de la liberté* [Soldiers of Liberty] (Saint-Michel and Le Honzec 1994: 18, 20). Cf. *La voie royale* [*The Royal Way*] (Malraux 1962: e.g., 101–2, 110–12); “Rue Catinat, Saïgon” (Charpier 1984: 24); Pervillé (1993: 128); Norindr (1996: 8, 88, 170–71).

26. No. 250, 16 September 1951. Cf. a later installment where another French soldier tries to save a young Cambodian child from a python (no. 270 [3 February 1952]). Xavier informs him that it is a tame one, kept to eat rats.

27. By contrast, a group of elephants calmly obeys its pro-French Vietnamese masters in an earlier episode (nos. 228 [15 April 1951]; 229 [22 April 1951]). Through his uncanny mastery over wild animals, Xavier resembles Tarzan, which is ironic, given the claim by the magazine that the French series is different from the American one. Cf. Guillemain (2006: 177), who also makes a connection between exotic jungle stories, including Tarzan, and the taming of the panther by Xavier.

28. No. 257 (4 November 1951); no. 258 (11 November 1951); no. 259 (18 November 1951).

29. Female French soldiers appear in “Parachutés au Laos,” but only in minor roles, as “Marinettes” [ship’s nurses] (e.g., no. 259 [18 November 1951]; 260 [25 November 1951]; no. 261 [2 December 1951]). The doctor figure, Dr. Vital, is male.

30. Norindr (1996: 132).

31. In *Paul* (Raives and Varnauts 1986: 26–9), *Le carrefour de Nâm-Pha* (Maltaite and Lapiere 1987: 42–44), *Le rendez-vous d’Angkor* (Renard and Fromental 1987: 31–34), *Le dragon de bambou* (Truong and Leroi 1991: 15–17), *Opium* (Dimberton and Hé 1991: 32–38) and *La route de Cao Bang* (Stanislas and Rullier 1992: 19, 38–40).

32. Gaumer and Moliterni (1994: 78, 654–55). By 1994, some 30 million copies of more than 160 Bob Morane novels had been sold, mostly by Marabout (Gaumer and Moliterni 1994: 78). Another very well known adventurer in comics about imperialism is Corto Maltese, who is the protagonist of a series, by Italian author Hugo Pratt, that has been translated into French and extremely well received in France. Jacques Ferrandez serialized some of his series of comics about the French colonization of Algeria in the French version of a magazine entitled *Corto Maltese*.

33. E.g., Estray, in Ruscio (1996: 435–44).

34. E.g., “La mort du dragon” (Mallet and Truong 1984), *Le carrefour de Nâm-Pha* (Maltaite and Lapiere 1987), *Le rendez-vous d’Angkor* (Renard and Fromental 1987) and *Opium* (Dimberton and Hay 1991).

35. E.g., *L’ombre du triangle* (Christin and Aymond 1999), *La colonne* (Martin and Simon 2001).

36. On the other hand, both André Malraux’s *La voie royale* (1962) and—even more so—*Nos vingt ans* [Our Twenties] (1986), Clara Malraux’s memoirs of the period, must have helped inspire *Le dragon de bambou*. For example, all include dangerous visits to Moï villages (Malraux 1962: 101–2, 110–45; Malraux 1986: 242–43, 249–50; Truong and Leroi 1991: 36–39). However, the relationship between outside visitors and ethnic minority groups is otherwise almost completely opposite in *Le dragon de bambou* (Truong and Leroi 1991) and *La voie royale* (Malraux 1962).

37. Cf. Norindr (1996: 26–27). In *Le centenaire* (Ferrandez 1994d: 33) the protagonist vomits during a guided visit in 1930 to the Roman ruins in Tipasa, Algeria. The cartoonist thereby provides a critique of a similar French colonial thesis, that France had inherited the mantle of Roman imperialism in North Africa.

