

Spiraling images: from circulation to the shadow adherence^a

Imagens em espiral: da circulação à aderência da sombra

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ABSTRACT

In the mediatization scenario, there is a complexification of the social relations, crossed by the media logic that convenes memories and transforms the notion of reference. In our view, mediatized images present a triple condition: a) they affect the collective and the consolidation or not of social imaginary; b) they emerge from a dispute for the attribution of value to the visible; and c) they imply the development of technical domains and appropriations. This article discusses media imaginary linked to the attack to the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine between 2015 and 2018. As theoretical contributions, we mobilize Warburg and Didi-Huberman, as well as the specific contributions from mediatization, especially circulation and its phagic movements.

Keywords: Mediatization, circulation, image, imaginary

RESUMO

No cenário da midiática verifica-se a complexificação das relações sociais, atravessadas por lógicas midiáticas que convocam memórias e transformam a noção de referência. Em nossa visada, as imagens midiáticas apresentam uma tripla condição: a) afetam o coletivo e a consolidação ou não de imaginários sociais; b) emergem de uma disputa pela atribuição de valor ao visível; e c) implicam o desenvolvimento de domínios técnicos e apropriações. Neste artigo discute-se o imaginário midiático vinculado ao atentado à revista *Charlie Hebdo* no período 2015-2018. Como aportes teóricos mobilizamos Warburg e Didi-Huberman, bem como os contributos específicos da midiática, em especial a circulação e seus movimentos fágicos.

Palavras-Chave: Midiatização, circulação, imagem, imaginário

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ADJUSTING FOCUS – INITIAL POINTS

IMAGE HAS NEVER been so important as it is today; images are on screens and, at the same time, images are the screens that surround us. Images are shared as representations of a not always real daily life – e.g., selfies –, or even as images of images that were made to circulate. This brings an essential challenge for communication: understanding which images and, consequently, which imaginary we put into circulation. When we refer to image here, we are dealing with two central aspects: its materiality and its immateriality¹; the second aspect seems decisive for us to understand the first and, therefore, its inscriptions in the media space. From the perspective of this article, the media imaginary is composed by a set of images presented and re-presented in media, but that, beyond its characteristic as representation, now constitutes or summons a set of images and interior relations that allow us to establish meanings.

¹The perspective on material and immaterial images can be found in many authors, from Martine Joly (2002) to Hans Belting (2004). The material image is that with representation character, a photograph, a video, a drawing. The immaterial is the one we activate with our eyes closed, which involves our imaginative capacity and individual iconographic repertoire.

The meaning, in turn, is what is at stake in the circulation process, always being the result of productions and co-creations. It is the result of the action of the mind; thus, always the product of lags and dissonances since a single meaning cannot be defined. By placing ourselves in the ambiance of mediatization (Gomes, 2017) – a continually developing process that extends far beyond being in the media –, we consider images as a starting point since they are an integral part of culture while fostering cultural operations that we install within society. If mediatization implies social affection by media logic, we can state that mediatized images have a triple condition: a) they affect the collective, mobilizing the production of meaning and the consolidation or not of a social imaginary; b) they emerge from a dispute for the attribution of value to the visible; and c) they imply the development of technical domains and appropriations not previously necessary, but which in the space of mediatization are consolidated by the conditions of access to the apparatus. In this scenario we come across new ways of thinking, seeing, producing, and sharing images. We put three questions: what mediatized images are these? How do they affect us and how do we affect them? And yet: what social imaginary emerges from what transits in the media imagination?

We thus assume that the images inserted in the circulation process, whether by journalistic institutions or social actors, have a long exposure time. That is, they are no longer the references of the events but the synthesis-images that last beyond the life of the events to which they refer to. Thus, by phagia movements (Rosa, 2016a) – therefore, of consumption –, circulation is configured in a value relation in which the visible is defined in dispute, even when the visibility implies invisibilities and shadings; that is, images that adhere even in their absence.

This article aims to discuss the circulation of images, especially those linked to the attack on the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine in 2015, which transits the media imaginary even three years after the fact. For such, we propose a path that starts from the constitution of the studied case to later activate the theoretical foundations and the analysis of circulation.

THE CHARLIE HEBDO CASE – BETWEEN THE PHAGIC CIRCULATION AND THE SHADOW IMAGES

The focus of this article is not on photography itself or its technical aspects, but on the process of circulating images related to the terrorist attack that took place in 2015. This article considers which devouring movements have already been recorded and how such consumptions affect the images currently circulating, three years after the initial event. The case of this work is configured from the production/circulation of reports and images – especially photographs and cartoons – linked to the attack to the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine editorial building on January 7, 2015. Supposedly in protest to the publication of cartoons against Islam or the Arab world², the attack resulted in the deaths of twelve people, including some of the magazine's top staff. The target, however, was not only the magazine but France itself, which reacted to terrorism and the attack on freedom of expression. The journalistic coverage emphasized the narrative of what was called the “attack” and its impacts. Considering the mediatization process, we acknowledge here that the canonical media³ was not the sole responsible for covering and circulating the meanings of the event, but that the social actors played a decisive role, whether by engaging in the “*Je suis Charlie*” manifestation (I'm Charlie) via social networks, by changing Facebook profile images, via street protests and vigils around the world, and by creating new images like cartoons and photographs.

