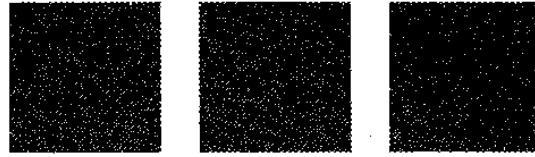# A Companion to
# Islamic Art and Architecture

## Volume I
## From the Prophet to the Mongols

*Edited by*

Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu

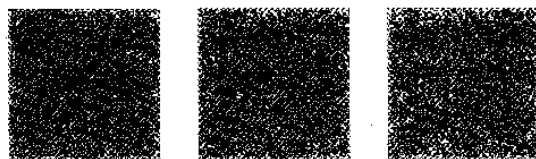**WILEY** Blackwell

# A Companion to

# Islamic Art and Architecture

## Volume II
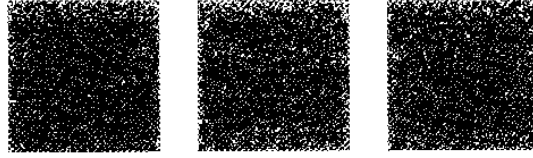## From the Mongols to Modernism

*Edited by*

Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu

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# Introduction to Both Volumes of *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*

# Frameworks of Islamic Art and Architectural History: Concepts, Approaches, and Historiographies

## Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu

### The Rationale for the Two Volumes of *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*

In a short article published about 50 years ago, the historian S.D. Goitein made an impassioned plea for the notion of a singular Islamic history to be abandoned in favor of a more fragmented approach that obviated *"the danger of abstracting a general picture of Islam which never was a historic reality."* Goitein argued the need for periodization to recognize a diversity obscured by the assumption that "continuity" could be equated with "uniformity." Suggesting that it was "only the European prejudice or legend of the immovable East as well as insufficient familiarity with the sources, which induced people to take Islamic civilization as a single unit stretching with only insignificant variations" from the time of the Prophet to the present, Goitein was confident that identifying this problem would open the way to a closer and fuller examination of each period. Recognizing the presence of "definitely distinct phases," yet rejecting an alternative taxonomic division along dynastic lines, he proposed to divide Islamic history into four major periods that constituted "organic units" ranging in time from the year 500 to the present, periods that corresponded to four distinct "civilizational" epochs. Even though Goitein admitted that periodization is most valuable when one is aware of its "limited validity," this did not necessarily diminish its value. In fact, rather than

a merely didactic device he regarded periodization as nothing less than a "scientific prerequisite."[1]

The specific scheme proposed by Goitein has its problems, to which we shall return below, and the proposal was largely ignored by subsequent scholarship. Nevertheless, the issue that he sought to address, whose solution was to be found "along the lines of periodization," has haunted the study of Islamic art and architecture since its inception as a uniform field in the late nineteenth century. Until today, almost every survey book begins with a paradoxical attempt to deconstruct the term itself. The problem of where to locate Islamic art stems, at least in part, from the peculiarities of an invented rubric that must accommodate a vast array of artistic production spanning nearly 1400 years and straddling all continents. Moreover, if artistic appreciation fulfills some of the cultural functions of religious adulation, then the position of Islamic art is particularly fraught, with the qualifying adjective caught between a religious and cultural-civilizational identification. The resulting ambivalence is reflected not only in the lengthy apologias that accompany its use but also in the tendency to oscillate between media-based and dynastic taxonomies with ethnic or regional parameters.[2]

Many of these qualities were manifest in a myriad of new survey books of Islamic art and architecture in English published in the United States and Europe between 1991 and 2009.[3] The artifacts, manuscripts, and monuments imaged and represented within these texts show a remarkable coherence in terms of their chronological and geographical range, a coherence evident in the repetitious appearance of certain object types and even specific canonical works. Through consistencies in their inclusions and exclusions, these surveys may be seen as constituting and consolidating a canon, an "imagined community" of select monuments and objects that define the relatively new field of Islamic art history. There is for example a balance between architecture, painting, and the so-called minor arts, an emphasis on elite artistic production rather than material culture more generally, and on the central Islamic lands at the expense of the Islamic West (Maghrib), Sub-Saharan Africa, East and Southeast Asia. The works illustrated are those most readily accessible to European and American scholars, and they generally exclude from the canon any art produced in the Islamic world after about 1800; in effect, the end of Islamic art is made coincident with the advent of modernity. This exclusion reflects notions of authenticity that ignore the dynamic and heterogeneous constitution of "Islamic" cultures, while producing them as a foil through which the modern emerges as a distinctly European phenomenon.[4]