38. One exception is Cooper (2001: 219).
39. Cf. Lebovics (1992: 114–15), Norindr (1996: 46, 72–106, 163), Lebovics (1997) and Cooper (2001: 21, 70, 124–25). As I mentioned above, in *Le dragon de bambou* Leroi and Truong (1991) borrow much from *Nos vingt ans* (1986), Clara Malraux's memoir of the time that she and André Malraux spent in French Indochina. The borrowings that I have found—of characters, places, plot developments, and even direct quotes from the memoirs in *Le dragon de bambou*—are too numerous to mention here, so I give just a few examples: (1) characters: André and Clara Malraux, of course, but also (among others) *métis* figures, including the main protagonist (Maurice Sainte-Rose, in *Nos vingt ans* [201, 238–41, 250–51, 278–79, 310], who is a model for Marcel Clément-Rivière, the main protagonist in *Le dragon de bambou*; and Dejean de la Batie, in *Nos vingt ans* [217–18, 284] and in *Le dragon de bambou* [13, 29]); (2) direct quotations: “Maintenant il ne me reste plus d'autre solution que d'écrire” (*Nos vingt ans* [323]; *Le dragon de bambou* [35]); “La vie est une fête désespérée” (*Nos vingt ans* [56]; *Le dragon de bambou* [39]); (3) plot developments: e.g., the trip through Moï territory, cited above.
40. From “Kao Bang,” by the French rock group Indochine, released on *Le péril jaune* [The Yellow Peril] (1983). Although the song's title refers to the French defeat in Cao Bang in 1950, the lyrics appear to be about an Asian woman character, Changhai Li (unnamed in the song), who fights imperialist occupiers of China in Hugo Pratt's comic *Corto Maltese en Sibérie* [*Corto Maltese in Siberia*] (1979). Other references in the song, shared by the book, include dragons, Manchuria and stolen gold. On the epic, romance, the novel and imperialism, cf. Bakhtin (1990), Brennan (1993), Sommer (1993) and Norindr (1996).
41. See also pp. 25–26, 71–72, 178, and McKinney (2011b: 4–7).
42. On the role of anti-hero in French films about the Algerian War, see Stora (1997: 184–86).
43. In *La nuit de Saïgon* (Slocombe 1986), the character Marc Raffaëlli is based on these historical figures. He appears there as a doomed romantic figure, who is executed at the end of the story by the Vietnamese Communists whose cause he had served.
44. Cf. Castex (1993), *Le Monde* (1993), Brocheux (2004) and Boudarel (1991).
45. Doyon (1973: 27, 305–34, 479–82) and Lax and Giroud (2000: 11).
46. E.g. [www.fncv.com/biblio/grand\\_combattant/vandenbergher.html](http://www.fncv.com/biblio/grand_combattant/vandenbergher.html), [www.farac.org/php/article.php?id\\_article=203](http://www.farac.org/php/article.php?id_article=203) and <http://www.ensoa.terre.defense.gouv.fr/PJ/documents/VotreEspace/histtrad/027.pdf> (accessed 9 December 2012).
47. In *Une épopée française: Indochine* (Bucquoy and Sels 1990: 13), the “Caporal Vercryse, un flamand grand et costaud” [Corporal Vercryse, a big, strong Flemish man] is no doubt partly based on Vandenbergher.
48. In his autobiographical work *Métis*, Philippe Franchini (1993: 110–14), a Eurasian son of Mathieu Franchini, criticizes the stereotype of the violent Corsican mafioso or policeman in Vietnam (in Wargnier's film *Indochine*) and France. Philippe Franchini ran the Continental from 1965 to 1975, having taken over from his father, according to the back cover of *Métis*.
49. On this French defeat, see Ruscio (1992: 146–50) and Pervillé (1993: 127).
50. On colonized soldiers in the Indochinese War, see Ruscio (1992: 156).
51. On this aspect of Daeninckx's novel, see Kristin Ross (1992: 61).
52. In *Murder in Memoriam* (Daeninckx 1991b) one finds a similar police official, who is no doubt modeled on Maurice Papon, convicted for crimes against humanity for his role in the deportation of Jews from Vichy-era Bordeaux and also responsible for the police massacre of Algerian demonstrators on 17 October 1961.
53. For mention of the invocation of this same 1949 law to justify the censorship of films touching on colonialism, see Stora (1997: 114). For specific examples of censorship

and self-censorship of comics for reasons related to French colonialism, see Douvry (1991, esp. pp. 11, 54, 71) and Crépin and Groensteen (1999: 122).

54. *Meurtres pour mémoire* recalls several violent episodes from French history that are connected to the nation-state: the defeat of Vercingetorix at Alesia by Julius Césaire (Daeninckx 1994: 168, 175); the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of the Huguenots by Roman Catholic mobs (168); the conflict between Thiers and the Communards (132); the Vichy government's death sentence against De Gaulle (42) and its contribution to the genocide of Jews; anti-colonialist resistance to the Indochinese War (158); and the conflict between the French government, the FLN and the OAS during the Algerian War (e.g., 74–75, 148, 153–55, 166).