Given that this was a terrorist attack, the overlap with the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States in the collective imaginary led journalistic media institutions to provide minute-by-minute coverage of the developments and impacts of the action as soon as they became aware of the event. Unlike what occurred in the United States, this coverage could not be visually described or presented since it was not the destruction of a symbol building, but the attempt to silence press professionals who defended critique and freedom. In other words, the images produced from the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, while seeking to constitute a representation, did not have the character of the momentary record since the access to the scene of the attack and

²In 2011, the magazine had already suffered an attack when it published satirical cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad on the cover of the edition.

³In this text, we adopt the expression “canonical media” to refer to the traditional media, which has as its essence the production of news, but which have a link to rules and systems of large groups and corporations. The term was developed by Bruno Vinholo (2016) in his master's dissertation and adopted within the scope of the Mediatization and Social Processes research line of the Graduate Program in Communication Sciences at Unisinos, where the author of this article acts as a professor and researcher.

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its execution was different from the one seen in 2001. The murders took place inside the newsroom, thus being impossible to relive the moment because the first images already told the result of the action (bodies, injured subjects, police action). On September 11, the attack occurred in front of our eyes, not only of those present but of those who watched television and cell phone recordings, resulting in a recurrence. Moreover, we should note that the Twin Towers had a high degree of recognition and, therefore, identification. The images of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack do not allow a clear distinction between pictures of other attacks. This implies that the images of the invaded newsroom building, the removal of victims (Figure 1) or the police cordon were not sufficiently adherent to the point of being figurative of the attack, despite being extensively used.



Figure 1. The removal of victims was a recurring photograph but unable to scale the attack (<https://glo.bo/2ux3KP4>).

In this sense, the images of social mobilization highlighted with the slogan “*Je suis Charlie*” (Figure 2), were popularly taken as soon as the website of the French magazine started to publish the phrase in different languages. The commotion was worldwide, to the point of inspiring demonstrations in several countries, including Brazil (Figure 3). The slogan however became a social outcry against terrorism on the one hand, and one against the censorship of freedom of expression, on the other.



Figure 2. Charlie Hebdo magazine website image hours after the attack (<https://bit.ly/2FIgusL>).



Figure 3. Manifestations in Rio de Janeiro (<https://glo.bo/2TIYT7X>).

Dozens of images of the manifestations and demonstrations were recorded; however, the strongest photograph of the event – in plastic and meaning terms – was first published in the newspaper *Le Monde* and then reproduced. This is the only image from the inside of the newsroom after the event. Published on January 8, 2015, the photograph (Figure 4) is preceded by the headline “Charlie Hebdo Attack: You are going to pay for insulting the Prophet”. The phrase was supposedly said by one of the shooters, but when turned into a headline, such phrase updates the crime scene, allowing the reoccurrence of the fact with the difference that the reader is now placed as a crime spectator, as if the trail of blood could be followed. Also, the threatening emphasis of the phrase generates a social affectation that goes beyond the *Charlie* attack but generates an attack to the West, which somehow anticipates the actions of Islamophobia⁴ present in subsequent attacks, such as the London one in 2017.

⁴We refer here to the Westminster attack, in which a young Afghan woman was criticized on social networks despite no involvement in the fact. The Muslim woman is now persecuted for her religious orientation and identified as a threat. More on the case in Prass & Rosa (2017).

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Attentat à « Charlie Hebdo » : « Vous allez payer car vous avez insulté le Prophète »

« Le Monde » a reconstitué les quelques minutes de la tuerie qui a fait douze morts à « Charlie Hebdo ».

Par Soren Seelow · Publié le 08 Janvier 2015 à 09h52 - Mis à jour le 19 août 2019 à 13h52

🕒 Lecture 10 min.



Les bureaux de « Charlie Hebdo », après la tuerie, le 7 janvier. DR

Figure 4. The single crime scene image published in *Le Monde* (<https://bit.ly/2OxkGOF>).

Beyond the photographs, the attack was also marked by the response of cartoonists and social actors who shared tensioning images of the fact on social networks. Some explicitly linked the 2015 attack with the 2001 attack (Figure 5), as did the Dutch cartoonist Ruben L. Oppenheimer.

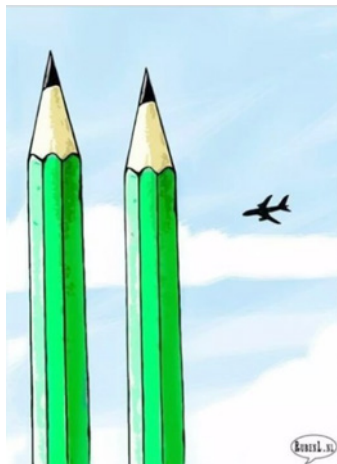


Figure 5. Dutch cartoon honors the French magazine (<https://bit.ly/2T8VPD4>).