The boom in survey books on Islamic art and architecture over the past two decades has certainly done much to popularize the field and to provide much-needed basic teaching tools while satisfying an ever growing market. Yet despite their usefulness, survey texts are inevitably marked by idiosyncratic choices, inclusions, and omissions that shape their treatment of the material that they cover. Moreover, as the consistency with which they terminate the narrative of Islamic art at 1800 suggests, they often reinforce rather than engage critically with some

of the historical peculiarities of the field. While acknowledging that the term "Islamic art" poses certain problems, survey books seek to consolidate its all-embracing framework and conspicuously shy away from criticizing the premises of the field's canon, which is the very basis of the traditional survey as a genre; to quote one critic, art historical surveys are often "popular codifiers and guardians of the canon ... curious unions of aesthetics, pedagogy, and commerce."[5] The same framework informs allegedly "universal" collections of Islamic art in museums that complement survey books by visualizing the canonical narratives of art history for the general public, despite the contingencies that inevitably structure collecting practices.[6]

Noting these problems, many of us have felt the additional need for a type of intermediary text bridging the gap between the summary treatment permitted by the genre of the survey text and the more specialist preserve of the academic article and monograph. That need has been reiterated time and again by our students and in conversations with colleagues, both in our own and in other fields. Our two volumes directly respond to this perceived need.

The *Companion* volumes are envisaged as a collaborative project for remapping a relatively young and exponentially expanding field in an accessible format, while at the same time pushing the limits of existing scholarship in ways that we consider both desirable and productive. Although the importance of general surveys for pedagogical and reference purposes cannot be denied, what moves any art historical field forward is transformative studies that introduce new information, unknown visual and written sources, innovative interpretations, and critical perspectives. In the Islamic field, too, introductory surveys and more in-depth studies accessible to a wider audience need to inform one another in an ongoing dialogue. Consequently, in addition to introducing new approaches to canonical subjects and newly commissioned work on neglected regions and topics, the two volumes of *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture* scrutinize some of the idiosyncrasies of the field.

The essays we have commissioned aimed to provide an opportunity for scholars to revisit and rethink subjects on which they have written in the past, with a view to articulating the wider significance of their research for a broader audience, while at the same time reassessing traditional wisdom in their historiography and proposing possible future directions. Equally, several of the essays included in the volumes represent innovative collaborative and comparative approaches to topics that are usually treated as discrete and distinct but which we believe could benefit from such experimental collaboration, in keeping with our broader objective of establishing lateral connections across the field. Others introduce regions and topics not usually covered in canonical histories of Islamic art and architecture.

Recent global events have galvanized interest in the themes and issues addressed by the essays in both *Companion* volumes, whose potential audience extends well beyond the Islamic field. We envisage that the volumes will provide an appealing source of information to a general educated audience, students, as well as

academics. It is anticipated that the readership of these volumes will include Western medievalists, Byzantinists, South and East Asianists, Renaissance and Baroque scholars, and early modernists in general, as well as others working in such disciplines as anthropology, history, comparative literature, religion, and visual and cultural studies. In addition, the engagement with questions of periodization that are raised by questions of modernity, pre-modernity, and the concept of a contemporary "Islamic" art (albeit briefly) has the potential to involve those interested in modern and contemporary art. The expansion of the Islamic field reflected in these volumes has given rise in some circles to a nostalgic longing for the traditional unity of what has grown to be a frustratingly "unwieldy" field, a longing for inherited frameworks motivated by a fear of fragmentation that "threatens to pull our field apart so that there will be nothing left at all."[7] This fear may be understandable, given the increasing competition for limited institutional resources, but it runs the risk of fostering suspicion of, if not resistance to, the inclusion of "peripheral regions" or art produced after 1800 within the canon of Islamic art history, as well as marginalizing new interpretative and theoretical approaches.

