Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

Edited by
Allie Terry-Fritsch and Erin Felicia Labbie
with a foreword by W.J.T. Mitchell

ASHGATE

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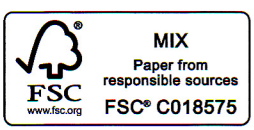
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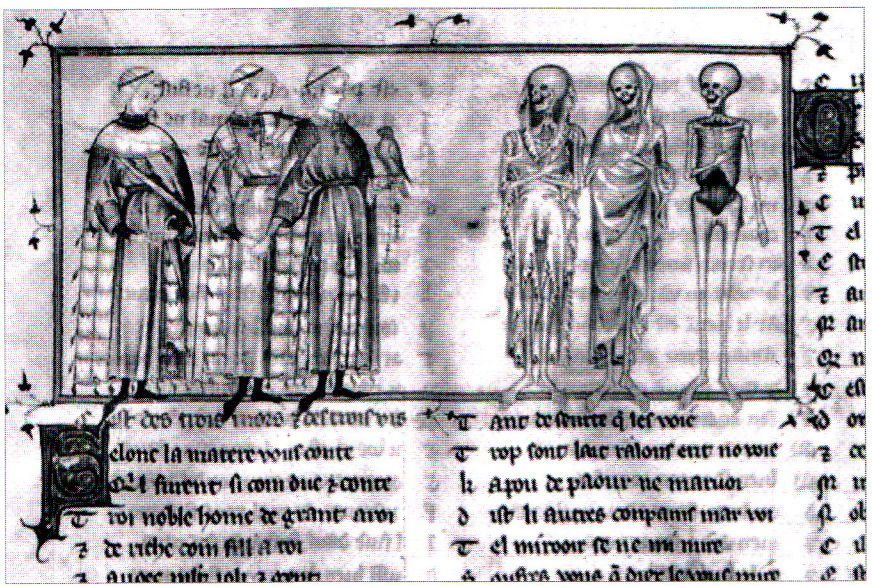
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The Gap of Death: Passive Violence in the Encounter Between the Three Dead and the Three Living*

Elina Gertsman

Among the many illustrated poems included in the late thirteenth-century manuscript, believed to have been commissioned for Marie of Brabant (1260–1321) and now conserved at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (ms. 3142), one in particular stands out.[1] Written by Baudouin de Condé and illustrated by Jean de Papeleu, "The Legend of the Three Dead and the Three Living" (fols. 311v–312r) offers the reader a didactic exemplum about the necessity of repentance in the form of a dialogue between three noblemen and three dead men (Figure 4.1).[2] Above the two columns of text, inscribed into and overlapping with the lower border of a pale green frame, the protagonists of the poem face one another, the living on the viewer's left, the corpses on the right. In this visualization of "The Legend"—usually called the Encounter



4.1 Jean de Papeleu, *The Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living* accompanying Baudouin de Condé's poem, from a literary miscellany in Old French, BNF Arsenal, ms 3142, fol. 311v, 1285–92

(Photo: BnF)

of the Three Living and the Three Dead to differentiate it from the textual tradition—the six figures find themselves within a vacant, undecorated space, appreciably different from all the other miniatures found in this literary miscellany, which feature golden backgrounds and frequently include a rudimentary setting. The emptiness in which the narrative of the Encounter unfolds is made palpably conspicuous by the gap that lies between the two groups, a portion of parchment left completely undecorated. What separates the world of the dead from the world of the living is the void, a spatial figuration rather striking in an age when the visual *horror vacui* was commonplace. The aim of this chapter is to explore this empty space as a site of anxiety and passive violence perpetrated by death upon the living world, and to posit the place of the viewer who is invited to negotiate this gap through the faculties of vision and imagination. Here, I argue, the very act of beholding interrogates and structures the meaning of the void and its attendant implication of the violent unknown.

The Encounter in its Macabre Context

The prominence of the gap that forestalls any kind of contact between the dead and the living in the Arsenal image points to the Encounter's unusual place in the visual history of high and late medieval images of death. The two themes that are closest in conception to the Encounter are the Triumph of Death and the Dance of Death, both of which sometimes accompany images of the Encounter, and both of which show death as a corporeal, tangible force.[3] Such images revel in the obvious violence perpetrated by Death who physically intervenes in the lives of mortals; there, the encounter of the two realms is rendered viscerally somatic.



4.2 *The Triumph of Death*, a part of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, BNF, ms Fr. 223, fol. 123v, late 15th century

(Photo: BnF)

The Triumph of Death, for example, is manifestly destructive, and frequently features a carcass on horseback sweeping across the world. Such a Triumph is frescoed at the Palermo Palazzo Sclafani (1445), where the emaciated Death, riding a skeletal white horse, gallops over writhing masses of men and women—minstrels, noblemen, ecclesiastics—striking them in passing.[4] Elsewhere, as in numerous illustrations of Petrarch's *Trionfi* (1304–74), Death, holding a scythe, rides an oxcart and tramples crowds of people under the wheels of its cart and the hooves of its oxen (Figure 4.2).[5]



4.3 Guyot Marchant's *Danse macabre* of 1490, detail: The Bishop and the Nobleman

(Rosenwald Collection, Incun., D 26, Goff D-21)

When mortality takes on the aspect of a personified force, the clash between the realms of life and death becomes per force emphatically somatic. This is visually formulated still more dramatically in the Dance of Death imagery, where a throng of skeletons grabs and twists the arms of the living, stepping on their feet and, in effect, mockingly and forcibly inviting them to die. In what is believed to be the earliest mural of the Dance at the Cemetery of the Holy Innocents in Paris, which today survives only in the woodcuts of Guyot Marchant, the decomposed Death appears again and again to grab its victims (Figure 4.3).[6] One by one, it encloses their wrists with its bony fingers, squeezes their arms in the crook of its elbow, and pulls the resisting men away from the glories of life and towards the abyss of death. This brand of bodily violence is also evident in the earliest Dance of Death verses, such as the Spanish *Dança general de la muerte* (ca. 1400) in which Death strikes and silences the dancers: the Lawyer loses his ability to speak just as he asks Death to blind him; the Archbishop, in his own words, is taken violently; and the Cardinal goes blind and deaf, his "members all perturbed."[7]

However, despite the thematic similarities between the Encounter and these traditions, the immediacy of death's brutality is lacking in the numerous versions of the text upon which it is based, "The Legend of the Three Dead and the Three Living." The poem is extant in five languages—French, English, German, Italian, and Latin—and falls into several types, each of which features different protagonists.[8] The dead, for example, might be referred to as former clergymen or laymen, or their identities may become obscured by their state of decomposition; the living are sometimes presented as royalty and/or noblemen, and sometimes simply as the idle rich; and the revenants are occasionally cast as the ancestors of the living. Some verses, which include a contemplative hermit, have three kings stumble upon open graves in the night; some have the living lost in the forest. The living may arrive on foot or horseback; the dead might greet them standing up or prone from their tombs. Although the details vary tremendously, one thing that remains constant is the clear juxtaposition of the world of the young men and the realm of death, of the wholesomeness of the hunters and the physical degradation of the corpses, and of the emotional weariness of the dead and the utter shock experienced by the living.