Consequently, there are important movements in the 2015 coverage: 1) although widely explored to represent the attack, the register pictures lost strength over the days due to their incapacity to represent what happened. The scenes of the victims and the police provided an account of the situation but not of its dimension; 2) the action of social actors was rapid, as if they were assuming a cause to defend, in such a way that social network websites were widely used to mobilize street manifestations and promote a synchronicity of ideological positioning, since people from the most varied Western countries took the banner of freedom of expression against the extremist stance of Islam; 3) an intense process of media circulation of images caused phagia and multiple replications in several devices; 4) cartoons emerged as alternative images that tried to attribute meaning to the event, either by linking it to other attacks or by consolidating the enemy to fight in the social imaginary. Finally, but not least, 5) the adherence of the word attack⁵ to a previous image, that of the attack on the Twin Towers, which resurfaces even in its absence.

Three years after the French satirist's writing attempt, the covers follow a reminder-oriented calendar-time⁶, but with apparently different meanings at stake. For example, in Brazilian canonical media we can see a kind of unison in 2018 since the main magazines and newspapers published the text distributed by *Agence France-Presse* (AFP), which emphasizes that the magazine is weaker. With the headline "Three years later, *Charlie Hebdo* is no longer the same"⁷, the image that appears is not that of controversy or the defense of free speech, but of the magazine's economic weakening and resistance. The illustration accompanying the story is the cover of *Charlie Hebdo's* magazine for the three years of the attack but not in its content (Figure 6). Some publications have opted for *Reuters*, and in this case, the headlines of magazines and search engines have turned to address the presence of the current French president in tributes, highlighting only the information that France remembers the victims.

In contrast, *Le Monde* and other international media provided wide coverage, reconstructing the assault, making 2015 image banks available, and naming cartoonists and reporters as martyrs. However, the synthesis image of the three years is divided between the tribute paid by the current president of France in a formal ceremony, and the cover of the previously mentioned *Charlie Hebdo* magazine. Interestingly, *Le Monde*, for example, brings to the Brazilian media excerpts from the editorial letter of current editor-in-chief of the magazine, but with different contexts from the AFP agency's reading. This implies that what has been valued by the news agency – and by the newspapers reproducing its content – is a single

⁵This discussion about the word "attack" was developed in a previous article, published in the *Famecos Journal* (Rosa, 2015).

⁶An expression coined by Harry Pross (1980) to designate calendar rituals such as those developed by the press, which every year reproduces certain practices and logics to maintain social synchronization, such as milestone dates like the three years of the attack.

⁷In the original: "Trois-ans-apres-toujours-charlie-Charlie n'est plus le même". This and other translations were made by the author.

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aspect of journalist Francisco Nicolino's outburst that even questions "where are the 'Je suis Charlie'?" A social actor movement was organized with the expression "Toujours Charlie" (Always Charlie), but with a more political and convention character than an explicitly worldwide manifesto. Would the pain and the anti-terror flag have become only European, or can the advancing years erase previous images and meanings? Our understanding is that for both questions, the answer is 'no'; however, in this article we must consider that the symbolic image goes beyond the representation-image. This leads us to reflect to what extent would the image of the attack, the victims, or even the newsroom need to be reinserted into circulation? To what extent does its presence not appear as the shadow, i.e., it triggers an imaginary that does not present itself as an image since it is already accessible in our iconographic repertoire? We thus see without seeing. The idea of shadow image links to the perception of the existence of established pictures in the collective imaginary, to the point that even when absent, they resurface in our memory in a ghostly manner.

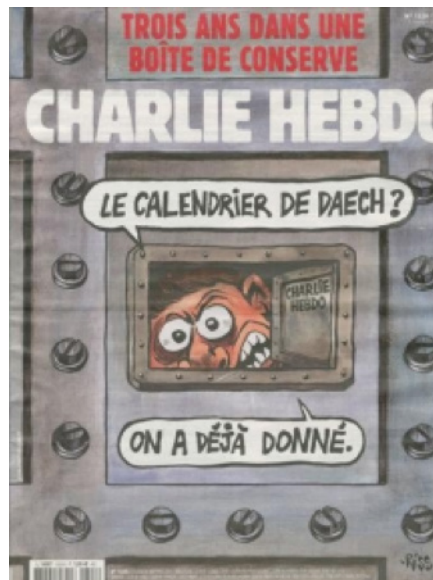


Figure 6. 2018 Publication Cover – “Three years in a tin can. The calendar of the Islamic State? We have already given.” (<https://bit.ly/2UoeoXj>).

