Historicising the Emergence of Comics Art Scholarship in Spain, 1965–1975

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Abstract

This article traces the formation of comics art scholarship in Spain from 1965 to 1975. This decade witnessed the beginning of the study of comics as a serious object of cultural analysis. Reading formations surrounding the medium – in particular, historical and critical reading protocols – and a set of key critical debates were concurrent with the establishment and the development of mass communication studies as an incipient field of research in Spain in the mid-1960s. The aim of this article is to provide a close examination of the first generation of critics participating in and writing about the scene in relation to hitherto overlooked local and transnational contexts that shaped the constitution of the Spanish field of comics.

Keywords: comics cultures, constitution of field, cultural intermediaries, fanzines, pioneering critics, Spain

Any examination of the constitution of the Spanish field of comics between 1965 and 1975 requires a detailed contextualisation of wider historical, social and cultural processes across national borders and of the formation of comics cultures in Europe – specifically, France and Italy.\(^1\) At a time, late Francoism, when rapid economic and cultural transformations – the rise of mass consumerism, the growth of the publishing industry and of media consumption, the burgeoning

\(^1\) A note on the nomenclature adopted throughout the article. I use the term ‘comics’, since it emerged as a new critical category in the period under discussion. However, the generic terms tebeo – coined from the comic strip magazine for children TBO: Semanario Festivo Infantil [TBO: Children’s weekly magazine] (1917–1983) and not approved by the Real Academia de la Lengua Española [Royal Academy of Spanish Language] until 1968 – and historieta are maintained when original sources are quoted. All translations of non-English references and quotations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
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of popular cultural forms – coexisted with the realities of dictatorship, Spanish cultural critics and intellectuals adopted new historical and aesthetic categories and sensibilities. They discussed not only comics-related phenomena but also other popular cultural forms (television, film) ushered in by the nascent age of consumerism. New press legislation introduced in 1966 by (then) Minister of Information and Tourism Manuel Fraga Iribarne (1962–1969) allowed for the apertura [opening up] of expression in the publishing industry. The new law, commonly known as the Ley Fraga,

allowed, if not an open expression of opinions, at least the printing of opinions with clear glimpses of dissidence in the late 1960s [since] newly minted research centres, publishing houses and political magazines emerged under these conditions and provided vehicles for demands for change and debates about the shape of a future where political and cultural freedoms could be exercised.²

This decade saw a surge of writing about the critical status and critical value of comics. The dominant disciplinary perspective until the mid-1960s located tebeos within the domain of children’s literature and press history, with pronouncements about their pedagogical, moral and religious effect on children.³ In the second half of the decade, a discursive approach through the methodological lens of press history characterised the work of Antonio Martín Martínez, whose groundbreaking ‘notes’ on the history of the medium in Spain were published across four instalments in the publication Revista de Educación issued by the Ministerio de Información y Turismo.⁴ Simultaneously, with the emergence of communication studies during the final decade of Francisco Franco’s dictatorship, whereby public bodies started to engage ‘in research in the field of information, propaganda, public opinion, advertising, and visual communication preferably from a sociological

³ See Jesús María Vázquez, La prensa infantil en España (Madrid: Editorial Doncel, 1963).
perspective’ close to the ideology of the regime,⁵ there emerged a new generation of cultural critics inspired by the intellectual and theoretical developments associated with the formation and organisation of comics criticism in France around the fanzine Giff-Wiff: Bulletin des Bandes Dessinées (1962–1967), which was instigated by the journalist and writer Francis Lacassin and accompanied by the research of Italian mass media theorists – notable in this regard was Umberto Eco and his highly influential Apocalittici e integrati, translated into Spanish as Apocalípticos e integrados in 1968.⁶

In order fully to historicise the emergence of Spanish comics studies, this article proposes to engage critically with a variety of contemporary material in order to examine the range of different positions, tastes and sensibilities, official and emerging, that offered competing interpretations of comics in book-length studies produced by the first wave of pioneering critics, feature articles in popular culture magazines and the press, and fanzines. Luis Gasca, in Tebeo y cultura de masas, reflected on the diverse impetuses propelling European comics criticism forward from art history to didactics to semiology.⁷ When the pop culture critic Terenci Moix turned to comics in Los ‘comics’: Arte para el consumo y formas ‘pop’, he read camp and nostalgia as cultural phenomena revealing the mechanics underlying the production and consumption of cultural products like comics.⁸ Leading academic journals such as Estudios de Información, which was affiliated with the Secretaría Técnica del Ministerio de Información y Turismo, devoted a double issue to the study of comics in 1971, documenting the state of an incipient Spanish comics field and, in the process, conferring cultural respectability upon the medium.⁹ The first fanzines came to light during this decade, too: Cuto: Boletín Español del Comic (Luis Gasca, 1967–1968), ¡Bang! fanzine de los tebeos españoles (Antonio Martín and Antonio Lara, 1968–1977) and Comics Camp Comics In (Mariano Ayuso, 1972–1975).