55. As I show below, the comic book addresses the issue of the suppression of history by the post-independence Vietnamese government through the denial of colonial *métissage*, that is, the erasure of French influence.

56. There are significant differences between how the comic book and the detective novel treat the figure of the historian. In *Murder in Memoriam*, a father and a son, both historians, are characters who are murdered to cover up a heinous crime: the deportation of Jews, including many children, from Vichy France, to the Nazi death camps. They had been writing the history of the father's hometown, Drancy, which contained a French prison camp through which the condemned had been shipped, and had stumbled upon key evidence about the crime in the municipal archives of Toulouse.

57. I analyze this work elsewhere (McKinney 2011b).

58. Wild and exotic animals, ranging from elephants, crocodiles and tigers to giant snakes, continue to play an important role in comics about Southeast Asia, including *La colonne* (Martin and Simon 2001), *Théophile Vénard: Dans les griffes du tigre* [Théophile Vénard: In the Tiger's Claws] (Brunor, Bar and Gilles 2007), *Piège en forêt Moi* (Bartoll and Coyère 2007), *Le temple de l'épouvante* (Chapelle, Marniquet and Chanoinat 2009); cf. Douvry (1991: 68–73).

59. E.g., in “Parachutés au Laos,” the French unit saves a downed American pilot (no. 236 [10 June 1951] through no. 240 [8 July 1951]). On U.S. aid to the French for the Indochinese War, and the transition from French colonialism to American imperialism at the end of the war, see Ruscio (1992: 130, 144–53, 186–89, 200–4, 216–18, 225–34).

60. Cf. “Parachutés au Laos” (no. 259 [18 November 1951]), where Verdon and Perrin-Houdon represent Kao as an orientalized demon in a thought balloon: “Effrayés par cet ennemi qui leur paraît un démon, les rebelles s'enfuient” [Frightened by this enemy that looks like a demon to them, the rebels flee].

61. In *The Colonial Heritage of French Comics* (2011b: 118–20), I analyze how Jarry and Otto T. parody the 1931 Paris Colonial Exposition, and also the counter-exhibition jointly organized by Communists and the Surrealists.

62. There is some overlap between these books by cartoonists and illustrated travel books, such as *Mon oncle de Hanoï* [My Uncle from Hanoi] (Lê Van 2003) and *Cambodge* [Cambodia] (Chavanat 2003).

63. See above, p. 226n12.

## Chapter 4

1. RAS is the acronym for “rien à signaler” [nothing to report], a military phrase that took on new meaning during the war that France did not declare but nonetheless fought in Algeria. It is also the title of a film about the Algerian War (Yves Boisset 1973; cf. Hennebelle, Berrah and Stora 1997: 201)