This is evident in Baudouin's poem, one of the five versions of the "Legend" written in French.[9] There, the affluent men ("troi noble homme de grant arroi") are unmistakably contrasted with the three worm-eaten disgusting corpses ("troi mort de vers mengié/Lait et desfiguré"). The disfigurement of the macabre apparition affects the noblemen to the utmost degree: the first man, after noting the hideousness of the dead ("mors l'a/Fait lait et hideus pour veoir"), flees; another, in apparent stupefaction, looks at the decomposed corpse who has nothing left but bones ("Li plus carnus n'est mais que d'os"), and enumerates the corpse's missing parts: legs, arms, hands, stomach, mouth, nose. Only one man attempts to learn a lesson from this Encounter: he sees it as a mirror shown to them by God ("mireoir ... Diex le vous mire"). For the corpses, the Encounter is an opportunity to wax didactic: one corpse points out, famously, that the three dead men used to be as beautiful as the three living now are, and that the living will certainly become as dead as the corpses they see before them ("voiiés quel sommes,/Tel serés vous et tel, comme ore/Estes, fumes"); the second expounds on the equalizing force of death, and invokes Adam and the apple that brought death into the world ("Car de son mors vint nostre mors"); and the third tells of death as an inevitable thing, and exhorts the living to do good deeds and pray to God for the dead ("Priiés pour nous au Patre nostre"). The moral of the story is clearly expressed in the words of the first corpse who claims that God made them appear to the living to ensure that they lead a proper life: "Diex nous a vous apparus,/Pour ce que vous metons a voie/De bien."

The Space of the Encounter

The requisite expressions of shock aside, the confrontation of the two realms is surprisingly sedate, and this overall atmosphere of calm is clearly visualized in the majority of the images of the Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living. The Encounter made its first appearance as early as the thirteenth century, and became popularized in a variety of media: stained glass, sculpture, illuminated books, prints, and large-scale paintings, located in sacred and secular locales throughout Europe.[10] The painted images generally inscribe the meeting between the dead and the living in one of two settings. Images in earlier illuminated manuscripts—such as the famous Encounter from the Psalter Hours of Robert DeLisle—place the protagonists against a simplified, abstracted background, which, as Ashby Kinch astutely argues, "excavates the image from a narrative context" and thereby "dehistoricizes the encounter, by taking it out of the socio-political and into the aesthetico-religious."[11] Later manuscripts, as a rule, set the macabre conversation in a forest or a cemetery: so, on folio 282 of the *Petites heures de Jean de Berry* (Ms lat. 18014, ca. 1385–1390), the three men, dressed to the nines, crowd at the edge of the miniature, pointing at the three corpses at the far end of the burial



4.4 *The Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living*, Ms lat 18014, 1385–90, *Petites heures de Jean de Berry*, fol. 282, illuminated by Pseudo-Jacquemart

(Photo: BnF)

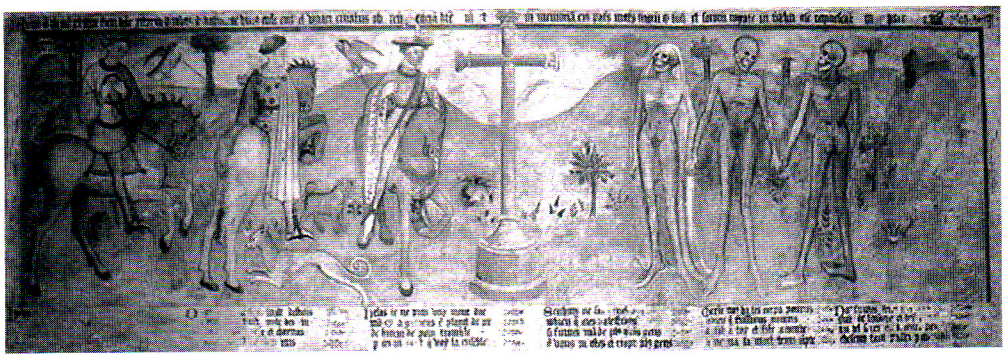
ground sprinkled with small crosses (Figure 4.4). The corpses face them, their words addressed therefore both to the hunters and the manuscript's audience. Ostensibly, just as the reductive setting of earlier images invited the reader-viewers to focus their attention on the didactic content of the Encounter, the painstakingly detailed scenery helped the beholders to better envision the meeting, to place themselves, as it were, within the image.[12]

The murals, too, often favor a spare locale, such as the one painted in the early sixteenth-century Encounter at the Church of St. Peter at Lancôme (Loir-et-Cher)—a strip of ground indicated here, a rock or a spurt of vegetation there (Figure 4.5). The generic quality of such a setting, as I have argued elsewhere, allows the Encounter to take place everywhere and nowhere at the same time, to acquire a timeless quality, and therefore to have its moral lesson made eternally relevant.[13] The most notable part of the setting at Lancôme is the cross that towers over and separates the dead from the living. The cross, which simultaneously marks the site as a cemetery and refers to Christ's Redemption, is, essentially, a marker of the liminal border between the realms of life and death.[14] In Jean de Berry's *Petites heures*, too, the cross looms on a small hill, demarcating the two distinct worlds, and the space of death separates the two groups who keep their distance, providing a kind of neutral ground that neither group dares brave. The importance of the cross is often underscored by the way it breaks through the painted borders, asserting



4.5 *The Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living*, the church of St Peter's, Lancôme (Loir-et-Cher), early 16th century

(Photo: Thonic)



4.6 *The Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living*, the Church of St. Victor, Ennezat, ca. 1420

(Photo: Ashby Kinch)



4.7 *The Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living*, The Church of St. Germain, La Ferté-Loupière, late fifteenth century