In fact, the tendency to treat regions, dynasties, and media as if they were independent, hermetically sealed compartments in some surveys of Islamic art and architecture, with little attempt to articulate the internal or external dynamics of connectivity, has enhanced the much-lamented fragmentation of the field. By contrast, more specialized, problem-oriented publications produced over the last few decades have endeavored to counter the relative insularity of the field through an active engagement with multidisciplinary, transcultural, theoretical, and newly emerging interpretative approaches within the changing discipline of art history at large. It is mostly thanks to these methodological efforts to reinscribe the study of Islamic art within the broader discipline of art history, where we believe that it belongs, that the field is prospering, and is increasingly being integrated into a growing number of art history departments. These developments are directly related to processes of expansion and inclusiveness that, depending on the writer, have been seen as either promise or threat.

The practice of Islamic art history seems to be at a juncture in which the mounting interest in this field from a global perspective overlaps with a fear concerning its disintegration into uncontrollably diverse specializations, bringing along with it an increasing distance from the methods of traditional scholarship. Our volumes respond in part to these internal frustrations by fostering scholarly collaborations intended to emphasize the dialectic between diachronic and synchronic approaches, or between a regional focus and the need to consider how the local connects with translocal cultural flows, forms, and practices. The essays that they contain reinforce the interconnections within the field whose growth, we believe, need not necessarily be perceived as a threatening source of weakness but rather as a sign of strength. Since it was never fully unified, we see no mounting danger in the field's further enlargement. Instead, its transformation into a loosely

interconnected, multifocal and multivocal arena of inquiry can be seen as a mark of its coming of age.

As a landmark collaborative enterprise by leading experts of Islamic art and architecture, it is hoped that the *Companion* volumes will play a positive role in mending unnecessary rifts and growing factionalism in the field through promoting a multiplicity of equally viable viewpoints. To this end, many of the essays are co-written, products of collaboration between two scholars, an innovation designed to highlight the need for multiplicity, multivocality, and the sharing of different kinds of expertise. This also underlies our emphasis on connectivity and a reconceptualized periodization aimed to reformat the field's chronological structuring principles (see below).

In this respect, the analogy with Western art, which is likewise divided into numerous subfields requiring both specialized and general knowledge, seems particularly germane to the perceived "unwieldiness" of the field of Islamic art history. Prior to the emergence of the modern discipline of art history in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, there was no indigenous tradition either in Christendom or Islamdom for studying either "Western" or "Islamic" art in holistic fashion, as all-encompassing universal fields. It may well be argued that the term "Islamic art" is not too different from the category of Western art, an equally "unwieldy" field with a frequently contested label for which no better substitute has been agreed upon.[8] The chronological span and geographical extent of Islamic art is as vast as that of Western art, both of them spanning all continents, unlike other geographically more limited millennial artistic traditions. The parallels call into question the persistent search for particularistic answers to "what is Islamic art," a question that is hardly ever asked about Western or Christian art whose spatio-temporal boundaries are equally murky.[9]

Despite its acknowledged problems, no satisfactory alternative has emerged to replace the ambiguous appellation "Islamic" art. "Islamicate," a term coined by Marshall Hodgson in the 1970s to denote the adoption of cultural forms that originated in the Islamic world, independent of religious identities, is gaining increasing acceptance, especially among scholars concerned with the intercultural reception of artistic forms and practices that originated in the Islamic world.[10] In spite of increased attention to regional forms and practices in the study of Islamic art and architecture, there seems to be a general consensus that the diverse visual cultures grouped under this rubric do belong together in many ways. The challenge, then, is to account for transregional and transtemporal aspects of artistic production in the Islamic lands while also accounting for historical and regional differences.

Apropos the contested name of the field, a curious but illuminating episode is the short-lived bilingual journal in French and Ottoman Turkish published in Paris in 1898 by the collector-dealer Hakky-Bey, titled *Le Miroir de l'art Musulman* (Mirror of Muslim Art), or, *Mir'āt-i sanāyiʿ-i Islāmiye* (Mirror of the Arts of Islam).[11] The use of the label "Islamic" in this journal and in an earlier

trilingual monograph published in Istanbul (in Ottoman Turkish, French, and German) for the International Vienna Exhibition in 1873, officially sponsored by the Ottoman sultanate that claimed the universal caliphate, complicates the assumption that this term was merely an invention of European Orientalists.[12]