2. Andrevon did his military service in Algeria at the end of the war; <http://jp.andrevon.com/bio.htm> (accessed 9 December 2012).
3. Cf. Barthes (1987: 137–44). This only later changed in official French documents; cf. Garcia (1999).
4. See above, p. 32.
5. See above, pp. 7, 63.
6. Especially these: *Le chemin de l'Amérique* (Baru 1990), "L'Algérie" (Ferrandez 1994e), "Vengeance harkie" (Merezette and Boudjellal 1994), *Jambon-Beur: Les couples mixtes* (Boudjellal 1995), "Le deuil" (Alagbé and Stein 1997), *Algérie: La douleur et le mal* [Algeria: The Pain and the Evil/Illness] (Baudoin et al. 1998), vol. 2 of *Azrayen'* (Lax and Giroud 1999), *Là-bas* (Tronchet and Sibran 2003), *D'Algérie* (Morvandiau 2007), and *Tahya El-Djazair* [Long Live Algeria] (Galandon, Dan and Ralenti 2009, 2010).
7. Cf. Douglas and Malti-Douglas (1994); McKinney (2007a, 2008c). I thank Frank Giroud for having generously loaned me two Algerian graphic narratives about the Algerian War (Tenani 1985; Bouslah 1989). Other Algerian comic books about the war that I have consulted include Slim (1968), Tenani (1981), Amouri (1983), Masmoudi (1983) and Guerroui (1986).
8. Cabu (2004); on Cabu and the war, see also Stora (1992: 265) and Douvry (1983: 33). Cf. *Corvée de bois* [Wood Chore] (Daeninckx and Tignous 2002), and *Tahya El-Djazair* (Galandon, Dan and Ralenti 2010: 32–33).
9. I am grateful to Farid Boudjellal for having kindly provided this document to me.
10. Todd Shepard (2006: 91, 185) refers to Coral's *Journal d'un embastillé*.
11. Cf. [www.bdoubliees.com/journalpilote/annees/1979.htm](http://www.bdoubliees.com/journalpilote/annees/1979.htm) (accessed 9 December 2012).
12. The book also includes a critique of a *Pied-Noir* photo album (28): "Il n'y a pas d'Arabes sur ces photos—ou bien, ce sont des figurants silencieux . . ." [There are no Arabs in these photos—or else they are silent extras . . .]; cf. McKinney (2011b: 160–64) for an analysis of the critique of a colonial photo album in another post-colonial comic book.
13. See pp. 25–26, 71–72, 178.
14. For other examples, see pp. 111, 173, 239n12.
15. See Rigney (2005: 22–23) on the role of the historical novel.
16. Cf. Rioux (1992: 261), Ruscio (2001: 274), Liauzu and Liauzu (2002: 154–55, 174) and McKinney (2009: 87–88).
17. Cf. Horne (1978: 430–32), *Le chemin de l'Amérique* (Baru, Thévenet and Ledran 1998: 45) and the conclusion to Pontecorvo's film *The Battle of Algiers* (1966).
18. Cf. Gervereau (1991: 133), Hureau (1992: 284).
19. An advertisement for DOP soap (25), also mentioned by the Maghrebi-French singer and author Mounsi in Yamina Benguigui's film *Mémoires d'immigrés: L'héritage maghrébin* [Memories of Immigrants: The Maghrebi Heritage] (1997), where he relates his memories about Algerian immigrants in France in the 1960s. However, DOP was also an acronym for "détachement opérationnel de protection," a French army structure that helped turn torture into a general practice of the French army in Algeria (Branche 2001: 255–63). The cartoonists (Vidal and Bignon 1982: 5) refer precisely to this type of unit when an Algerian is arrested, perhaps one of those who is later tortured (8, 11–12).
20. Cf. Amato (1979: front cover, 151) and Gervereau, Rioux and Stora (1992: 168–69). On colonial statues in North Africa, see also Memmi (1985: 84, 123). On their repatriation to France, see also Kidd (2002: 185, 192), who cites Amato, and Aldrich (2005: 168–72, 187–88).
21. Cf. Rey-Goldzeiguer (2002: 62). This is a recurring image in *nostalgérique* [nostal-

geric] *Pied-Noir* comics about the end of the war, for example, *Les rivages amers* (Joyaux-Brédy and Joux n.d.: front cover, 80) and *Là-bas* (Tronchet and Sibran 2003: 13–14).

22. There may also perhaps be an attempt here by Vidal and Bignon to dominate the cultural field through an encyclopedic completeness. In an interview, Jean Debernard (2003), a now deceased bookseller and author, accused Vidal of blocking the publication of other comics or graphic novels on the Algerian War: “Par ailleurs, Guy Vidal, directeur chez Dargaud (et mort il y a quelques mois) qui avait lui-même réalisé des scénarios sur la guerre d’Algérie, nous avait promis de nous recevoir. Là il nous a dit, en gros: ‘vos histoires m’ont passionné, mais je ne les prends pas et je vais tout faire pour les empêcher de paraître car la guerre d’Algérie je la garde pour moi.’ C’était pour lui une sorte de chasse gardée, ce sujet” [Moreover, Guy Vidal, director at Dargaud (and deceased a few months ago), who had himself created scripts about the Algerian War, promised to meet with us. There he told us, more or less: “Your stories really moved me, but I won’t take them and I’ll do everything to keep them from appearing, because I’m keeping the Algerian War for myself.” The subject was a kind of private hunting ground for him]. Debernard also states that Casterman refused to publish his graphic narrative because the Belgian publisher considered it too leftist.

23. Cf. Smolderen (2009: e.g., 59) on polyphony and polygraphy in nineteenth-century comics, and see Miller (2004: 312) on dialogism in recent works.