(Photo: Author)

itself as a visual construct of an entirely different nature: in the *Petites heures*, the cross extends beyond the frame of the image and intrudes upon the text; and in the mural at the Church of St. Victor at Ennezat (Puy-de-Dôme), the cross similarly refuses to be contained by the frame and imposes itself upon the border of the fresco (Figure 4.6).[15]

But the hunters and the corpses, nonetheless, do not touch: the Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living is, per force, a non-violent confrontation. Only rarely do the dead take on a slightly menacing comportment, going after and shooting arrows at the three men. In the late fifteenth-century mural at La Ferté-Loupière (Yonne), located at the Church of St. Germain, one of the dead advances upon the living, pointing his arrow at the closest hunter (Fig. 4.7). Similarly, in the roughly contemporary mural from the Church of St. Pierre in Carennac (Lot), the crowned corpse takes aim, with his oversized bow and arrow, at one of the living, who flinches and turns away.[16] A wicked smile on his decomposed face, the dead man climbs on top of the inscription in order to make sure he properly hits his target; the inscription, in fact, records the words of another dead man: "Vos estis in hoc mundo sicut/Navis super mare. Semper/in periculo ..." ("You are in this world like a ship in the sea. Always in danger ..."). The implication is clear: the young men might be hunting now, but later they themselves will be hunted by death. The dead, therefore, become not only the minions of death but also its personification. This is why at Lancôme two corpses carry a scythe and a shovel, and another, who grabs onto the cross, brandishes an arrow. These are the attributes of Death personified or allegorized, as found, for instance, in the various Triumphs and Dances of Death, or in the representations of Atropos, one of the Moirae who cut the thread of life and was, therefore, responsible for the deaths of all men (Figure 4.8).[17]

However, even this glimmer of obvious violence is missing from the Arsenal miniature, in which, moreover, the Encounter unfolds in absolute emptiness.

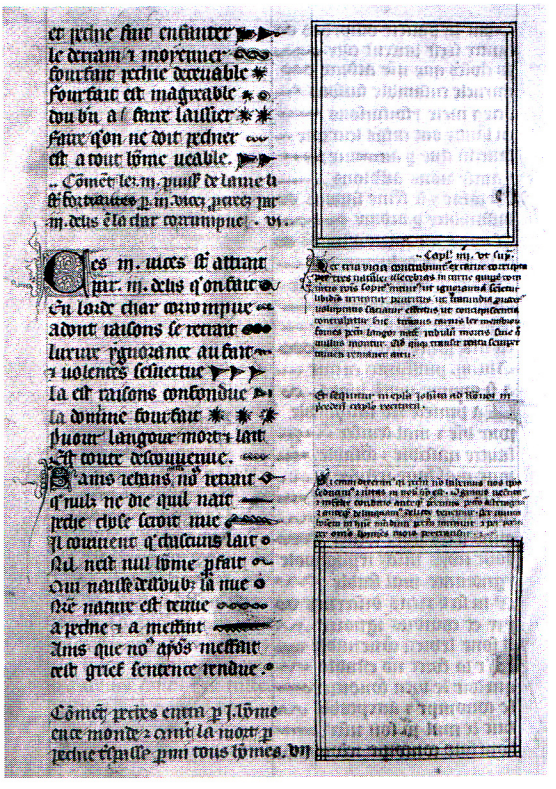


4.8 Atropos, "who kills men with her arrows of death," The Hague, KB, 74 G 27 fol. 34v. Christine de Pisan, *L'épître d'Othéa*, Burgundy, c. 1450–75

(Photo: KB)

A simple frame, decorated with elegant sprouts of vegetation, encloses the six figures, and this frame alone provides any kind of anchoring for the protagonists of the macabre meeting. The three living, clad in ermine mantles and identical headdresses, step across the painted border gingerly, their elegant pointed boots conceived as visual arrows that direct the viewer's gaze to the title of the poem marked in red. Fearfully, they turn towards the dead: one hunter clasps his hands, two others hold hands, and the middle nobleman rests his left arm on his companion's shoulder. The latter, who holds a hawk, looks directly across the gap at the corpses; an eerie calm pervades this side of the image. The dead plant their skeletal feet firmly on the frame; paradoxically, the three corpses are better differentiated from one another than the living hunters. One corpse crosses his arms over a rotting burial garment, which reveals the decomposing body; another, whose flesh has been completely eaten away by worms, earnestly presses his hands to his chest, where his heart once was. The middle corpse coyly wraps himself into a shroud, which is all but intact, and, in an apparent mockery of the gesture of the middle hunter, places one skeletal arm on his companion's shoulder: thereby, the uncanniness of the meeting becomes emphasized by the apparent doubling between the living and the dead.[18] Two corpses turn their skulls towards the living, engaging them in the conversation, grinning maliciously; the middle corpse fixes his gaping eye sockets on the viewer, thereby openly acknowledging her presence.

The vacant space of the miniature contrasts pointedly with two densely-decorated illuminated initials also painted on the page. Even the cross is omitted here because there is nothing to mark: the Encounter unfolds not in a generic space, but, rather, in nothingness. The living and the dead find themselves in and are separated by the void; the emptiness that divides them continues down the page, separating columns of text. There, it signals silence, a site of muteness both visual and discursive; what is not represented is also not being described—the experience of death, its violent processes that wreak havoc on living flesh—and because the figures are treated in the same way as the words, their role as artificial constructs—as visual text—becomes clear.



4.9 Eustache Deschamps' *Lay de la fragilité humaine*, BNF, ms Fr. 20029, fol. 7v, late 15th century

(Photo: BnF)

The frame that surrounds the scene underscores and points to the emptiness it encloses, much as it does in a slightly later manuscript of Eustache Deschamps' *Lay de la fragilité humaine*. There, too, the two carefully outlined squares of the void placed near the text represent what cannot be represented—the intertwinement of sexual desire and death—and the purposefully contrived emptiness leaves work for the imagination (Figure 4.9).[19] The frames here enclose nothing, inviting the viewers to fill in the obvious void with whatever they choose to see; in the Arsenal miniature, the framed emptiness signals to its reader that within the gap lies something that cannot be properly visualized on the page. This gap, then, is just as divisive as the cross; it, too, marks the liminal frontier between the realms of the dead and the living. However, this frontier is not articulated but implied: I propose that the real violence of death inscribed in this visual gap—death as nothingness, death as silence, death as the unknown—is meant to take place in the mind of the beholder, and to be constituted, therefore, through her own gaze.