Historically, the field has tended to lurch between extremes on the issue of its label and other contentious matters. The issue was thrown into high relief when the Metropolitan Museum in New York reopened its galleries of Islamic art in 2011, renamed as *Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia (ALTICALSA).*[13] This move from the unifying concept of an Islamic art to more fragmentary ethnic or regional taxonomies stood in contrast to the universalist aspirations or pretensions of encyclopedic museums. Yet it might be seen as a reversion to earlier periods in the history of the field when terms such as Arab or Persian art preceded the more universalizing categories of "Muhammedan" or Islamic art. In this case, however, the marginalization of the problematic adjective was also informed by questions of geopolitics and sponsorship, galvanizing a historical unease with the religious implications of the "Islamic" in Islamic art, considered further below. Regardless of its motivation, the move to a more fragmentary regional taxonomy begs the questions: What is the thread running through the art of all of these regions that might relate them? If there is no relation between them, why does the art produced in all of these diverse regions have a dedicated gallery, why is it shown together?

For many scholars, the answer to such questions lies in a need to acknowledge the dialectic between transregional and regional, as well as diachronic and synchronic artistic forms and practices, a productive tension that accounts for geography and history while acknowledging the persistence of certain artistic forms and cultural practices across time and space. In fact, it could be argued that the need to negotiate between the local and the translocal, the lived experience of the quotidian and the ideal of an imagined community (*umma*) with a global reach, has been a consistent feature of Islamic cultures. Unless someone comes up with a truly brilliant, prize-winning alternative, it seems more than likely that we will not abandon the field's conventional rubric, which is a "brand name" shared with other branches of Islamic studies. Indeed, not everyone is so unhappy with this name, for the concept of Islamic art is deeply entrenched in museums and private collections as well, in addition to its increasing political deployment as a cultural mediator in the international arena.

## The Structure of the Volumes and their Reconceptualized Periodization

Focused primarily on the Middle East and the medieval period until the 1980s, Islamic art history has by now expanded to encompass regions and periods traditionally excluded from the canon. By incorporating essays on previously omitted

geographies, such as East and Southeast Asia, Sub-Saharan as well as East and West Africa, and the Americas, the *Companion* volumes acknowledge the current state of scholarly practices with a life of their own. The volumes aim to provide a fuller understanding of the global interconnectivity of Islamic art and architecture, with its diverse fusions of transregional and regional elements. This wide-lens cross-cultural perspective intersects with the current global turn in the discipline of art and architectural history, as reflected in the hiring preferences of departments and graduate student applications expressing a preference to work across and between the traditionally fixed boundaries of specialized fields.

Informed by critiques of Eurocentrism and colonialism, this trend has triggered a notable shift away from the former totalizing conception of civilizations/cultures as self-contained and unified entities, in favor of exploring their permeable boundaries, hybridity, diversity, and cosmopolitanism. The new stress on connectivity and mobility certainly resonates with contemporary multidisciplinary debates, favorable or not, on the present global world order: debates to which Islamic art and architecture has much to contribute, given its copious interchanges with the arts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and more recently America.[14] Although the present emphasis on porous cultural borders and malleability relates to the complex interactions that constitute the contemporary world, bringing into greater focus the global aspects of Islamic arts is not merely fashionable. It is an intrinsic and central characteristic of the field itself: a field crisscrossed by internal and external networks of exchange that are emphasized in the *Companion* volumes. At the same time, the essays acknowledge the importance of not ignoring local conditions, forms, and practices in favor of an exclusive emphasis on circulation and mobility. Consequently, many of the authors are concerned with intersections between the lateral flow of artistic forms and the vertical sedimentations and stratigraphies, rooted in traditions that shape specific modes of expression or reception.

This dialectical approach is not confined to questions of spatiality or spatial relations, it also includes questions of temporality that are closely tied up with our emphasis on periodization. The inclusion of post-1800 art and architecture in the second volume is in keeping with the ever growing interest in the modern and contemporary periods in the wider discipline of art history. Although debates about the appropriateness of the terms "Modern Islamic art" or "Contemporary Islamic art" mirror those surrounding the use of the term "Islamic art" itself,[15] the integration of these periods into the field's expanded canon opens new vistas on the nature of modernity and contemporaneity, and on what constitutes the global and local. Currently most historians of Islamic art are medievalists or early modernists, with little expertise in modern and contemporary art. It is true that interest in these later periods is growing among Islamicists, but it is not yet clear how that interest will be served within a discipline that has traditionally equated visual modernity with Euro-America, and carefully partitioned the modern from the pre-modern. Debates about how exactly to situate the study of the modern and contemporary art of the Islamic lands are ongoing. Therefore, rather than