24. “Barbouze” [a fake beard] is a synecdochic term for a spy or secret agent. It refers to French counter-terrorist agents that De Gaulle’s government used against the OAS during the Algerian War.

25. Horne (1978: 434–35, 492–95), Douvry (1983: 35) and Gauchon and Buisson (1984: 100–101). For Dine (1994: 143), the comic book includes “rather less persuasive anti-OAS action.” Coral (1962) depicts some of the same events.

26. On photos taken by conscripts in the war, see Blondet-Bisch (1992).

27. Cf. Buch (2005: 64). Slama refers to the Bureaux arabes as “les ancêtres des officiers SAS” [the ancestors of the SAS officers] (2001: 17).

28. See pp. 128, 221–22.

29. This impression is reinforced by a footnote on the following page, which explains to the non-Kabyle French reader that an activity referred to in the text is a “rite nuptial kabyle” [Kabyle nuptial rite] (1998: 46). Related information is provided about arranged marriages and the repudiation of women accused of sterility (44).

30. E.g., in *L’année de feu* (Ferrandez 1994b: 76). See Said (1994b: 176–78) on this trope in Camus’s short story “La femme adultère” [The Adulterous Woman].

31. In “Une épopée algérienne” [An Algerian Epic] (n.p.), the postface to vol. 2 of *Azrayen*’ (Lax and Giroud 1999), Giroud describes the new drawing style that Lax created for their Algerian diptych.

32. Ferrandez’s *L’année de feu* (1994b) has also been described as a Western (Buch 2005: 62). On the Western in French comics magazine *Pilote*, see Michallat (2007: 286–88).

33. Perhaps for this reason it was listed on the websites of ADIMAD, a pro-OAS association, <http://ma.page.free.fr/adimad/livre-enfant-AFR.jpg>, [www.adimad.fr/archives.html](http://www.adimad.fr/archives.html) (accessed 4 July 2008).

34. This was apparently a common name for a hotel in colonial Algeria; see, for example, Adès and Zaragozi (1999: 47).

35. E.g., Joseph Constant, Mario Puzzo, Isabelle Eberhardt (Ferrandez 1987, 1994c: 33–37, 46–47), Paul (Octave Alban’s father) and Albert Camus (see above, Chapter 2).

36. In *Lire*; [http://www.lexpress.fr/culture/livre/la-guerre-fantome\\_807135.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/culture/livre/la-guerre-fantome_807135.html) (accessed 9 December 2012).

37. His name recalls that of a well-known pair of comic-book villains, “les frères Loiseau,” in Hergé’s *Le secret de la Licorne* [*The Secret of the Unicorn*] (Hergé 2006). This is one of several borrowings by Ferrandez from Hergé.

38. Aside from the socially devalorized form of *métissage* [ethnic or cultural mixing], through visits to prostitutes, evoked in *Les fils du sud* (Ferrandez 1994c) and *Le centenaire* (Ferrandez 1994d); see Tribak-Geoffroy (1997: 128). Algerian historian Marnia Lazreg (1994: 41) argues that “intermarriages [between Algerians and French] existed but were extremely rare.”

39. See Horne (1978: 108–9, 165–66, 173, 220, 251–52); and above, pp. 165–67.

40. This propaganda is mentioned, reproduced or analyzed in Ferrandez (2004: 6), Lever (1991: 196), Bancel and Blanchard (1997: 29) and Milleron (2003).

41. At least two other comic books represent the bodies of Algerians displayed by the French army: *Algérie française!* (Mérezette and Dumenil 1985: 7) and *Tabya El-Djazair* (Galandon, Dan and Ralenti 2010: 6).

42. E.g., the tilting of the last frame on page 50 of *Carnets d’Orient*; the reworked repetition of similar visual material in two sequences of *L’année de feu* (35–36, 40); and the inclusion of a subjective frame in a revealing way in *Les fils du sud* (23–24). For analysis of these issues, see Chapter 2, above.

43. See above, pp. 64–72.

44. It is also referred to in another comic about the war, *Tabya El-Djazair* (Galandon, Dan and Ralenti 2010: 10, 29).

45. On the “history effect,” see above, pp. 20, 56–57. For a different approach to myth, fiction and colonial history, which privileges the mythical and fictional as “distractions from history,” see Macdonald (2008).