Void, Narrative, and Imagination

The problem of gaps in the structuring of visual narratives has been thoroughly addressed by art historians who, frequently making use of cinema theory, liken such narratives to a series of still film frames or frames in a comic strip.[20] In discussing medieval imagery in particular, Otto Pächt

described the technique of continuous narrative, for instance, that rests "not on a gradual transition but on abrupt change."[21] Christological and hagiographic narrative examples abound, in various media. For instance, in the Arena chapel frescoes by Giotto, the life of Christ is broken down into key scenes; following alongside the wall, the beholders are invited to bridge the narrative gaps by making use of their knowledge of biblical and apocryphal stories.[22] The same dynamic is at work in illuminated manuscripts, where, as Suzanne Lewis writes: "[p]airs of separately framed scenes appear side by side in a paratactic arrangement that creates an empty interval between them—a gap perceived as a dynamic element which carries the mind rather than the eye from one moment in time and place to the next."[23] In experiencing the book, the viewer might also be required to connect the scenes that appear on the recto and verso of the same folio, filling the lacunae while turning the page. The force of memory and imagination serves as the glue that binds together visual fragments into a coherent narrative.

In discussing the twelfth-century Morgan Passion of St Edmund, Lewis draws attention to folios 10v and 11r, which feature Ingvar the Dane and the Anglo-Saxon king Edmund respectively. Lewis points out that the echoing of Ingvar's and Edmund's gestures and gazes, as well as "the open space between facing pictures on opposing recto and verso sides ... enlist the beholder's imagination in linking and transferring them into a single idea through a technique known as *parataxis*."[24] Similarly, in the Arsenal miniature, the living and the dead look at each other across the open space. Here, too, the beholder is invited to follow these looks as they bounce back and forth, much as do the lines of the attendant dialogue. However, the void that must be bridged by the viewer's imagination occurs not across the gap between two moments in time and place, but within a single frame, a single, if extended, narrative moment.

The occurrence of such a void is highly unusual: empty space was not generally tolerated in late medieval visual representation. Michael Camille, in drawing attention to a manuscript illumination in which a gap in the text, rather than being left empty, was filled with an abstract square design, comments on "an anxiety about vacant spaces in this period, which is evidenced in everything from scholastic discussions of nature's abhorrence of the vacuum to decoration of housewares."[25] Casually mentioned by Camille, these scholastic discussions, which marked the vacuum as a site of anxiety, are worth examining here.

Before the famous Condemnation of 1277—in which the bishop of Paris Etienne Tempier (d. 1279) issued condemnations of more than two hundred philosophical errors promulgated by the masters of the University of Paris—medieval thinkers, guided by Aristotle, rejected the possibility of the void.[26] This rejection was based on the assumption that empty space, a *locus sine corpore locato*, is a contradictory notion, and that God, to quote Pierre Duheim, "cannot make anything contradictory ... any effect that would

necessarily entail the production of an empty space is prohibited even for God's omnipotence."[27] The impossibility of the void was formulated by numerous early philosophers, from Aristotle (who rejected the existence of the void in Book IV of *Physics*) to Avicenna (d. 1037) and al-Ghazzali (d. 1111). Edward Grant elegantly sums up the contradiction:

> [Aristotle] concluded that all matter in existence was contained within our finite world. Nothing remained outside from which another world could be formed; nor could any matter come into being there ... The non-existence of material bodies beyond the world ... implied the impossibility of a vacuum, which was defined as something in which the presence of a body was potentially possible.[28]

For their part, thirteenth-century scholastics agreed. Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253), for instance, claimed that the void could exist only semantically: the void, he wrote, "does not have a real definition ... It admits only of a definition in name."[29] Michael Scot flatly asserted that "there can be no void in nature, as Aristotle demonstrated," while Roger Bacon (d. ca. 1292) argued through the possibilities of what the void is not (a substance or an accident), and concludes that it is "nothing at all"—"it appears that the void cannot be."[30] Duheim, however, draws attention to the scholastic distinction between "God's absolute omnipotence, for which nothing is impossible except that which is contradictory, and His restricted omnipotence, which cannot produce that which divine wisdom would disapprove"; he concludes that "the production of void" is therefore "prohibited from restricted omnipotence."[31]

Even after Etienne Tempier's condemnation, the impossibility of the void was espoused by a variety of thinkers: Godfrey of Fontaines (d. 1309) was among them, as was Henry of Ghent (d. 1293). The crux of the problem, however, shifted, as the focus of discussion became not simply the existence of the vacuum but of the possibility that God can create several worlds, separated by empty spaces. To reconcile the two theories—the Aristotelian point of view and Tempier's condemnation—Henry of Ghent distinguished between the vacuum/void (as the accidental distance between two bodies) and the nothingness that exists outside the world and above heaven. Slowly, the void becomes "a place" in scholastic discourse—a place in which our universe was created, and in which God may create another universe; Ramon Lull (d. 1315) discusses "a place [created by God] in which the substance of the world resides," where the world is "lodged"; and John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), while refusing the void positive dimensions, still asserts its existence.[32] For him, the void is a possibility: the "possibility to receive a body of determined magnitude and shape ... the possibility to receive a movement of determined duration."[33] As Grant concludes: "[t]o Aristotle's claim that, since all the matter in existence is in our world, no other world could be formed, medieval theologians and philosophers countered that, by virtue of his absolute power, God could create new matter from nothing and create another world."[34]

In the wake of Tempier's condemnation, empty space—heretofore the domain of the abhorrent and unnatural, of the site that defies existence and divine omnipotence but persists in language and thought—transforms into a locus pregnant with possibilities, a place of potential creation, the raw matter of the unknown and the unquantifiable.[35] It is also infinite, filled by God just as our finite universe is, and as such it constitutes the space of the imaginary, "dimensionless or dimensional in a transcendent sense."[36] This conception of the void comes to bear on the Arsenal miniature, where emptiness is charged by the two polarities on either side of the gap, where the meaning it structures lies in the very intangibility of what passes between the living and the dead, and where nothingness constitutes a more effective border between the two groups than the tangible frame that attempts but fails to separate the image from the text. The void here is the site of a theoretical process of death, the creation of its imaginary violence, predicated and dependent upon the faculty of the viewer's imagination; it is an open invitation to actively fill the empty space with those forces that will eventually reunite the uncanny doubles by transforming the living men into decomposed corpses, their white flesh into skeletal remains, their fine mantles into rotten shrouds, and their frightened faces into denuded skulls.