My initial theoretical and methodological framework is specifically informed by Luc Boltanski’s ‘The Constitution of the Comics Field’ (1975), a ‘Pierre Bourdieu–inspired analysis’ that traces the appearance and formation of the comics field in France throughout the 1960s and the early 1970s. The present article builds on other Bourdieusian notions beyond those of the intellectual field, class habitus and the logics of distinction as they are deployed by Boltanski. Of particular significance is the role of what Bourdieu calls ‘cultural intermediaries’ – that is to say, those cultural producers and commentators whose practices, dispositions and tastes contribute to the mediation, intellectualisation and popularisation of symbolic goods. Here, the activities, dispositions and writings of individual figures like Gasca and Martin, among others, are placed in relation to social and cultural networks of scholars. The constitution of the field in Spain is relatively underexplored and undertheorised in comparison to the French tradition, where Bolanski’s article stands as a critical landmark. Given the lack of translations of the works of Spanish pioneers into English, mainstream scholarship on comics studies has made cursory references to the Spanish context or has omitted it altogether. In ‘The Winding, Pot-Holed Road of Comic Art Scholarship’, John Lent abridges Spain’s contribution to research on comics during these decades to the figure of Gasca, who is described as ‘a major writer about comics, often American ones’, whose ‘articles appeared in newspapers and magazines’. Charles Hatfield’s foreword to the recent The Secret Origins of Comics Studies is almost entirely US-centered in its (re)telling of the history of American comics studies with the exception of a gesture to ‘the larger

11 Miller and Beaty, The French Comics Theory Reader, 276.
trajectory of French Comics Studies’. In this same volume, Ian Horton acknowledges in his chapter on art-historical approaches to the study of comics in both France and the English-speaking world in the 1960s and 1970s that there are traditions ‘in Spanish (both European and South American), Italian, and German that deal with the origins of the art form but they are not translated into English and consequently their impact on the international field of Comics Studies is more limited’. Since a detailed analysis of the emerging field of Spanish comics art scholarship between 1965 and 1975 remains to be written – be it in English or Spanish – this article seeks to tease out a more nuanced cultural history of the constitution of the field in Spain and to contribute to a wider reconfiguration of Spanish comics art scholarship that is distinguished by transnational flows and by importations of theoretical and methodological explorations of the medium which are also constitutive of the field.

Transferring Legitimacy

In ‘La Constitution du champ de la bande dessinée’, Boltanski provides a detailed sociological examination of the transformations in the production, reception and circulation of comics, looking in particular at the mechanisms, practices and dispositions that contributed to the cultural elevation and legitimation of comics and their study. Among the ‘mechanisms that accompany the appearance of a field when it is structured according to the model of high culture’, Boltanski notes, is ‘the creation of an apparatus (magazines, conferences, prizes, publishers, educational institutions, etc.)’ which contributes to the process of the celebration and legitimation of the field. Legitimation, argues Boltanski, is central to the emergence of new fields of study. Boltanski identifies the ‘simple transfer of the most ritualized techniques of scholarly routine’, the ‘discourse of celebration’ and the bestowing upon comics of ‘the antiquity that is constitutive of every legitimate cultural tradi-

18 Ibid., 287.
tion" as key mechanisms and strategies to elevate the cultural and symbolic capital of comics.

Throughout the 1960s, legitimacy was transferred to the study of comics from multiple quarters in the Spanish context. Titles such as Antonio Lara’s ‘Un nuevo arte nos ha nacido’, included in the monthly cultural magazine *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* as part of an issue devoted to current cultural trends (‘Cultura Hoy’), or Ramón Muñoz Suay’s ‘La seriedad del “comic”’, which were printed in the popular film magazine *Nuevo Fotogramas*, literally vindicated the artistic, cultural and intellectual worthiness of the medium.