46. See also above, p. 229n34.

47. The bombing happened on 10 August 1957 (Horne 1978: 184). Later, Ferrandez shows a firefight in the casbah between French soldiers and FLN militants, again inspired by the film (48–49).

48. On the first volume in the series, see Martini (1997: 213–14).

49. Nor does Ferrandez, although he depicts an earlier *Pied-Noir* lynching of Algerians (2004: 26–28).

50. For a more extensive analysis of this graphic novel see McKinney (2011a). The following paragraph summarizes a few of my main points from there. Sibran originally wrote this story as a prose novel (1999).

51. The book is not the best conceived and executed of the lot: its title character, Aïscha, is called Djemila on the back cover; and the Algerian FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) is incorrectly called the FNL throughout the novel.

52. *Tabya El-Djazair* (Galandon, Dan and Ralenti 2010: 40–41) is another French comic that openly refers to the rape of Algerian women and girls by French soldiers during the war. A few others suggest the possible rape of: Aïscha by French sailors (Joos and Yann 1990: 20); Allilat (whose lover Messonnier has disappeared) by French soldiers (Lax and Giroud 1998: 36); and Nadine (the lover of Ahmed) by French soldiers (Mérezette and Dumenil 1985: 18).

53. Cf. Vaugeois (2003: 27) on the FLN as composed of “ennemis formés dans la culture islamique de la cruauté” [enemies formed in the Muslim culture of cruelty], a thesis of cultural essentialism illustrated two pages later by a photograph of a dead man with his throat slit, captioned: “Tout au long du conflit, les Musulmans seront les premières victimes du FLN. C’est par les égorgements et la terreur qu’il étend son emprise” [All throughout the conflict, the Muslims will be the first victims of the FLN. It is by throat-slitting and terror that it spreads its control].

54. Also in “Ote tes mains d’mon patrimoine” [Take Your Hands off My Inheritance] in the same book, *Rampeau 2 (Same Player Shoots Again)* (Frank and Golo 1987), first serialized 1979–81; *Le singe et la sirène* [The Monkey and the Siren], by Dumontheuil and Angéli (2001: 37). For a recent far-right reiteration of this theme (with an horrific photo), see Vaugeois (2003: 29).

55. I.e., “coupeur de route” [road cutter], or highway bandit, a derogatory term the French applied to Algerian independence fighters.

56. E.g., Ferrandez (1994b), Bucquoy and Hulet (1990).

57. Boudjellal (1998, 1999, 2002; republished in 2006a, 2006b).

58. On Boudjellal’s treatment of the Algerian War and its sequels in *Jambon-Beur: Les couples mixtes* (1995), see above, pp. 1–5.

59. Esse G. Esse, or SGS, i.e., Giovanni Sinchetto, Dario Guzzon and Pietro Sartoris; cf. Gaumer and Moliterni (1994: 232–33).

60. Mourad Boudjellal’s investment in the cowboy and Indian theme is evident in his decision to name one part of his publishing operations “Géronimo” (cf. Boudjellal, in Bellefroid 2005: 96).

61. E.g., Malet and Tardi (1982: 22, 60, 65), Tardi (1990: 20–21, 31, 46–47, 69, 90–91). I thank Paul Cohen for reminding me about this.

62. For a similar image, see Daeninckx and Tignous (2002: 41); see also p. 153, above, on “corvées de bois.”

63. A similar connection is suggested by Didier Daeninckx (1994: 157, 195–97), in *Meurtres pour mémoire*, where Pierre Cazes, a former secret agent of the French government during the war, is dying from cancer. On this novel, see Ross (1992) and Dine (1994: 212).

64. Stora appears to have borrowed this metaphor from statements made while the war was in progress. See Vidal-Naquet (4 May 1961), republished in Eveno and Planchais (1989: 308); and Stora (1992: 68).

65. One edition of the novel is illustrated by cartoonist Jeanne Puchol (Daeninckx 1991a).

66. E.g., the special dossier “La guerre d’Algérie, est-elle terminée?” in *La nouvelle revue d’histoire* 8 (September–October 2003). Historians such as Liauzu (2003) have contested the negation of colonial violence.

67. In *Une éducation algérienne* (Vidal and Bignon 1982: 10, 29, 56); *La guerre fantôme* (Ferrandez 2002: 33, 64); *Rue de la bombe* (Ferrandez 2004: 20–21, 47).