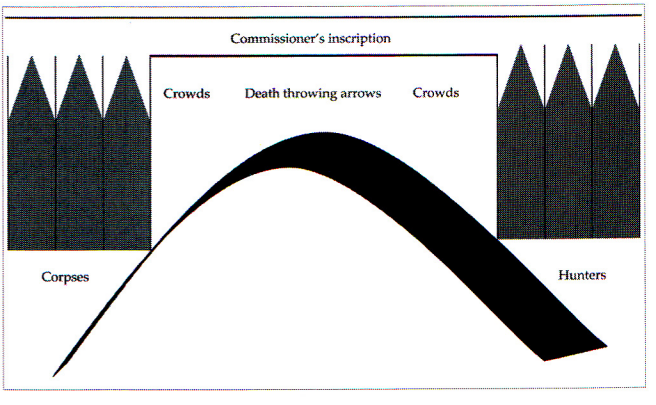
The Arsenal book was written with a specific reader in mind—likely Marie de Brabant, a young queen who was expected to read and meditate at length on the meaning of both the Baudouin "Legend" and the imaged void where its narrative takes place.[37] This miniature, then, was designated as a space of private reading, open to Marie's own ideas and perceptions of death's violent force: invited to see that which was not represented, the queen was made to image the violent possibilities of death in her own mind. What she may have imagined is figured in the roughly contemporary Encounter mural painted at the cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms in Avignon, across an archway at the base of the belfry tower (Figure 4.10a and b).[38] There, too, the dead and the living are separated by emptiness: the physical emptiness of the arched opening. The viewers who pass through the arch, therefore, become intermediaries between the two realms, bridging them with their own bodies. However, unlike the Arsenal miniature, this mural was designed to provide a public, communal experience of looking for parishioners who may have needed help in visualizing the liminal space of death's violence. To this end, the slim space above the arch that physically and metaphorically bridges the living and the corpses was painted with an image that visualized, quite explicitly, what happens in the gap of death. In the middle, a demonic simian creature, clearly the personification of death (see, for example, Figure 4.8), is shown throwing arrows. The arrows are aimed at terrified crowds gathered on the left and on the right, and are striking them in their eyes and their mouths; significantly, the creature turns towards the viewer's left, in the direction of the three corpses, while continuing to throw arrows blindly at the men and women standing on the right. This unusual variant of the Triumph of Death

wrenches the Encounter from its closely circumscribed narrative and renders it universal: among those struck by the arrows are the pope, a cardinal and a bishop. Here, the void is solicitously pre-filled for the viewer, the explication of what stands between the corpses and the hunters spelled out, and the gap of death is made substantial, visualized for the parishioners. Marie de Brabant, perhaps seen as a more sophisticated reader-viewer, did not need such explicit visual aids: she was, instead, provided with emptiness parenthetically flanked by the protagonists in order to set forth the dynamic process of her own imaginative interpretation.[39]



4.10a *The Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living* and the *Triumph of Death*, Notre-Dame-des-Dome, Avignon, late 13th or early 14th century

(Photo: Ashby Kinch)



4.10b Schematic of *The Encounter of the Three Dead and the Three Living* and the *Triumph of Death*, Notre-Dame-des-Dome, Avignon, late 13th or early 14th century

(Drawing: Author)

The common medieval conception of the workings of the mind vis-à-vis visual stimuli was indebted to Avicenna's *Kitab al-Shifã* (1014–20), which was translated into Latin in the twelfth century, and inspired a variety of Western scientific treatises on the physiology of the brain.[40] A diagram included in one such treatise ("Qualiter caput hominis situatur/Descripcion del teste de home"), which appears in an early fourteenth-century collection of religious and secular miscellanea, accords an important part to the faculty of imagination, *cogitativa vel formalis*, responsible for fantasizing—that is, the rearranging of sensory information received by the faculty of *sensus communis*, recorded, in turn, by the faculty of *ymaginatio vel formalis*, subsequently judged by the faculty of *estimativa*, and finally stored in *vis memorativa*.[41] The cogitative faculty, connected to the eyes through the *ymaginatio* (the power of shaping) and *sensus communis* (the imaging sense), "enabled the putting together of images to make new forms" in order to "visualize things never seen before."[42]

The popularity of this theory is evidenced by the frequent appearance of similar diagrams in both written and printed form.[43] The Arsenal image provides a visual stimulus that resonates particularly with *cogitativa vel formalis*, a stimulus unusual because it evokes those things that are impossible to see. It invites meditation but not recollection, because there is nothing to recollect—one cannot remember the experience of death because it has not been experienced yet; here, the "beholder's share," a term formulated by Ernst Gombrich to indicate a set of expectations and experiences that viewers employ to discern, recognize, and make sense of the image in front of them, is spectacularly inadequate and therefore paradoxically potent.[44] In essence, the Arsenal miniature encourages one to create, as Mary Carruthers puts it, "mental images formed by imagination," of the sort defined by St Augustine as a "spiritual vision."[45] The only visual anchors—the images on either side of the temporal gap, of "before" and "after," of the wholesome hunters and the decomposed corpses that are united and separated by death—facilitate the conjuring of the vision, a term that, to quote Carruthers, "in medieval rhetoric means the mental seeing which most usefully can meet a composer's need to get started and then sustain the crafting of a particular composition."[46] Mindful of the fecund implications of the void, the viewers here are invited to fill it by crafting their own cognitive creation: the imaginary, here invisible, processes of death. The conjuring of this fictive vision casts the viewers as witnesses and creators of the inevitable progress of death: in imagining and therefore imaging it in their minds, they themselves perpetrate its violence.