prejudge the issue, the final section of the *Companion* volumes includes specially commissioned essays that reflect the loci of current interest, while articulating some of the discussions and tensions around the question of Islam, art, and the contemporary. We remain convinced that the modern and contemporary would require a separate volume or volumes of their own, especially since comprehensive surveys of the subject are only recently starting to appear, supplementing the proliferation of articles or catalogue essays.[16]

The inclusion of the modern and contemporary forms part of a commitment to rethinking the periodization of the field, an endeavor that structures both volumes of *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*. In keeping with our belief in the need for a plurality of approaches and voices, the periodization that we envision is not meant to be an inflexible straightjacket or to enforce new taxonomic orthodoxies. It does, however, engage the problem of choosing between dynastic and regional taxonomies. The basic division of the two volumes is structured around the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258. That event is widely accepted as marking a watershed in the development of Islamic art and architecture, even if its impact on artistic production has sometimes been overstated. After 1258, new formal, iconographic, and stylistic paradigms were established, among them the introduction of chinoiserie in the eastern Islamic lands unified under the Mongols. The bipartite division adopted in the pair of *Companion* volumes has the practical advantage of facilitating their combined use with the two Pelican survey volumes of Islamic art and architecture based on the same chronological division (650–1250, and 1250–1800).[17] Those surveys provide the basic descriptive encyclopedic background information for the more extended essays and critical approaches introduced in our Blackwell volumes.

The revised edition of the first Pelican volume, co-authored by Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Medina, adopts a geographical organizing principle with an emphasis on the western Islamic lands. This mode of organization stresses regional characteristics at the expense of synchronic unities and varieties across different geographies, and tends to underplay paradigmatic shifts in chronology brought about by radical changes of regime. An exception is made for Fatimid art, which is treated as a dynastic rather than regional category. On the other hand, the second volume, co-authored by Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, downplays geographical factors in favor of a chronological scheme, ordered under generally dynastic rubrics. The authors explain that they have given special emphasis to the arts of Iran, thereby accepting the canonical view that Islamic art was primarily Arab in its formative stage and overwhelmingly Persian thereafter. By contrast, coverage of the western Islamic lands, and North Africa in particular, occupies far less space, which is true of many of the recent survey books. The relatively summary treatment of the Maghrib in Anglophone scholarship is a reminder that the legacy of colonial "spheres of influence" continues to resonate in modern scholarship; until today, the vast majority of published work on Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia being Francophone.

While the bipartite chronological division of the two *Companion* volumes reflects standard practice, the nuances of the subdivisions within each volume propose, in effect, a new periodization for Islamic art and architecture. Within both volumes four further chronological subdivisions attempt to articulate the distinctiveness of major artistic and geopolitical developments during the more than 600-year span accommodated under each of the two broad pre- and post-Mongol rubrics. These subdivisions are accompanied by our brief introductions to each period, outlining the main cultural, artistic, and historical developments.

Spanning one to two and a half centuries, each subdivision constitutes a relatively coherent time zone characterized by specific configurations of regions and polities extending throughout the Islamic lands. By combining temporal with artistic, cultural, geographical, sociopolitical, and spatial factors, these subdivisions are intended to counter the idea of Islamic art and architecture as a singular and uniform entity. As such, they fulfill a function not unlike that of Goitein's differently conceptualized "distinct phases," forming "organic units" intended to destabilize the alleged unity of Islamic history. Our subdivisions are also envisioned with a view to counterbalancing the predominance of diachronic approaches in the field of Islamic art, which tend to construct imagined geographical–artistic continuities within modern national territorial boundaries by deliberately downplaying differences, ruptures, and intercultural artistic exchanges. The tendency to read the past through the optics of present-day national geographies has long obscured transregional synchronic unities and interactions with neighboring lands and non-Muslim subcultures within pre-modern Islamic polities, much as the comprehensive term "Islamic art" has afflicted the field with its tenuous universalism.[18] Our aim in adopting this fourfold periodization in each of the two volumes is to acknowledge difference and diversity, while also highlighting interconnectivities that constitute artistic networks that may or may not conform to taxonomies based on dynastic or regional criteria.