‘Un nuevo arte nos ha nacido’ unashamedly heralded the status of comics as art. Lara welcomed the fact that ‘revistas prestigiosas se ocupen del tema con un rigor total, desprovisto de frivolidad’ [prestigious magazines (like *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*) covered this topic with total rigour, devoid of any type of frivolity], despite the fact that comics seemed to be at the time ‘un tema de moda’ [a fashionable topic] (‘frivolity’ is a loaded term that was bandied around in many a review). Lara was unequivocal in his assessment of comics: ‘El problema consiste en que los tebeos han sido ignorados por la “crítica” estética oficial que, sin examinarlos, los ha relegado al papel de entretenimiento infantil, como algo sin valor’ [the problem is that tebeos have been ignored by the official aesthetic ‘criticism’ that, without having examined them, has relegated them to the sole purpose of entertaining children, ascribing no value to them]. For Lara, the cultural validation of comics intersected with the wider ‘rehabilitación de géneros tradicionalmente menores – la novela policiaca, de terror, de ciencia ficción’ [rehabilitation of genres traditionally considered to be minor – the detective novel, the horror novel, the science-fiction novel], as well as with popular cinema. Concomitant with their participation in the constitution of the comics field, Gasca and Moix, for example, were embracing popular film genres and displaying their respective connoisseurship of international horror and fantasy traditions and Spanish and Hollywood melodrama in the pages of *Nuevo Fotogramas* and *Terror Fantastic*. But, in order to elevate the

19 Ibid., 288.
20 Antonio Lara, ‘Un nuevo arte nos ha nacido’ [A new art has been born], *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* [Notebooks for the dialogue], extra summer issue (1967), 50–54.
22 Lara, ‘Un nuevo arte’, 54.
23 Ibid., 51.
24 Ibid., 53; emphasis in the original.
lowbrow to the models of the fields of high culture, academic habits and dispositions had to be transferred. Lara called for ‘expertos en Sociología, Psicología, artes plásticas, escritores, dibujantes’ [experts in sociology, psychology, fine arts, writers, artists] to ‘parcelar el terreno de trabajo’ [stake out the field of work]. Critics were needed to work on the ‘historia de los personajes’ [history of characters], historians were needed to reconstruct the ‘textos estropeados por la censura’ [texts mangled by censorship] and publishers were needed to ‘editar los ejemplares perdidos o escasos’ [publish texts that have been lost or are rare].

A year later, the publisher Edicusa sponsored the publication of Lara’s *El apasionante mundo del tebeo* as a 1968 supplement to *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, granting further prestige and symbolic capital to the new art. In ‘The Seriousness of “Comics”’ – which was partly a reflection on Gasca’s and Moix’s volumes – the film critic Muñoz Suay considers the particularities of contemporary Spanish comics culture: on the one hand, he argues, the conditions of possibility for writing about comics as legitimate objects of cultural analysis must be located ‘más allá de nuestras fronteras, y ya atendiendo a los estudios que sobre los “comics” nos iban llegando, fuimos configurando nuevas tesis’ [beyond our frontiers, and then taking note of those studies about comics that were reaching us, we began to configure new theses]; on the other hand, ‘en España la “cultura” de los “comics” está vinculada, como historicidad y como vivencia, a una educación escolar de pos-guerra que, durante tantos años, ha estado reflejada en ese género de publicaciones’ [in Spain ‘comics culture’ is linked, as historicity and as lived experience, to a post-war school education, which was reflected in these types of publications]. To be sure, the writings of Lara and Muñoz Suay may suggest a forthright celebratory discourse, but the publications that endorsed the artistic and serious status of comics also situate the legitimation of the field in a broader context. Madrid-based *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* and Barcelona-based *Nuevo Fotogramas* played significant roles in importing and disseminating international developments in culture, and they aligned themselves in different yet complementary ways with anti-Francoist positions.

Outlets for studies of comics in cultural monthlies and in popular culture magazines increased the cultural capital and worthiness of the medium. The publishing houses that put the first studies on comics

25 Ibid., 54.
written in Spanish into circulation increased their intellectual and literary legitimacy. Gasca’s *Tebeo y cultura de masas*, published by Editorial Prensa Española, partook of the ‘significant increase in the production of books dealing with communication topics, namely public opinion, journalism and media history (still known as press history)’.

Moix’s *Los ‘comics’* and Román Gubern’s *El lenguaje de los comics*, however, came out in a different milieu; they were published by Llibres de Sinera and Ediciones Península, respectively, two Barcelona publishing houses at the vanguard of the editorial world in Spain at the time. Within these editorial contexts of production and distribution, the prologue might be said to function as one of the ‘most ritualized techniques of scholarly routine’ for the transference of symbolic and cultural capital and, of course, prestige from academic figures associated with established disciplines to a younger generation of popular and mass culture specialists. While the prologues of *Tebeo y cultura de masas* and *Los ‘comics’* were authored by recognised academic voices, by the time *El lenguaje de los comics* was published in the early 1970s, it was Gasca himself who was legitimising the work of a fellow young media critic and thereby confirming a significant shift in the formation of the comics field and the standing of its social actors. Not coincidentally, reviews of these pioneering texts followed a comparable trajectory, for commentators on *Tebeo y cultura de masas* and *Los ‘comics’* belonged to the editorial worlds out of which the critical projects had emerged. Critical reception, therefore, read these founding texts on comics against dominant and residual historical and cultural dispositions towards the role of mass media in education and society and against fresh and urgent attempts to appreciate contemporary popular cultural production.