The Encounter images structured around a visualized space of the void, then, compel their viewers to mentally fill the conspicuous gap that so emphatically divides the realm of death from the realm of life. The scopic regime of this particular brand of medieval macabre ensures that the viewers construct their own versions of the implied violence perpetrated by death upon the living, and in doing so, it impels them to act in tandem with death, visualizing its processes and effects, imaginatively directing its murderous acts.[47] The empty space as an unnatural and abhorrent locus, simultaneously considered possible and impossible in late medieval philosophical discourse, is therefore always as deadly as it is generative. At Avignon, viewers were offered visual help in the bridging of the two realms: there, the violence of death—the demonic figure flinging arrows—was made obvious, and therefore ordinary and public. Yet, in images like the Arsenal miniature, only the vacant space was rendered visible as the backdrop and the dividing principle between the two groups of protagonists, and its saturation with mental images of death's violence was predicated on the viewer's (private) participation. Here, the intrusion of the void takes on a rather different character than when it is employed in defining the narrative gaps: as the single narrative moment is invaded by nothingness, the emptiness provides a wide playing field for

one's memory and imagination, inciting the viewer's gaze to leap from image to image, thereby structuring a private tableau of violence that links the two dichotomized worlds, one the inversion of the other: life and death, flesh and skeleton, finery and shroud. Death may fly triumphant in other macabre imagery; it may mock and grab, crush and strike; but in the Encounter, the physical violence is foregone in favor of the *tabula rasa* of death: it is invisible, but conspicuously so; it is to be beheld, but only through the language of emptiness; it is to be experienced, but only in one's mind.

Notes

* My thanks to Ashby Kinch for generously sharing his photos of various murals and for his excellent feedback on the article; to the audience members—especially Paul Freedman and Julian Weiss—at the *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces & Places of Medieval Culture* symposium, held at King's College, London, in 2008, for their astute remarks on this material; and to Robert Carroll for his editorial help, as always.

1 The daughter of Henri III de Brabant, Duc de Brabant and Alix de Bourgogne, Marie was married to Philip III, the king of France. The patronage has been disputed; another possible recipient of the book is Jeanne I, queen of Navarre, the wife of Philip IV the Fair. On the general description of the manuscript, see Henry Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, v.3 (Paris, 1887), 256–264; and Henry Martin and Philippe Lauer, *Les principaux manuscrits à peinturés de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à Paris* (Paris, 1929), 21–22. The majority of literature on this manuscript is focused on studying texts and images of Marie de France's *Fables* and Adenet le Roi's *Cléomadès* found therein: see, for example, Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: the Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative* (Ithaca, 1987), 40–45; Chantal A. Maréchal, "Marie de France as *Sapientia*: Author Portraits in the Manuscripts of the Fables," *Le Cygne* 3 (1997): 45–58; Sandra Hindman, "Æsop's Cock and Marie's Hen: Gendered Authorship in Text and Image in Manuscripts of Marie de France's Fables," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (London, 1997), 45–56 (esp. 49–52); Susan L. Ward, "Fables for the Court: Illustrations of Marie de France's Fables in Paris, BN, MS Arsenal 3142," in *Women and the Book*, 190–203; Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 2002), vol. 1, 474–478, and vol. 2, 526–527; and Logan E. Whalen, *Marie de France and the Poetics of Memory* (Washington, DC, 2008), 130–133. See also notes 35 and 37 below.

2 For the poem, see *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé* (Bruxelles, 1866–67), 197, 481–484. Robert Freyhan argues for a later dating of the manuscript (ca.1300) in order to prove that it was modeled on the slightly earlier English manuscript BM Arundel 83 II (the so-called De Lisle Psalter), in "English Influences on Parisian Painting of about 1300," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 54, 315 (1929): 320–330, in defiance of Willy F. Storck's hypothesis, initially published in "Bemerkungen zur französisch englischen Miniaturmalerei um die Wende de XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Monatsheft für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1911): 123–126.

3 The Encounter is/was found in some proximity to the Dance of Death in Paris, Meslay-le-Grenet, Kermaria, and Ferté-Loupière; it was painted next to the Triumph of Death in Pisa and Clusone. On the Encounter and the Dance of Death as macabre themes, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and*

Representation (Ithaca, NY, 1996), 134–138, 153–159, and Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages: Image, Text, Performance* (Turnhout, 2010), esp. chapter 1.

4 For a general study of Triumph imagery, see Liliane Brion-Guerry's *Le thème du "Triomphe de la mort" dans la peinture italienne* (Paris: G.-P. Mainsonneuve, 1950). On the Palermo Triumph, see especially Giuseppe Carta, "L'affresco del Trionfo della morte, 1441, nell'Ospedale Grande e Nuovo di Palermo," in *Il trionfo della morte e le danze macabre: Atti del VI Convegno Internazionale tenutosi in Clusone dal 19 al 21 agosto 1994* (Clusone: Città di Clusone, 1997), 113–134; *Trionfo della Morte di Palermo: l'opera, le vicende conservative, il restauro* (Palermo: Sallerio, 1989); Angela Mazze, "Il Trionfo della Morte a Palermo; lo Zingaro e la peste," *Storia dell'arte* 45 (1982): 153–159.

5 On images that relate to Petrarch's *Trionfi*, see especially Alexandra Ortner, *Petrarcas "Trionfi" in Malerei, Dichtung und Festkultur: Untersuchung zur Entstehung und Verbreitung eines florentinischen Bildmotivs auf cassoni und deschi da parto des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Vdg-Verlag, 1998).

6 General studies of medieval Dances of Death include, most recently, Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages*; André Corvisier, *Les danses macabres* (Paris, 1998); and Hélène and Bertrand Utzinger, *Itinéraires des danses macabres* (Chartres, 1996); see also James Midgley Clark, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Glasgow, 1950). For the facsimile of Marchant's 1490 prints, see *The Dance of Death Printed at Paris in 1490* (Washington, DC, 1970). Recent studies on the Parisian Dance include Jane Taylor, "Poésie et prédication. La fonction du discours proverbial dans la *Danse macabre*," *Medioevo romanzo* XIV (1989): 215–226; and Josette A. Wisman, "Un miroir déformant: hommes et femmes des Danses macabres de Guyot Marchant," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23, 2 (1993): 275–299.

7 For a discussion of the visual and textual "deadening" of the dancers, see Gertsman, *The Dance of Death in the Middle Ages*, esp. 64–69. For the *Dança*, see De Francisco A. Icaza and Jose Amador de los Rios, *La Danza de la Muerte: textos de El Escorial (siglo XV) y de Sevilla (Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1520)* (Madrid: J. Esteban, 1981); Joel Saugnieux, *Les danses macabres de France et d'Espagne et leurs prolongements littéraires* (Lyon: E. Vitte, 1972); and Florence Whyte, *The Dance of Death in Spain and Catalonia* (Baltimore: Waverley Press, 1931; reprint: New York: Arno Press, 1977).