We found a chronologically guided organizational concept preferable for our purposes than an alternative thematic scheme that is increasingly employed in survey books of Islamic art and architecture, museum installations, and pan-Islamic thematic symposia.[19] Themes are certainly useful parametric devices in art historiography so long as they are properly historicized. Yet themes singled out in studies of Islamic art tend to be idiosyncratic, often reinforcing stereotypes about its presumed basic common denominators, thereby perpetuating ahistorical notions about the essential "character" or "spirit" of Islamic art and architecture. To that end, thematic approaches in the field generally deploy diachronic investigations revolving around the topos of unity in variety, or variety in unity.

Our concern with periodization reflects the problems with the term "Islamic art" discussed above, but it also intersects with a current interest in questions of periodization in the discipline of art history more generally. In 2008, for example, a special issue of *Perspective*, the house journal of the Institut nationale de l'histoire de l'art in France was dedicated to "La périodisation en histoire de l'art"

(Periodization in the History of Art). Acknowledging that periodization is essential for the art historian, contributors to that volume considered its pros and cons, along with the problems raised by the necessity for the discipline to encompass a global dimension that brings with it the need for a kind of "geohistory," combining the coordinates of space and time. Periodization is a complex tool with obvious, and somewhat arbitrary limits; it implies discontinuity and thus poses historical questions of continuity and change as well as agency.[20]

Because periodization may vary according to vantage point, we recognize the need for elasticity and do not insist on a single canonical model. Our matrix of periods is not incompatible with alternative pre-existing chronologies, named differently and comprising smaller or larger chronological units. What we do insist upon, however, is the necessity of periodization as an essential tool for acknowledging difference and change across geographies and temporalities, a tool that provides an antidote to the persistence of ahistorical approaches to Islamic art history. Paradoxically, another advantage of periodization is its potential to offset the professed fragmentation of the field by promoting lateral links, "connective tissue" between otherwise separate subfields of Islamic art history, which form enclaves of scholarship that rarely engage in conversation with one another.[21] Establishing more clearly defined periods of specialization may also counteract the field's perceived tendency toward entropy, and eventual dispersal, by formally acknowledging that no single person can be expected anymore to be equally proficient in all phases of Islamic art, as Oleg Grabar frankly admitted in a survey of the state of the field published in 1983:

> the artistic experience of the Muslim world in over 1,400 years is too rich, too varied, and too complex to lend itself to a single message, a single voice, or a single explanation. No one person can master its intricacies with the accuracy and commitment it deserves, and it would be a betrayal of its history to limit it to one formal system or to one set of explanations.[22]

The periods under which the essays of the *Companion* volumes are grouped comprise coherent yet flexible spatio-temporal matrices, with geographically and chronologically fluid boundaries. Each period represents changing modalities of human and nonhuman agency, with continually reconfigured constellations of Islamic visual cultures. These configurations can be conceptualized as interlinked networks of communication and exchange, with ever shifting urban centers of artistic production (whether royal or not) within which the parameters of unity and diversity were negotiated and historically reformulated. According to this dynamic model, no single unified Islamic art existed at any one time as a self-contained static entity created by peoples or polities with fixed identities. Instead, one may conceivably posit shifting identity strategies at work and successive processes of artistic formation and re-formation operating diachronically.[23]

Within each of the chronological subdivisions that structure both volumes, the changing dynamics and ongoing formative processes of Islamic art have been

explored through essays comprising a multiplicity of intersecting narratives and multifaceted mappings of time, space, artifacts, society, religion, culture, and the agencies of specific actors. A "top–down" model privileging the patronage of dynastic rulers and elites has been counterbalanced by "bottom–up" forces, taking into consideration the tastes of urban middle classes and various subcultures, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, as well as production in urban craft and court workshops. These inquiries firmly anchored in time and space are based on a close engagement with visual and written sources. Needless to say, there are obvious thematic, regional, and media-based connections between some essays contained under separate periods, which can be read in conjunction with one another by those interested in pursuing the diachronic threads that weave together the two *Companion* volumes.