*Tebeo y cultura de masas* is prefaced by the internationally renowned Spanish psychiatrist Juan José López-Ibor, an influential voice in academic and intellectual circles. Those expecting allusions to the American psychiatrist Fredric Wertham and his *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954) would be disappointed, for López-Ibor approaches Gasca’s book as the duty of a scholar who must ‘tomar conciencia del tiempo presente’ [become aware of our present times] where *tebeos* – a ‘tipo de literatura infantil’ [type of children’s literature] – are to be understood in relation to developments in mass culture and the predominance of

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images. López-Ibor pondered that ‘la apetencia por determinado tipo de héroes en la sociedad de masas’ [the desire for particular types of heroes in mass-culture society] calls for an analysis of their influence – not necessarily harmful, as Wertham had put it – in the psychological development of children. And López-Ibor asked, ‘¿Qué nos dicen sobre nosotros mismos esas manifestaciones de la cultura contemporánea?’ [What do these manifestations of contemporary culture tell us about ourselves?] More specifically, he wanted to know what they tell us about the ‘mitología infantil’ [children’s mythology] and its persistence into adulthood in a ‘mundo desmitificado’ [demythologised world].

Reviews of Gasca’s book emphasised without fail the psycho-pedagogical potential of comics and the formative role of mass communication media. The ABC reviewer, Alfonso Álvarez Villa, an active researcher at the Instituto de la Opinión Pública and an editorial member of the Revista Española de la Opinión Pública, wondered whether ‘el “tebeo” [es] mera diversión y pasatiempo’ [the ‘tebeo’ is simple entertainment and a pastime] or whether ‘contiene, como un pequeño cartucho de dinamita, potencias insospechadas para la formación o la desintegración de la sociedad’ [contains, like a small dynamite cartridge, unsuspected powers for the education or disintegration of society].

While Álvarez Villa did not attempt to answer the question in the review, his position had been made clear the previous year in his article ‘Supermán, mito de nuestro tiempo’, where he had condemned the damaging influence of Superman comics, and, by (tacit) extension, American popular culture on Spanish children. As the prologue and the review of Tebeo y cultura de masas demonstrate, its reception was framed through the educational, psychological and sociological concerns arising from the impact of comics on Spanish public opinion and contemporary culture.

Moix’s text came out in a very different intellectual and publishing milieu. Barcelona was at the forefront of the dissemination of contemporary European and Latin American literary texts in Spanish or Catalan translations with publishing ventures such as Editorial Seix Barral since the late 1950s, Edicions 62 from 1962 onwards and Editorial Lumen in the late 1960s. Seix Barral is accredited with leading ‘a renovation of Spain’s literature and its dissemination abroad, bold
marketing of Latin American writers globally (…) and the translation and diffusion of European avant-garde writers in Spain’. Edicions 62 and Editorial Lumen promoted particularly ‘the publication of texts exploring new trends in popular culture (music, photography, comics, films) considered important at that moment’. Los ‘comics’ certainly benefited from this editorial milieu. The prologue was written by Joaquim Marco, a recognised Catalan editor, literary critic and scholar, who was a pivotal figure in the world of publishing and criticism on the Barcelona literary scene, and he was actively engaged in the publishing strategies of Llibres de Sinera. Marco reflected several critical topoi around mass culture in general and comics in particular in relation to older media and high culture: the distrust of new languages, the artistic and literary aspirations of comics, and the influence of popular forms in high culture in Western literary traditions. However, Marco ended with a significant intervention by elevating comics to adult status and by making a proposal – similar to that put forward by López-Ibor – to withhold ideological and intellectual biases towards the commercial and artistic values of comics. In his words, ‘El cómic no es una manifestación dirigida al público infantil, como algunos pueden suponer’ [Comics are not a product addressed to a child readership, like some people may assume]37 because ‘el autor de cómics ha sido un adulto que ha pensado en adulto e, involuntariamente o deliberadamente, se ha dirigido a un público adulto’ [the comics producer is an adult who thinks as an adult and who, unintentionally or deliberately, is addressing an adult readership]. Adopting a deferential position, Marco concluded that Moix’s volume ‘ilumina un género, cuyas posibilidades y realizaciones sólo empezamos a comprender’ [sheds light on a genre whose potential and products we can only begin to comprehend].39

Los ‘comics’ was reviewed in the most relevant Catalan cultural magazines of the period, among them El Ciervo and Destino. Worthy of note is the review in El Ciervo because Moix’s book was discussed in conjunction with the Spanish translation of Eco’s Apocalittici e integrati, which was published that same year by Editorial Lumen. Both books, accord-

38 Ibid., 22; emphasis in the original.
39 Ibid., 23.
ing to critic Enrique Sordo, traversed similar territories – ‘pop’ cultural forms like comics, film, television and pop music – and responded to ‘fenómenos tecnocómicos que necesitan de la revolución económica de la clase media para desarrollarse plenamente’ [techno-economic phenomena dependent on the economic revolution of the middle classes to attain their full realisation].