⁸ In this article, we adopted a case building methodology that has been organized and discussed within the scope of the PPG in Communication Sciences, at Unisinos. This is a perspective under development by researchers such as Ferreira (2012), Rosa (2015) and students of the research line of Mediatization and Social Processes, based on the idea that prior to the theoretical framework, it is indispensable to constitute an observation field that allows the approximation of the empirical.

Our field of observation is thus intensified. The configuration of the case⁸ is not one or another photographic image, but “the” image that transits from 2015 to the present moment. When we think or recall the attack on the French magazine, what media and social imaginary do we summon? We can see that images are not detached from the headlines or from the contexts in

which they were inserted; even when social actors put them in circulation questioning the views of traditional media. Thus, after the presentation of this set of images and events, we can delimit the research case. We reiterate that we do not deal with the record-image of the attack only, but with the image that remains in circulation valued in media “*dispositifs*”, even when only mentioned. We thus observe some central aspects between the journalistic and media coverage during these three years: a) the images recording the fact cease to appear, we believe that this is due to their low referentiality; b) the logic of intra- and inter-media circulation changed over the years, implying a reduction in the presentification of the material image or representation; c) the cover of the special edition of the magazine itself, in 2018, becomes a criterion of news and image synthesis since the new cartoon is created as a new fact; and d) the image as phantasmagoria or shadow is consolidated in the maintenance of the enemy to fight, reiterating a process started in 2001 and ratified in the subsequent attacks. We must also note that e) the lags in meaning strengthen in circulation along with the intervals, as news agencies, social actors, and the international press update different angles of approach. These updates via circulation lead to the debate about images and their multiple consumptions; therefore, their fixation potentiality, as well as the afterlife of images concerning their forms of contact.

EXPOSURE TIME: CIRCULATION OF THE ATTACK AND THE INTERVALS

The concept of circulation is crucial to think about the exposure time and, thus, the duration of the image of the Charlie Hebdo attack over time. On the one hand, because circulation is currently one of the most precious concepts for the discussion of mediatization – especially the one developed in Latin America, a kind of theoretical heritage of Eliseo Verón, who died in 2014. On the other, because although it is not a new expression, the importance of this concept expands in the communicational phenomenon, mainly through the advent of networks and the internet. This is because the relationship between logic or grammars of production and recognition (Verón, 2004, 2013) intersect and have ascending and descending orders, which we did not see until the mid-1990s. With this, the space – temporal and of action – between production and recognition, termed for many years as a kind of gap or hiatus, becomes an operative instance of communication since meaning is produced not by one process link or another, but in dispute, on contact.



When we talk of circulation as space, we are not referring to the media, although circulation has its tip visible precisely in media “*dispositifs*”. To recover circulation however, we must go deeper than simply identifying what emerges; we must recover the tracks. In this regard, the notion of circulation we use here aims to this invisible moment that can be reconstituted by the tracks of material aspects and that enables us to understand the dynamics of meaning. In terms of images, circulation demands the observation of their inscriptions and absences in multi “*dispositifs*” of multiple actors. We understand that, in the context of mediatization, we produce and think images for circulation, that is, there is no fact as a trampling, a social action, an attack that does not turn into a media event and an image. We have reached the point where we have suicides being broadcast on Facebook or robberies filmed by the injured victims themselves, indicating that the image is not a record but the condensation of the world, the visual metaphor of what we are unable to translate. In the mediatization scenario, this means that an image is not the document that attests an event but the fact per se, an autonomic event. The image reflects the pains and reveals the social ills, which no longer fight each other only at the political or police level, but in and for circulation itself. By placing images of suicide or a crime occurring in front of our eyes, the place of action is no longer a tangible physical space, but it is shifted to circulation, where the conditions of visibility and affectation are more substantial.

However, images put into circulation – thus, produced to give visibility and to be visible – are not always images produced by those who put them in the flow (Braga, 2012); often, on the contrary, they are the result of appropriations, reworkings, and elaborations. Such movements imply new meanings in progress or the maintenance of shadows that engage the process of circulation and, inevitably, of circularity⁹. The aspect of shading will be discussed in this article later.

Circulation is the result of an intense interactional game that takes place from the notion of contacts and hybridizations. Fausto Neto (2013) emphasizes that technology enables the shortening of distances since the production-reception poles can no longer be thought of unless as contacts. Each contact or linkage demands a meaning-making effort, that is, the image record of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack published in canonical media is linked to the publications and actions generated on Facebook, and to new cartoonist productions on their “*dispositifs*”. In other words, there is a chain of productions, co-productions, appropriations, and attribution of new meanings that carry meaning forward through circuits. For Braga (2012),

⁹There is an essential difference between circulation and circularity. Circulation focuses on interactional processes, which implies new layers of meaning and interactions. In circularity, we have objects that are effectively repeated, appear, reappear, and settle. Circularity involves the process of looking, as Flusser (2002) indicates, about scanning. In our analysis case we have a circularity of time and of images over time.