The first volume titled "From the Prophet to the Mongols" is subdivided into the parts corresponding to the following four periods: (I) The Early Caliphates, Umayyads, and the End of Late Antiquity (650–750); (II) Abbasids and the Universal Caliphate (750–900); (III) Fragmentation and the Rival Caliphates of Cordoba, Cairo, and Baghdad (900–1050); (IV) "City States" and the Later Baghdad Caliphate (1050–1250). The second volume, in turn, is titled "From the Mongols to Modernism" and subsumes parts correlated with the following quadripartite periodization: (V) "Global" Empires and the World System (1250–1450); (VI) Early Modern Empires and their Neighbors (1450–1700); (VII) Modernity, Empire, Colony, and Nation (1700–1950); (VIII) Islam, Art, and the Contemporary (1950–Present).

Where our eightfold periodization differs from that of Goitein mentioned above is his more reductive division into four periods that completely elide the early modern era. Goitein's scheme begins with two shorter periods (500–850 and 850–1250), after which there is an unusually protracted intermediate period of stasis spanning 550 years (1250–1800),[24] which then culminates in the modern era, or a period defined as "1800–Present, Transition to National Cultures, mainly inspired by sources other than Islam." Goitein's omission of the early modern period reflects a now outdated view that Islamic civilization continued to be medieval until the modern epoch, with no Renaissance and Reformation of its own, eventually losing its vitality as a declining civilization that was finally transformed by "Western impact."

It has been claimed that "one can speak of a unified [Islamic] civilization and art" for the pre-Mongol period, but not later on when it "becomes more difficult to speak of a single Islamic art."[25] Because of this common assumption the post-Mongol era has traditionally posed a distinct challenge to more systematic analyses of the modalities of continuity and change through periodization. The spatio-temporal matrices that organize essays in the *Companion* volumes complicate that assumption by altogether dissolving the pre-1250 unity paradigm, and by introducing in the second volume four coherent periods with a tighter and more integrated treatment. As such, the truly radical changes that appeared after 1250 become a matter of degree, rather than a complete breakdown requiring an entirely different or atomistic approach.

Conversely, the periodization adopted here is also intended to address a relative lack of subtlety in the conceptualization of the early modern period. This is telling indeed, as the art historiography of the early modern period has undergone unprecedented development over the last two decades, with the modern and contemporary periods recently beginning to follow suit. It is such discrepancies in established schemes that the reconceptualized periodization we propose in the *Companion* volumes seeks to remedy.

## Foundations and Historiography of the Field

Belief that Islamic cultures exist in a time of their own (or even outside of time) is one of the main factors that motivated the traditional segregation of Islamic art and architecture from coeval post-medieval periods in surveys of global art history (particularly Renaissance to contemporary). This denial of coevalness is evident in surveys of world art not only in the omission of Islamic artworks produced after 1700 or 1800 but also in the anachronistic medievalization of masterpieces from the early modern period. Thus the latter works are often relegated to a chapter on the Middle Ages, instead of appearing where they belong chronologically; namely, in the Renaissance and Baroque periods that are exclusively defined in terms of Western European styles.[26]

Whereas the late antique and medieval periods have traditionally been treated as coeval with their counterparts in the Western tradition (Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic), integrating early modern Islamic art into the Eurocentric historiographies of global art history has posed a major problem. That problem is embedded in the questionable nineteenth-century view that the classical Mediterranean artistic heritage, shared in common by early and medieval Islamic art, became the exclusive preserve of Europe after the Renaissance. At the root of the problem is the traditional conceptualization of Renaissance humanism as marking a major cultural break between Christian Europe and its Islamic neighbors, a unique *sui generis* phenomenon that inaugurated modernity only in the West. The idea is only recently being questioned in revisionist studies by Europeanist scholars who attempt to "reorient" the Renaissance between East and West.[27]

These studies have done much to remedy some of the problems highlighted here, but they tend to focus on the relations between Europe and one or more non-European cultures. As a result, Europe and the Renaissance remain firmly entrenched at the heart of contemporary scholarship, with its strong focus on early histories of the "global." While the participation of the Islamic world in the "Renaissance" can no longer be doubted, the global resonances of Islamic art and architecture outside of its relation to Europe both before and after 1250 need more sustained study. Under the Abbasid caliphate, for example, merchants from Arabia, Iraq, and Iran were actively engaged in mercantile networks that

connected China, East Africa, India, Indonesia, and the Middle East. Similarly, in the early modern period, Indian merchants and their agents traded in the Ottoman lands and Safavid Iran, while the manuscript cultures of the Horn of Africa, Arabia, Egypt, and Southeast Asia were marked by intensive mutual exchanges across remarkable distances; Europe's contribution to this network spanning thousands of miles lay simply in providing industrially produced paper.[28] These sorts of case studies are ongoing, and promise to broaden the horizons of the global well beyond its traditional Eurocentric focus.