In Destino, Josep Maria Carandell proclaimed, ‘Els comics a la universitat!’ [Comics in the university!], imagining Moix as the lecturer conveying the contemporaneity and the proximity of comics to a new generation of students set to modernise the university curriculum.

Barcelona was at the centre of the staging of colloquia, round tables, book launchings and exhibitions. In comparable fashion to what had happened on the literary scene since the early 1960s and what was happening with the Barcelona School of film-making in the late 1960s, Barcelona became the central port of call for the exchange of cultural theories and methodologies and the circulation of intellectual trends developing in Europe and across the Atlantic. The launching of Gubern’s book (El lenguaje de los comics) in May 1972 is a case in point, since it articulates the convergence of social and cultural actors around the ‘Creation of Events’, to use Boltanski’s phrase. The book’s presentation also acted as the opening of an exhibition of the work of Enric Sió, who the year before had been awarded the prestigious Yellow Kid prize in New York for best foreign artist. Held in the culturally innovative Sala Aixelá in Barcelona and promoted by the Bocaccio nightclub, renowned for its association with the city’s gauche divine, the event brought together the vanguard of Barcelona’s culturati and of the editorial world to celebrate, in the words of Gubern, the international success of ‘la escuela de cómic de Barcelona’ [the Barcelona school of comics] epitomised by Sió and to vindicate, according to the art critic Alexandre Cirici, ‘la capacidad de profundización del cómic’ [the intellectual capabilities of comics]. Cirici was also accompanied by the lit-

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erary critic José María Castellet in his capacity as general editor of the publishing house Península, which was created under the auspices of its parent company, Edicions 62. This exhibition-cum-presentation is a prime example of the intersection of comics with cultural interlocutors from the worlds of literature and art history, as well as the intensification of interactions ‘between the comics field and the intellectual field’ according to the operation of scholarly models.45

If anything, this book-launching party was yet another iteration of similar events staged by young Catalan intellectuals and cultural practitioners in Barcelona. Five years earlier, in February 1967, a cluster of Italian scholars based in Palermo, known as Gruppo 63, had been invited to an interdisciplinary colloquium on the theme of avant-garde art and politically committed art in the context of contemporary popular and mass culture and mass media. The visiting scholars included Gillo Dorfles, Antonio Porta and Umberto Eco. The colloquium was held at the recently instituted independent Escuela de Diseño Eina, amongst whose founding members were Román Gubern, Alexandre Cirici, Albert Ràfols and Francesc Tous, and which pioneered the delivery of industrial, graphic and interior design courses. Organised by members of Eina, including Gubern and Cirici, and facilitated by Beatriz de Moura of Editorial Lumen, who was extremely well connected ‘with Italian publishing houses and Italian writers’, the colloquium, thanks to the impact of the Gruppo 63, had an effect that ‘would be felt in the years to come’.46 As Gubern acknowledged in his memoirs Viaje de ida [One-way trip] (1997), the ‘contact with European intellectuals, in particular Eco, made the home group aware of their need to update their “mochila cultural” [cultural kit]’.47 The study of comics featured prominently during the three-day visit. The interdisciplinary colloquium, as Mazquiarán Rodríguez has documented, led to the creation of La Mosca [The fly], ‘an “underground” publication disguised as a “Boletín de novedades” [newsletter]’, announcing ‘new offerings by the participating publishing houses (Edicions 62, Seix Barral, and Lumen)’.48 La Mosca buzzed for seven issues between December 1967 and December 1969, and amongst its contributors were members of the Barcelona group of intellectuals and professionals already mentioned in this article: Castellet, Sió, Muñoz Suay, Gubern, Cirici, de Moura and Ràfols. When Eco returned to Barcelona two years later, in February 1969,
the presentation of the Spanish translation of *Apocalípticos e integrados* by Editorial Lumen, the visit was deemed by the magazine *Triunfo* as a unique opportunity for ‘los jóvenes intelectuales españoles más rigurosos (. . .) para estrechar los vínculos que deben unirnos a la cultura europea contemporánea, cuya problemática suele formularse con tanto retraso entre nosotros’ [the most rigorous young Spanish intellectuals (. . .) to strengthen the links that must bring us closer to contemporary European culture, whose questions tend to be formulated so belatedly amongst us].

Leading the proceedings were, once again, Gubern, Gasca and Sió, whose work was exhibited alongside that of fellow Catalan comics artists Josep María Beà and Esteban Maroto.