the rhythms of circulation are modulated by various possible articulations between the tactics of instantaneity that seek to shorten the time of access and circulation; and the collection tactics, focused on permanence and recovery. The fact that the developing circuits have a signed tendency to 'traverse' established social fields – even when the point of origin of a circuit is one, such as the educational – leads to a kind of 'recontextualization'. The customary references are displaced or complemented by less usual references – causing the developing circuits themselves to elaborate and clarify the contexts required to attribute meaning to the products and talks that circulate. (p. 49, emphasis added by the original author)

We must note that in mediatization, the continuous creation and co-creation of circuits is a mark, regardless if such circuits are developed in the media sphere or outside it, as a reverberation of their themes. In this sense, it is interesting to think that circulation is not restricted to products that circulate or develop potential for circularity (back and forth); circulation also occurs in the struggle for the production of meaning that takes place within media *dispositifs*. Images that make up our field of observation can be understood as agents of interactional circuits because with each new publication, there are repercussions, reworkings and diverse interpretations, resulting in tensions, ratifications or erasure of the image's strength. We thus support the theoretical hypothesis that circulation is constituted as a value attribution relationship (Rosa, 2016b). This is verifiable in the very creation of the circuits because only the images perceived and considered as relevant remain in circulation, demonstrating that such images receive value or are enhanced with each new insertion. This partially explains why some images disappear despite being available for access.

In our view, it is the force of expression of specific images that, the more rewritten in circulation, the more they develop a fixative power. However, what about images that are no longer registered and still present? In this case, we must turn our attention to the idea of circulation and not to the material product, i.e., the photograph or a video. If we recover the circulation notion as the space between production and recognition – as the work in this space-time for the production of meaning –, we will realize that material images cease to be recorded¹⁰ when immaterial ones gain strength and acquire the condition of circulating as decals or emblems, when images integrate the imagination and thus become self-ruling (Baitello Junior, 2005). When we talk about the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, we no longer need to see the bodies or the weapons, because we are well aware about the event as if it had never strayed from our retinas.

¹⁰Often, they will only stop being recorded after a continuous process of submission, replication, and reworking.



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In this sense, we consider that both discourses – the critical, “*Charlie Hebdo*: The Victory of the Islamic State”, headline by *O Antagonista* on January 3, 2018; and the adhesive, “*Toujours Charlie*”, organized by a social movement in France – endorse the first image, even when resumed in 2018 to contextualize the financial situation of the magazine three years past the episode. This path between “appearance-valorization in interactions-reiteration-reappearance” raises a process of autonomization of the image concerning the event, since the remissions made are focused more on the imaginary strength than on the fact itself.

Thus, it is not the attacks per se, nor the West-East ideological conflicts, but the transformation of images valued in circulation into decals or totem images (Rosa, 2012). The concept of totem images, anchored in Cassirer’s (2004) and Durkheim’s (1996) formulations, refers to images that summon a deep social bond, thus activating a collective imaginary. However, the central difference of the totem image is that it implies restrictions on the access to new or diverse images and to interpretation itself, since the first images become a kind of barrier that prevents their exclusion or questioning. In this case, the restrictive images are precisely those produced in an apparently free manner – e.g., cartoons –, although arising a type of thread that connects all the attacks, past and future, with the duality of the image of good and evil.

Totem images are evident in the circulation process, especially from the phagia movements that occur within intra- and inter-media circulation (Ferreira; Rosa, 2011). We understand as intra-media circulation the one that happens inside the “*dispositif*”, e.g., the repercussions, comments, and interactions that take place internally. In contrast, inter-media circulation runs through the multi “*dispositifs*”; thus, it contains intra-media circulation, but it is exasperated in other – often alternative – circuits. The *Charlie Hebdo* image is not only circulated in the own edition of the magazine and in its related medium but it spreads in diverse and diffuse places, leading us to consider that the image itself, the immaterial, is not only the result of the inscriptions in circulation, but of the value attributions made over time, which allow its permanence in circuits.

The idea of permanence dialogues directly with the circulation movements identified by Rosa (2016a). When referring to social phagia¹¹, the author turns her attention to the act of swallowing performed by social actors, who consume the available images to then expel them in circulation in the form of more – or the same – images. In a complementary sense, the media phagia is established when journalistic institutions retake the image expelled by social actors and cover it with new meanings, those of the rules of journalism. That is, one phagia leads to another, one consumption originates other consumptions; endless

¹¹The conceptual basis for the discussion of phagia and devouring movements lies in Flusser, especially in his book *The History of the Devil* (2006).

and especially unpredictable flows since its control exceeds the grammar of production, becoming dependent on the grammar of recognition that manifests itself in interactions. Micael Behs (2017) presents a complementary proposition and suggests the idea of intra-media phagia, i.e., when media starts to consume itself. In this case, we realize that, in 2015, there is a devouring movement of images of the attack, cartoons and pictures of victims by the social actors and journalistic institutions, all ingested in a process of continuous feedback. In 2018, however, we observed that the intervals marked by the ritual calendar indicate a decrease in social phagia and an intensification of intra-media phagia; that is, the subject remains on the agenda but the devoured is no longer the central target of new devourings because the image has already devoured every one.