## Chapter 5

1. On the “voyage out,” see also McKinney (2011b).
2. Boudjellal sold the majority of his company shares in Soleil Productions to Editions Delcourt in 2011 to focus his energy on directing the Toulon Rugby Club.
3. See above, p. 226n12.
4. E.g., in Breyse (1995: 15–17), serialized 1948–49.
5. E.g., in Jijé (1994: 142), serialized 1959.
6. See above, pp. 48, 50–53, 94, 99–101.
7. E.g., in *Gringalou en Algérie* (Pinchon and Noé n.d.; serialized 1947) and “Parachutés au Laos” (no. 247 [26 August 1951], by Verdon and Perrin-Houdon).
8. Pigeon (1996: 144) mentions an ambiguous sentence from the conclusion of *Sam et Sap* (Candide and Le Cordier 1908) as a possible critique of “the cost of colonization.”
9. Töpffer (1996, 2007).

10. Christophe (1981, 2004).
11. French slave traders and owners are depicted in the voyeuristic “Les passagers du vent” (Bourgeon 1980–1994d). On this, see Pierre (1988: 118; 2000: 44–45). This aspect of French history is also represented in *Les Antilles sous Bonaparte: Delgrès* (Puisy and Chamoiseau 1981), *Le sang du flamboyant* (Auclair and Migeat 1985: 25, 28) and the mordant *Petite histoire des colonies françaises*, vol. 1: *L’Amérique française* (Jarry and T. 2006).
12. E.g., in *Stanley* (Hubinon and Joly 1994: 56; first ed., 1955).
13. E.g., in *L’oncle du Tchad* (Breyse 1998: 13; serialized 1949–50). On these representations, see, for example, Pierre (1988), Pigeon (1996), Delisle (2007, 2008) and Lefèvre (2008).
14. See above, pp. 89–90, 173.
15. Evoked by Ferrandez in Mimouni and Ferrandez (1993), Ferrandez (1995: 9), Poncet and Morin (1996: 76–77), Buch (2005: 90–92, 103) and Ferrandez (2006); and depicted by Morvandiau in *D’Algérie* (2007).
16. See above, pp. 185–86, and McKinney (2011a).
17. E.g., in “Ric Brio: L’oublié de la Croisière noire” (Armand and Bergouze 1985; on this, see McKinney 2011b: 142–48) and *Les oubliés d’Annam* (Lax and Giroud 1990–91).
18. E.g., in *Carnets d’Orient* (Ferrandez 1994a) and *Le cimetière des princesses* (Ferrandez 1995).
19. E.g., in *Coeurs de sable* (Loustal and Paringaux 1985) and *Le centenaire* (Ferrandez 1994d).
20. E.g., in *Nègres jaunes* (Alagbé 1995).
21. E.g., in *Le chemin de l’Amérique* (Baru, Thévenet and Ledran 1990) and *Le chemin de Tuan* (Baloup and Jiro 2005).
22. E.g., in *Gags à l’harissa* (Boudjellal 1989b) and *Un automne à Hà nô i* (Baloup 2004).
23. E.g., Elvire and the Dey of Algiers in *Histoire de M. Cryptogame* (Töpffer 1996, 2007), *Bécassine nourrice* (Caumery and Pinchon 1951: 37; first ed., 1922)—cf. Couderc (2000: 226–27)—and *La vie est belle* (Forton 1949; first ed., 1933). For an atypical variation in the “Pieds-Nickelés” series, see Frémion (2007).
24. E.g., *Nègres jaunes* (Alagbé 1995c), *Jambon-Beur: Les couples mixtes* (Boudjellal 1995), “Le deuil” (Alagbé and Stein 1997) and *Kid Congo* (Loustal and Paringaux 1997).
25. See above, p. 128.
26. E.g., Saint-Michel and Fages (1976). For a critique of neo-colonial and neo-imperialist links between France and black Africa, see Verschave (2000, 2001).
27. See Pierre (2000: 45) and Arnaud (2000) on the comics of French cartoonist Jano as a possible example of a nonexploitative and funny relationship to Africans in comics.
28. See Chapter 4, above, p. 178, for questions raised by Ferrandez’s acceptance of this type of sponsorship of his visits throughout the Arab and Muslim world. See also McKinney (2008a: 15–16).
29. People from French overseas departments [départements d’outre-mer] and territories [territoires d’outre-mer].