### Cultural Intermediaries: From Gasca to *Bang!*

A key attribute of cultural intermediaries, write Jennifer Smith Maguire and Julian Matthews, is ‘the ability (. . .) to undertake the construction of legitimacy’ through ‘transposing the hallmarks of established authority (. . .) on to new cultural forms [and] on particular forms of capital and subjective dispositions’. Moreover, cultural intermediaries, as Bourdieu conceptualises them in *Distinction*, are ‘a group of taste makers and need merchants whose work is part and parcel of an economy that requires the production of consuming tastes and dispositions’. Amongst the occupations associated with this concept, Bourdieu cites ‘the producers of cultural programmes on TV and radio or the critics of “quality” newspapers and magazines and all the writer-journalists and journalist-writers’, whose profession involves ‘presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth)’. Within the Spanish context of a developing consumer economy, of an increasing attention to mass media history, and an emerging ‘new’ petite bourgeoisie, figures like Gasca, Martín and Lara acted as intermediaries participating in actual processes of legitimation and of mediation between producers and consumers, and as connected agents and groups within the field. Gasca’s multiple facets as a journalist-writer or a writer-journalist, as

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51 Ibid., 15.
52 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 325.
fanzine editor or as editorial director, to name but a few hats that he wore, certainly fit this Bourdieusian concept. Similarly, Martín and Lara as the editors of *Bang!* played critical roles in forming a critical discourse on comics.

Gasca’s bourgeois upbringing in the Basque city of San Sebastián, his university education at the University of Zaragoza, where he graduated in law, and his professional participation as a teacher in the new higher education degree programmes launched at the Jesuit-funded Estudios Universitarios y Técnicos de Guipúzcoa (EUTG), where he taught courses on tourism and advertising between 1963 and 1968, locates him squarely within the new petite bourgeoisie that Bourdieu describes in *Distinction*. As part of the activities of the EUTG, he founded the Centro de Expresión Gráfica, a collective that brought together comics studies pioneers from other parts of Spain such as Lara and Martín, and edited the first Spanish fanzine, *Cuto: Boletín Español del Comic* – a total of three issues – between May 1967 and October 1968. The first two front covers, which were devoted to the American characters Rip Kirby and Steve Canyon, respectively, displayed the sensibilities of the time: a nostalgic nod to classic US comics strips and a critical gesture to Eco’s original 1962 reading of Milton Caniff. The third – and final – cover designed by the up-and-coming Basque illustrator and comics artist Juan Carlos Eguillor conveyed the encounter between comics and pop art (Figure 1). Throughout 1968, he also published the weekly section ‘Los Comics’ for the Basque daily *El Correo Español*, disseminating writings about comics to a broad public.

The proximity of San Sebastián to the French border, combined with the financial resources afforded to him by virtue of his class, enabled Gasca to travel regularly to Paris to immerse himself in the vibrant French comics scene by attending events, frequenting the famous bookshop Le Minotaure, joining newly created associations and interacting with a wider network of comics art scholars across Europe and beyond. This is how he joined the Centre d’études des littératures d’expression graphique (CELEG), becoming the Spanish correspondent in the mid-1960s, and came to contribute to Francis Lacassin’s *Giff-Wiff*. Similarly, his presence at the first international comics conventions gave Gasca first-hand access to the burgeoning intellectual field of comics criticism as well as to various national markets. Such was the case

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53 The EUTG was located on what it is now the campus of the University of Deusto in San Sebastián.

54 The title of the fanzine is an homage to 1940s Spanish comics character Cuto and his creator, Jesús Blasco (1919–1995).
Figure 1: Eguillor’s artwork design for the cover of Cuto in line with pop art. Cuto: Boletín Español del Comic 3. Artwork © 1968, reproduced with the kind permission of Luis Gasca and Biblioteca de Koldo Mitzelena Kulturunea – Diputación Foral de Guipúzcoa (Fondo Luis Gasca).
with the Salone Internazionale dei Comics de Bordighera held from 21 February to 2 March 1965. Here, Gasca, and many other European comics enthusiasts and pioneering scholars, absorbed newly emerging approaches to the study of comics carried out in the fields of pedagogy, sociology, mass communication and archival research. The French and Italian networks – CELEG and the Rome-based Instituto di Scienza della Comunicazioni di Massa, respectively – linked up in Lucca a year later for an event that Gasca reported on for *Triunfo* in an article entitled ‘La Venecia del comic se llama Lucca’. Frequenting these circuits, Gasca operated as a link to contemporary comics cultures in Europe and as an intermediary in the dissemination and promotion of currents of influence for the study of comics. By 1966, Gasca was at the heart of what Lacassin described in a *Giff-Wiff* editorial as ‘la deuxième année de la consécration’ [the second year of the consecration] of comics as an art comparable to film and television. A final example should suffice to establish Gasca’s assiduousness in the critical and industrial development of the field in Spain: his work as editorial director for San Sebastián–based Buru-Lan and for Editorial Pala. Through Buru-Lan, Gasca embarked upon a series of projects that ranged from the republication of classic American comics in Spanish to be distributed in the Spanish and Latin American markets, to the diffusion of the genre work of Spanish comics producers like Beà, Sió and Maroto in the form of collectable fascicles in the magazine *Drácula* (1972–1973).