Thus, to understand the transformation of society and the circulation operations moved by both actors and journalistic media institutions, we turn to consider: 1) circulation as a relation of value attribution; 2) that such relationship links to the capacity of proliferation and material or immaterial permanence of determined images in the media imaginary; and 3) that the relationship generates multiple consumptions or phagias.

LACK OF IMAGE VERSUS PRESENTNESS AS A SHADOW

From the concept of circulation and recovering our core issues, we start to ponder about the image per se and its presentness character. Our purpose is to reflect on the social imaginary emerging from what transits within the media imaginary. This is certainly a highly complex task but one from which we can already identify some nuances. Something to consider at first is that mediatization implies the complexification of social relationships, and, consequently, of the production of meaning. When we think of the image that circulates in various media *dispositifs* – from social actors or journalistic institutions –, we are reminded of the repetition of determined photographs and videos, even when used to tension the event that originated it. However, the repetition of the material image does not allow us to infer that we are ensuring its maintenance in the imaginary for this reason alone. Replication and proliferation certainly result in longer exposure time; however, the immaterial image concretizes itself even in the absence of image representation, considering that this is often not even possible.

Although aware of the importance of perspectives anchored in the studies of the imaginary, mainly from Gilbert Durand (1993) and Ana Taís Portanova Barros (2010), we chose to treat the imaginary in the wake of Hans Belting (2004),



arguing that the imaginary is fueled by exogenous, external, and endogenous images that involve our action upon them. We also corroborate Kamper's (2002) view of the orbit of the imaginary. In this sense, Maurício Ribeiro da Silva (2012) emphasizes that Kamper's definition of imaginary "must be understood from exogenous images constituted *a priori*; that is, without establishing a symbolically grounded link with those that orbit around it" (p. 65). The author's reading points to the symbolic emptying of images and their consumption. Our proposition does not focus on the emptying per se but on how exterior images engage in contact with the inner ones via the movements of phagia and circulation, therefore, by consumption; or by the ability to arouse previous images, older than humanity itself and that constitute it regardless.

Our work focuses on the production of interactional circuits that put the images in a forward flow, in what Rosa (2017) calls a double movement: the extension of the imaginary¹² out of the body, to, then, retract it, fueling it with already seen images. These circuits are based on remembrance since the flows are made up of repeated and autonomic images, but images that can settle as a kind of shadow. That is, its presence is starred in its absence. The idea of shadow seems essential to us. In the studied case, the shadow manifests when the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* gains temporal distance but is updated by its shadow image since the absence of the material picture does not eliminate the presence of the image that integrates our memory. We must note, however, that even the original image has survived over three years, it is no longer the same in its entirety. Kamper (2016, p. 102) clarifies that neither the original nor the copy can be perpetuated without transformations of meaning. This is latent in circulation as the original and the copy – or the appropriation – are resignified via new layers of meaning, context displacement and the very uses. Thus, the image is perpetuated, but not unscathed by the *affectations* of circulation.

The installation of the image as a shadow is more easily verified when we can follow – or retrieve – the circulation intervals of inscriptions. For Warburg (2015), the iconology of the intervals does not lie in the meaning of the figures, but on the relationships such figures maintain with each other, lasting beyond time. Moving on to our approach to mediatization, we can consider that images nowadays are potentially prolonged¹³. Gaps acquire greater relevance when we think of how technology creates memory chests containing endless files of things seemingly missing from our sight. For example, we may take resurgent images – often linked to new contexts – to explain phenomena or satirize situations. However, we generally focus on what appears rather than on the perceptible relationships between photographs, videos, artwork, and images rooted in culture. This is the aspect that interests us in our investigation.

¹²We understand the imaginary in the sense of Gilbert Durand (1993), i.e., as an individual iconographic repertoire supplied with interior images – never materialized and represented – and exterior images, such as the photographic ones. Kamper (2016) discusses an orbit of the imaginary, referring to the ruins of humanity – from religion to technique –, that result in a "post-historical cauldron of strategies linked to reality and appearance" (p. 116).

¹³It is important to emphasize that this potential extension of images does not mean the end of its emptying. They can remain in circulation but not always the perpetuating images continue carrying symbols, they often become a sort of trivializing residue.