8 It is unclear what the language of the original verses was, or who wrote it; five versions of the poem exist in French, and four in German, Latin, Italian, and English. On the texts and images of the Legend, see primarily Groupe de recherches sur les peintures murales, *Vifs nous sommes, morts nous serons: la rencontre des trois morts et des trois vifs dans la peinture murale en France* (Vendôme: Editions du Cherche-Lune, 2001), hereafter *Vns*; Willy Rotzler, *Die Begegnung der Drei Lebenden und der Drei Toten* (Winterthur: P.G. Keller, 1961); Georges Servières, "Les formes artistiques du 'Dict des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs,'" *Gazette de beaux-arts* 13 (1926): 19–36; Stefan Glixelli, *Les Cinq Poèmes des trois morts et des trois vifs* (Paris: Champion, 1914); Willy Storck, *Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und von den drei Toten* (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1910); and Karl Künstle, *Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und von den drei Toten und der Totentanz* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1908). *Vns* provides a more complete bibliography on pp. 161–170, which includes unpublished university theses.

9 The five versions of the poem are conserved in 20 manuscripts altogether; nine of them are illustrated. Among the six that have Baudouin's version, three date

to the thirteenth century: in addition to the Arsenal manuscript, ms fr. 25566 and ms fr. 378, and three to the early fourteenth century, Arsenal ms 3524, ms fr. 1446 and ms fr. 25545, all conserved at the BNF. For the full list, see Glixelli, *Les Cinq Poèmes des trois morts et des trois vifs*, 4–5, who analyzes the Arsenal poem on pages 14–19.

10 The Encounter appears in miscellanies, Psalters, and Books of Hours; it also accompanies editions of the *Danse macabre*, *Golden Legend*, and *Caléndrier des Bergers*. Murals are found in a variety of secular and sacred spaces (parish churches, cathedrals, funerary chapels, monasteries). Examples of wall paintings are found in France (92), England (58), Italy (16), Germany (13), Switzerland (4), Denmark (4), Netherlands (4), Spain (2), Ireland (1), and Sweden (1).

11 Ashby Kinch, "Image, Ideology, and Form: The Middle English Three Dead Kings in Its Iconographic Context," *The Chaucer Review* 43, 1 (2008): 62–63. On the penitential connotations of the Encounter theme in the De Lisle Psalter, see Kathryn A. Smith in *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (London, 2003), 152–155 It is important to emphasize that in the De Lisle Psalter the background is *abstracted*, not *empty*; additionally, some ground is indicated under the feet of the living.

12 For the function of detailed miniaturized backdrops in macabre imagery, see Elina Gertsman, "Death and the Miniaturized City: Nostalgia, Authority, Idyll," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 25 (2008): 1–10.

13 On the Lancôme mural, see *Vns*, 113–114; Blandine Jourdan, "L'église Saint-Pierre de Lancôme et ses peintures murales," *Corrélations Centre. Revue de la prefecture de la region Centre* 10 (1990): 98–99; and Marie-Pasquine Subes, et al., "Actualités. Découverte de peintures murales dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Lancôme (Loir-et-Cher)," *Bulletin monumental* 158.3 (2000): 257–258.

14 Some paintings show the cross mounted by the crucified Christ: examples are extant at Jouhet, Meslay-le-Grenet, Thenissey, Courgis, Ferrières-Haut-Clocher, and Conan. Here, the violence of the empty space is replaced by the violence of Christ's death. At Saint-Riquier, the image of the Virgin and Child is represented on the cross; see *Vns*, 26.

15 The inscription on the border records the details of the commission. On the latest research on Ennezat, see *Vns*, 96–98; Yannick Carré, "La fresque des trois morts et des trois vifs à l'église Saint-Victor-Sainte-Couronne d'Ennezat," *Histoire en Auvergne* 2 (1995): 77–82; Marie-Laure de Contenson, "Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs à l'Ennezat," *Actes du 5e Congrès des danses macabres d'Europe* (Starubing: Danse macabre d'Europe, 1992), 187–195; and Anne Courtillé, *Histoire de la peinture murale dans l'Auvergne du Moyen Age* (Brioude: Watel, 1983), 169–170; for the full list of sources, see *Vns*, 98.

16 See *Vns*; and Anne-Marie Pêcheur, "Un Dit des trois morts et des trois vifs à Carrenac," *Bulletin de la Société des études littéraires, scientifiques et artistiques du Lot* XCVIII (1977): 213–221.

17 Usually represented with shears cutting the thread, Atropos is figured in *Epistre Othea* as Death proper, with arrows. See this also in BL Harley 4431, fol. 11r; see Marilynn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan's* Epistre Othea (Ann Arbor, 2003), 66–70.

18 On doubling and the uncanny see Sigmund Freud's classic essay, "The Uncanny," *Pelican Freud Library* 14, trans. James Strachey (Harmondsworth,

1985), 358–365; and Nicholas Royle, *The Uncanny* (New York, 2003). For the exploration of the theme of doubling vis-à-vis macabre imagery, see Elina Gertsman, *The Dance of Death*, 23–34.

19 Image published and discussed in Michael Camille, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 80–81; for the text illustrated with this pictorial void, see Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Marquis de Queux de Sainte-Hilaire, 11 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878–1903), 2: 250, lines 85–95.

20 See, for example, Suzanne Lewis, "Narrative," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 86–105; Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 16.

21 Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative*, 16. On narrative, see especially Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 2nd edn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Roland Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," *New Literary History* 6 (1974–75): 237–272; Wolfgang Kemp, "Narrative," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 58–69; and H. Porter Abbot, *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 114–115.

22 For narrative strategies in Italian wall painting, including the Arena chapel frescoes, see Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431–1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), esp. 43–70.

23 Lewis, "Narrative," 91.

24 Ibid., 91.

25 Illustrated and discussed in Camille, *Master of Death*, 15–16.

26 The two errors particularly applicable here are: 1) the First Cause cannot make more than one world; 2) God cannot move the heavens in a straight line, the reason being that He would then leave a void. On the context of condemnations and their aftermath, see, among others, Jeffrey R. Wigelsworth, *Science and Technology in Medieval European Life* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006), 148–149; Eric Voegelin, *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 179ff; and Pierre Duheim, *Medieval Cosmology: Theories of Infinity, Place, Time, Void, and the Plurality of Worlds*, trans. and ed. Roger Ariew (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 369–427.

27 Duheim, *Medieval Cosmology*, 392. On the impossibility of such a locus, see E.J. Dijksterhuis, *The Mechanization of the World Picture* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 39.