In the summer of 1968, a new fanzine entered the scene. In its first issue, a brief piece by Gasca, ‘De “Cuto” a “Bang”’, welcomed its ‘hermano pequeño madrileno’ [smaller brother from Madrid] and endorsed the enterprise led by Martín and Lara to address the ‘carencia de estudios concienzudos que aporten nuevas luces sobre la historia y las implicaciones de este medio de comunicación’ [lack of diligent studies that can shed new light on the history and the critical implications of this medium of communication]. Martín and Lara returned the com-

55 Gasca also participated in the Primera Bienal Mundial de la Historieta in Buenos Aires organised by David Lipszyc and Oscar Masotta in 1968 and in La Premiere Convention Européenne de la Bande Dessinée celebrated in Paris the following year.
56 The convention was organised by the Istituto di Pedagogia dell’ Università di Roma, the Centro di Sociologia delle Comunicazioni di Massa and the Archivio Italiano della Stampa a Fumetti.
57 Luis Gasca, ‘La Venecia del comic se llama Lucca’ [The Venice of comics is called Lucca], *Triunfo* (15 October 1966), 69–71.
58 Francis Lacassin, ‘9ème ART, AN II’ [Ninth Art, Year II], *Giff-Wiff* 22 (1966), 1–2 (1).
pliment on the same page, acknowledging that Cuto had paved the way for the study of comics in Spain with a reference to Antonio Machado’s well-known verse ‘caminante no hay camino, se hace camino al andar’ [wayfarer, there is no way, make your way by going farther], an apt image to capture the pioneering work of this first generation of critics. Named ¡Bang! fanzine de los tebeos españoles for the first three issues (00, 0 and 1), ¡Bang! Hora actual de la historieta española (issue 2) and simply ¡Bang! (issue 3), it finally settled as Bang! información y estudios sobre la historieta as of issue 4 in January 1971, although it was popularly known as Cuadernos Bang!, it was the most ambitious and sustained attempt at providing analysis and criticism of comics with a total of fourteen issues published between 1968 and 1977 (Figure 2). The publication came out of the activities of the association GELPI (Grupo de Estudio de las Literaturas Populares y de la Imagen) – clearly modelled on the French CELEG (Centre d’études des littératures d’expression graphique), whose founding aim was to bring together Spanish specialists working on the study of popular and industrial art. Until 1972, the editors also released fifty-eight bulletins only to be distributed amongst its subscribers for free. In its two manifestations, as fanzine and bulletin, Bang! became synonymous with the language of comics.

By 1968, Martín’s and Lara’s professional credentials and connoisseurship of the medium were firmly established in the field. Both had graduated in journalism with dissertations on Spanish tebeos from the disciplinary perspectives of children’s literature and press history. While Martín, who had graduated as a ‘Técnico de Prensa Infantil’ from the Escuela Oficial de Periodismo in 1964, published his ‘notes’ on the history of the medium in Spain and contributed regularly to Gaceta de la Prensa Española and Triunfo, Lara produced a dissertation on the serial El Guerrero del Antifaz while he was attending the Escuela de Periodismo de la Iglesia in 1965. Like Gasca, Martín and Lara found in fanzines a medium through which to display and disseminate their technical knowledge and through which to connect networks of ideas, people and texts. In the opening pages of their second issue in November 1968, Martín and Lara presented themselves as cultural intermediaries and curators. With a call to arms, they appealed for the need to unite for a common cause and to establish a productive partnership between editors, contributors and readers to achieve the following:

60 Antonio Martín and Antonio Lara, ‘Caminante no hay camino, se hace camino al andar’, ¡Bang! fanzine de los tebeos españoles 0 (August 1968), 3.
61 Martín became the sole editor once he relocated to Barcelona in 1970 for professional reasons as a technical editor for the Grupo Editorial Godó.
Aficionados, collectors and scholars had in Bang! an indispensable source of information on comics. *Bang! información y estudios sobre la historieta* 4. Artwork © 1971, reproduced with the kind permission of Antonio Martín.
ediciones especiales de todas las páginas míticas de las que todos hablan sin casi conocerlas, noticias de última hora, estudios monográficos sobre personajes y autores, diapositivas, pases privados de películas, biblioteca, originales dedicados, colecciones completas para consulta, etc., etc.