Michaud (2013), referring to Warburg's picture album *Atlas Mnemosyne*, points out that this is "the place where it is possible to return to archaic figures settled in modern culture, the original expressive energy and where resurgence can take shape." (p. 296). We also identified a resurgence in the *Charlie Hebdo* case, not only of the images produced in 2015 but of others that dealt with the attacks, the conflicts between the West and East, or in opposition to the Islamic State. One of them is the cover cartoon of the January 2018 issue of the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine, which allows us to see the shadows of previous images through, while also linking it to other precedents. This means that we are immersed in discontinuous sequences, in time intervals that result not only in erasures but in power images – in spiraling images, since such pictures can cyclically appear, reappear and activate circulation, even when the evocation is just a headline or image caption. We must note that journalism is not responsible evoking or managing intervals, it is society itself that summons images already seen, images with deep bonds. If, for Warburg (2015), the iconology of intervals implied a kind of phantasmagoria, how to think of the absent presence of an image unless as a shadow? It is worth remembering, however, that everything that receives a valuation – especially images – generates a non-value over time. Thus, by valuing a shadow image at intervals, we prevent the brightness from reaching other images, including several material pictures.

A concept by Didi-Huberman (1997) about what he calls contact images is interesting for our discussion here. These are images that touch something and then someone.

Touching to see or, on the contrary, touching to no longer see; seeing to no longer touch or, on the contrary, seeing to touch. Images that are too close. Adherent images. Image obstacles, but obstacles that make things appear. Images coupled to each other, indeed even. (p. 1)

Images of an absent presence do nothing but touch and adhere to us, and, at the same time, engage in other pictures and texts. These are "shadow-shaped" images that demand a prolongation, an expansion of the exposure time, something very favorable in the scenario of mediatization by the forward circuits. In the case of the images of the attack at the French satirical magazine, the optical adherence is not on the outline, on our sense of tactility and concreteness, but it is on the sensation of our vision having touched the objects, that we have been there, that we have integrated the same horror. Our physical senses are affected far beyond the visual. In summary,

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Didi-Huberman (1997) states that: “contact images? A slight trembling from front to back. A dialectical groping of the hand that seeks to see and the eye that seeks to touch” (p. 5). What our hand seeks to see, in the face of media imagery, is what our eyes already seem to touch even when there is nothing to be seen except the shadow.

The shadow of the January 2015 attack – which carries with it the London, Madrid and New York attacks – becomes *presentable* to the eye in three creative moments developed by the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine, which, as a target, becomes a contact zone. In 2016, on the first anniversary of the incident, the French publication brought as its cover (Figure 7):



Figure 7. The headline of the publication reads: “A year later: The killer is still loose” (<https://bit.ly/2OxCuZW>).

We must note that the cartoon that integrates the entire cover is authored by Laurent Riss, then editor of the magazine and one of the survivors of the attack the figure depicted is a Muslim man, identified by his clothing, armed, and with blood on his hands. By mentioning that the killers are loose, readers are directly led to recover the images of the attack, the victims, and the bloodshed in their memories. There is no need for the images recorded to return to the scene since they are still present. However, in 2017, the publication contacts us or tries to create the bond, from the onset “Finally, the end of the tunnel” (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Cover of the 2017 Special Edition, two years later (<https://bit.ly/2TGfb1d>).

The tunnel, however, is the figuration of a Muslim’s gun barrel that targets a Westerner’s head. That is, after two years, the end of the tunnel seems even dimmer than in 2015 because the pressures and conflicts are not over. The shadow is already present in this cover. There is no need to say who was hit or remember the events in the newsroom; the cartoon already turns them tactile again. Moreover, the left-right axis adopted in the construction of the cover places the Western – the target – exactly in the place of the reader, since we read the image in the pointed direction. This implies the activation of the shadow because the conflicts experienced, since 2001, resurface or remain coupled when we see this image. And finally, in 2018 (Figure 9), the circulation in the intervals, due to the calendar rites, brings to light the notion of total fret, no longer of the flag of liberty, but of the prison system imposed on society.



Figure 9. The image of the transformation of the world into canning can (<https://bit.ly/2UfWfdV>).

Thus, it means that the reading from the AFP news agency that the magazine is no longer the same is not completely wrong. But not being the same is not just about the economic and political issues capable of decreeing the victory of the Islamic State. Via cyclical movements of distancing, devouring and contacting – which are crystallized as events –, the special editions of French publication reinforce that terror still prevails, perhaps now stronger due to social demobilization. It reinforces that lives were already given, remaining only to keep feeling the effects of the terrorist actions, even those that we no longer ever want to remember. The shadow of the attack is present in the discourse, either in manifest form or in the reiteration that nothing has changed despite the passing of the years. The image-representation of the affected newsroom now hovers over the metaphorical images of the event. Thus, it is understood that the image-representation may disappear as a photograph or video, but it installs itself as a double in the word ‘attack’. There is no need to *revive* in images the terrorist action because it remains alive in the media and social imaginary as a shadow image that circulates.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

From the understanding that circulation is endless, we can consider the material images produced and published in the media as having a central role in defining the visible. Not for translating the world on their own, nor

because they are image-representations or metaphorical images, but because they settle in the social fabric, being constituents of collective practices. Among these practices, we highlight the appropriation for replication in social actors “*dispositifs*”, co-creation through cartoons, gifs, and memes, and the practice of archiving or memorization. Such activities only occur due to the cultural broth in which we are immersed, mediatization. This does not mean the use of the term mediatization for designating the act of being in the media, we use it because current society acts through media and, as Braga (2006, p. 40) points out, not just “suffers media.” That is, the processes of social reaction – interaction – occur both in extra media spaces and within them. The central difference is that production and recognition are no longer asymmetric in terms of speech conditions. However, this does not offer any guarantee of equality in the production of meanings; on the contrary, it assures the amplification of the complexity of the contacts between production and recognition, which not only intersect but get confused.