28 Edward Grant, *Physical Science in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971; reprint, 1990), 73–74.

29 Divi Roberti Lincolniensis *Super octo libris Physicorum brevis et utilitis summa*, fol. sign. Q2, col. C (fol. 281, col. A), cited in Duheim, *Medieval Cosmology*, 539, n. 14.

30 *Eximii atque excellentissimi physicorum motuum cursusque siderei indagatoris Michael Scotis super auctore Sperae*, quaest. 2, 252; *Questiones supra librum Phisicorum a magistro dicto Bacuun, Queritur utrum sit ponere vacuum in natura*, fol. 48, col. d (XIII, p. 240), translated and discussed in chapter 9 of Duheim, Medieval Cosmology.

31 Duheim, *Medieval Cosmology*, 389.

32 Ibid., 401.

33 Ibid., 403.

34 Grant, *Physical Science in the Middle Ages*, 75.

35 Another way to think of void and vacuum is to turn to the apophatic language of mysticism. Although hardly relevant for the vernacular literary collection such as the Arsenal manuscript, or any other images considered in this chapter, it would provide an interesting exercise in contemplating the languages of unsaying with the context of visual representation. Here see especially Michael A. Sells, *Mystical Languages of Unsaying* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

36 Grant, *Physical Science in the Middle Ages*, 80.

37 A great deal of literature on late medieval women as book patrons and owners has appeared in the last three decades. These studies draw attention especially to these women's education as well as their multivalent uses of both devotional and secular texts. I cite several particularly useful texts that combine broad inquiries into the subject with focused analyses: Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7, no. 4 (1982): 742–768; essays in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (London, 1997), and especially, for the purposes of this paper, Hindman's "Æsop's Cock and Marie's Hen" and Susan L. Ward, "Fables for the Court" (as in note 1); Kathryn A. Smith, Art, *Identity and devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (Toronto, 2003); and Adelaide Bennett, "Making Literate Lay Women Visible: Text and Image in French and Flemish Books of Hours, 1220–1320," in *Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture: Liminal Spaces*, ed. Elina Gertsman and Jill Stevenson (Woodbridge, forthcoming in 2012). The only sustained analysis of Marie's patronage is Tracy Chapman Hamilton, "Pleasure, Politics, and Piety: The Artistic Patronage of Marie de Brabant" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2004). See also Henry Martin, "Cinq portraits du XIIIe siècle: Marie de Brabant;—Blanche de France;—Jean II de Brabant;—Robert II d'Artois;—Adenet le Roi, ménestrel," *Recueil de Mémoires publié par la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France. Centenaire (1804–1904)* (1904), 269–279, and plate XV.

38 Due to the painting's poor condition, I provide a diagram in addition to a photo. For questions of commissioning and attribution of this mural, see Marie-Claude Leonelli, "Une allégorie de la mort à Notre-Dame des Doms," *Art et histoire dans le Midi languedocien et rhodanien Xe-XIXe siècle. Hommage à Robert Saint-Jean*, ed. G. Romestan. *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier*, 21 (1993), 155-161; and *Vns*, 66–68. Leonelli suggests that the Encounter might be, in fact, a version of the Italian theme, *Contrasto del Vivo e del Morto* also found in Assisi. She bases her suggestion on the fact that at least one of the living wears a crown—an iconographic detail just as peculiar to the Encounter imagery as it is to the *Contrasto*.

39 In his discussion of the De Lisle Psalter, Binski (135, 138) briefly addresses the so-called "ternary" composition of the Encounter, which implicates the beholder; in addition, see Susanna Greer Fein, "Life and Death, Reader and Page: Mirrors of Mortality in English Manuscripts," *Mosaic* 35, 1 (2002): 69–94, at 71-72. That Marie is styled throughout this and other manuscripts associated with her as an educated reader familiar with a tradition of scholarly discourses is briefly discussed by Sylvia Huot in "A Book Made for a Queen: The Shaping of a Late Medieval Anthology Manuscript (B.N. fr. 24429)," in *The Whole Book:*

Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany, ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 123–143. In her comparison between BN fr. 24429 and the Arsenal 3142 manuscript, Huot suggests that "the [Arsenal] manuscript as a whole casts [Marie] in the role of the educated monarch," and draws attention to the fact that in the *Kalendarium regine* (BN lat. 15171) prepared for the queen, the author, after mentioning Vegetius, Plato, and Charlemagne, "announces the dedication to Marie of his own book, a calendar equipped with astronomical and meteorological teachings (fol. 88r–v). In this way Marie and her court writers are inscribed in a tradition of collaboration between scholars and noble patrons that extends back to antiquity and is integral to the well-being of the realm and the advancement of civilization" (138).

40 For the latest translation, especially useful for its parallel English–Arabic text, see Avicenna, *The Metaphysics of The Healing*, translated, introduced, and annotated by Michael E. Marmura (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 2005). See also *Avicenna's Psychology: An English Translation of Kitāb al-najāt, Book II, Chapter VI*, with historico-philosophical notes and textual improvements on the Cairo edition, ed. Fazlur Rahman (London: Oxford University Press, 1952); and *Avicenna Latinus, Liber de anima, seu sextus de naturalibus*, ed. S. van Riet (Leiden: Peeters, 1968).

41 CUL Ms G.g.I.i., f.490v. This miniature is catalogued in Paul Meter, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1867), 282, and discussed in Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert Nelson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 197–202. The diagram is re-drawn by Collin McKinney, and explicated by Mary Carruthers, in Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, eds, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 120, 122–123. For further seminal studies of medieval conceptions of memory, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 34 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Routledge, 1999).

42 Discussed in Simon Kemp and Garth J.O. Fletcher, "The Medieval Theory of the Inner Senses," *The American Journal of Psychology* 106.4 (1993): 559–576.

43 For further examples, see Edwin Clarke, Kenneth Dewhurst, and Michael Jeffrey Aminoff, *An Illustrated History of Brain Function: Imaging the Brain from Antiquity to the Present*, 2nd edn (San Francisco: Norman, 1996), 8–58, esp. 32ff.

44 For "beholder's share," see part 3 of E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960).

45 Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram inperfectus liber* XII.xxvi.53, CSEL 28/1 (Vienna, 1887), 418–419.

46 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 171–172.

47 For the coining of the term "scopic regime," see Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*, trans. Celia Britton, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 61. For discussion of the nature of scopic regimes, see essays in Hal Foster's *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle: The New Press, 1988).