[special editions of all the classic comics that everybody talks about without really knowing them, up-to-date news, monographs on key characters and authors, slides, private screenings, free access to libraries, signed originals, complete collections to be consulted, etc., etc.]

*Bang!* aimed to reach a vast social and cultural spectrum of consumers and readers who were interested in ‘la historieta, el tebeo y el “comic”, (. . .) médicos, abogados, albañiles, dibujantes, obreros, arquitectos y electricistas, peritos y editores, sociólogos e historiadores’ [the *historieta*, the *tebeo* and ‘comics’, (. . .) doctors, lawyers, bricklayers, draughtsmen, workers, architects and electricians, qualified technicians and publishers, sociologists and historians], that is to say, those consuming culture as well as those researching culture. The aspirations and commitment of Martín and Lara extended to the circulation and distribution of *Bang!* nationwide and beyond. There was a team of correspondents in Barcelona, Madrid, Seville, San Sebastián and Valencia, and international counterparts in Belgium, Italy and Switzerland. While the first issues were only available via subscription, *Bang!* was soon being distributed in specialist libraries in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville and Valencia and made available to international aficionados for $1.50. *Bang!* announced itself as ‘una publicación de categoría internacional’ [a publication of international standing], seeking to cultivate links to contemporary comics cultures across Europe (Figure 3).

While the fanzine aspired to reach European circuits and served as a vehicle to disseminate theories and methods formulated abroad, *Bang!* remained distinctly Spanish in its allegiance to Spanish comics and artists. ‘Hemos decidido que BANG! se especialice en el tebeo y la *historieta* españoles, máxime cuanto que ya otras publicaciones se ocupan, con gran fortuna, de la producción extranjera’ [It has been our decision to specialise in Spanish *tebeos* and *historietas*, all the more so when other publications are concerned with foreign production], declared Martín.

62 Antonio Martín and Antonio Lara, ‘PUNTUALIZACIONES en torno al fanzine BANG!’ [PUNCTUALIZATIONS around the BANG! fanzine], ¡Bang! fanzine de los tebeos españoles 0 (November 1968), 3.

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Figure 3: ‘Send your subscription to Bang!, an adult publication for an adult readership’. Subscription form enclosed in issue 2 (November 1970). Reproduced with the kind permission of Antonio Martin.
and Lara in their opening issue.\textsuperscript{64} In this respect, the curatorial role played by Martín and Lara, as well as by many of their contributors, was an attempt to activate a cultural history of the medium in Spain and to initiate the construction of a canon of Spanish comics artists. Amongst the sections that formed the spine of the magazine were ‘Museo de la imagen’, ‘Museo de la historieta’ and ‘Una historieta y sus autores’. The museological disposition and the auterist methodology were certainly common practices and techniques for elevating the cultural status of comics, their producers and their critics. A comprehensive mapping of the networks and creative alliances coalescing around 	extit{Bang!} throughout its nine-year publication run would provide an indispensable counterpoint to existing literature on Spanish comics criticism by considering the synergies and the riches of fanzine production and consumption, and by reassessing the contextual significance of fanzine culture in shaping the constitution of the field.\textsuperscript{65}

The cultural and intellectual dynamics and fervour present in 	extit{Bang!}, as well as in the popular scholarship discussed here, is arguably best reflected through Raymond Williams’s concept of the ‘structure of feeling’,\textsuperscript{66} whereby new formations of thought and forms of enquiry emerge alongside dominant and residual discourses. During the final decade of the dictatorship, the Spanish field of comics began to form out of a new set of critical interactions and intersections between dominant discourses grounded in press history and emerging practices informed by mass communication research, semiotics and nostalgic readings. Its constitution exceeds a simple reprise of the names of pioneering critics and the titles of a handful of publications. This article has sought to broaden the story of the constitution of the field in Spain by repositioning currents of comics criticism in relation to the critical and cultural contexts – both local and transnational – that helped shape it. Historicising the phenomenon of ‘comics’ in Spain in the late 1960s and early 1970s is important not only if one is to understand the development of

\textsuperscript{64} Antonio Martín and Antonio Lara, ‘	extit{Bang!} Presentación de un nuevo fanzine’ [\textit{Bang!} Presentation of a new fanzine], ¡	extit{Bang!} fanzine de los tebeos españoles 0 (November 1968), 2.


a local bourgeoning scene in fruitful dialogue with international traditions of comics art scholarship, but also if one is to explore further the migration of cultural theory and the encounters of networks of scholars across Europe, which, in turn, could lead to a broader remapping of contemporaneous comics cultures in Europe.

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