When thinking about such contacts in relation to images, we come to realize that materials – e.g., photographs and videos – can be created to be put into circulation, developing circularity strategies (Klein; Rosa, 2006), coming and going over the years, being repeated and expelled in the flow by phagia movements of both social actors and media institutions. However, the capacity of fixation or permanence of these images is not in the number of times they appear stamping covers of newspapers, blogs, and magazines. We verify this capacity when, before their complete absence, they appear as spectra or shadows that enable, on the one hand, the remembrance – thus, activating a distant past and using our inner framework – and, on the other, the link between the media imaginary and the collective in a tentative¹⁴ merger effort. Therefore, the immaterial image acquires more strength because it touches us in such a way that, as Didi-Huberman (1997) points out, it becomes an obstacle image. How to transpose them?

This article takes on the perspective that mediatization is essentially the complexification of social relationships and, consequently, of the production of derived meaning. If, on the one hand, social actors rise to the media through their productions, on the other, the canonical media seeks to make a kind of seal of the visible, resulting in a dispute for what should be seen. The assumption we make here is that photographs and videos summon deep structures of the social, activating the interior images already consolidated in the social. When presented in the circulatory landscape and undergoing a valorization process, these images become autonomic, constituting themselves in the events. It implies that the reference becomes the socialized image. In the case analyzed

¹⁴Tentative because, in the context of mediatization, both circuits and operations and practices are attempts, so they are not always repeatable. Since being an interactional work, contacts are always tentative or experimental. This may be the central difference for concepts such as the agenda-setting, where there was a certainty of its medium- or long-term effect. Being tentative, here, means that there are no certainties, but attempts.

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in this article, although we do not have a symbolic image of the attack at the magazine's newsroom in the interval between 2015 and 2018, we can see that the attack became socialized. We no longer refer only to January 7, 2015, but to the subsequent attacks. They are all tied, pegged.

We must thus stress that an image does not die together with the fact to which it refers. Since such image is anchored in cultural codes, conventions, and, above all, social operations, it tends to linger, albeit tentatively, as it remains or resurfaces in circulation. However, this image is not free of modifications, especially of meaning. The posthumous life of an image is precisely in its ability to transform into new flows and, consequently, to carry layers of new and old meanings. The more the image is attached to events the more permanence strength it acquires, in particular as an absent presence in a double process – we see it, but we do not touch it, we touch it, but we do not see it. Unquestionably, there is natural wear and tear of images, their figurative and symbolic emptying, a tendency to emptiness. However, this wear ends up being diminished with the interactional game, that is, the elaborations and reworkings made by both production and recognition to attribute value to the visible.

Recovering our initial questions, we have: first, what media images are these? It is difficult to define the specific type of image we are facing. We have the recorded image that quickly succumbs to the metaphor image. We have the image-representation that gives rise to the image-power drive. We have the illustrative image that gives way to the shadow image. Given so many images, we can infer that the mediatized image is a set, especially in its ability to make contact and to touch, even if we have to mobilize strategies and operations to perceive and track their circuits. Regarding the provocation of how images affect us and how we affect them, we can consider that we no longer touch images, we swallow and expel them with reduced digestion time, as Flusser (2006) pointed out, after all, digestion demands an ample and intense moment of reflection that no longer fits into our daily acceleration. Consequently, while images are technically worked, appropriated, and produced with unseen eagerness, they are the ones that affect and dominate us, stimulating the emergence of invisible but broadly perceived pictures that we call spiraling images here. Finally, what social imaginary does emerge from what transits in the media imaginary? A two-way street, the social imaginary is permeated by media imagery and vice versa. Risk is the preponderance of the latter over the deeper creative capacity of the former to organize and link the symbolic images around us.

From the analysis and reflection of our empirical case, we have two main points: 1) the issue of the loss of materiality – or corporeity in Kamper, 2016) – and its adaptation to the edges of the image; and 2) the establishment of an image as a shadow. Regarding the loss of corporeity, we can say that the iconic images may even disappear, but over the years their valorization is seen not only in their tangible form but in the configuration of meaning about the event. Concerning the establishment of the image as a shadow, it is not only the possibility of reappearance but the resumption of its features in later images. The idea of posthumous life accentuates the spectral aspect since even when the first image is not made explicit, its shadow forms spirals that remain along and beyond the intervals. Perhaps in 2019, and even on the 10th anniversary of the terrorist action against the satirical *Charlie Hebdo*, we will still be touched by what is no longer there – except as a shadow. ■

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