A related issue has been the theorization of Islam as a civilization that is "intermediate," trapped in the "Middle Ages" between classical antiquity and its rediscovery by early modern European humanists. This leaves the art and architecture of Islam (if not Islamic cultures in general) permanently fixated on and unable to transcend their avowed creative zenith in the medieval period. One of the leading proponents of that position was Carl Heinrich Becker (d. 1933), the renowned Orientalist scholar and Prussian minister of culture who institutionalized Islamic studies in Germany and founded the still influential journal *Der Islam*. Becker's paradigm of world civilizations was progressive in its integration of Islam into Europe, but only as the "middle link" of global history. In his hierarchical ranking of civilizations Becker placed Islam below Europe and above Africa, assigning to it a central position in world history as the mediator between East and West. Although following the lead of earlier Germanophone scholars such as Alois Riegl (d. 1905) in acknowledging the shared Hellenistic-cum-late antique roots of Islamdom and Christendom during the Middle Ages, Becker regarded Renaissance humanism as marking a permanent cultural break between Western Europe and the Islamic world. This perspective was echoed in the primarily medieval Islamic collections of the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, inaugurated in 1932, after being housed since 1904 at the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (now the Bode Museum). The Pergamon Museum's Islamic wing occupies a physically intermediary position between ancient archaeology and the Bode Museum's late antique to medieval collections, which culminate in the modern period. In this way, it quite literally performs the central mediating role allocated to Islamic art at that time.[29]

The idea of Islamic art as a medieval art is therefore profoundly engrained in the field's self-definition, which has consistently privileged formative origins over processes of historical development. The early medieval period in the heartland of the Fertile Crescent has customarily been considered the "classical moment" when the norms of typically Islamic art allegedly became codified in the ninth century, leading to the assessment of works from later periods as derivative regional variants, an idea underlining the pervasive idea of unity in variety. This perspective can be correlated with the "golden age" and "decline" paradigms advanced by text-based Oriental studies that glorified the ninth century as the highpoint of "classical" Islamic civilization, which thereafter entered a long period of decline after fulfilling the useful service of transmitting the classical Greek heritage to Europe via Arabic translations.

The protracted decline was generally correlated with the fragmentation of the Abbasid caliphate, the challenge posed by Shi'i dynasties such as the Fatimids, the eventual political ascendancy of the Seljuq Turks in the eleventh century, followed by a succession of Turko-Mongol dynasties with Persianate cultural affinities in the eastern Islamic lands, and the last artistic glories of medieval Arab civilization manifested in Mamluk Syria and Egypt on the one hand, and in Nasrid Spain and the Maghrib on the other. According to this school of thought, by the early modern period (often conflated with the modern era), Islam had sunk into an inexorable state of backwardness only to be rescued by more advanced European powers. Even the traditional geographical scope of the field of Islamic art history roughly corresponds to the specialization of European Orientalist scholars on the medieval Middle East, with its three leading languages in hierarchical order (Arabic, Persian, and Turkish) that resulted in the marginalization of other relevant languages (such as Amharic, Greek, Syriac, Armenian, Hebrew, Urdu, Sanskrit, Mongolian, Chinese, Malay, Swahili, or Slavic, to name a few).

Closely allied to the "golden age" and "decline" paradigms, which informed the periodization of Islamic art history, is the dialectic of continuity versus innovation. The filiation of Islamic art and architecture with the heritage of Hellenism in late antiquity was a productive paradigm for theorizing the formation of Islamic art.[30] However, the recent shift in historiography from a model of relative rupture to uninterrupted continuity is not entirely satisfactory, since it fails to account for the agency of an Umayyad contribution to the art of a "long late antiquity."[31] The assessment of continuity versus innovation is ultimately dependent upon differences in approach and the impossibility of an ideal framework, given the diverse and disparate nature of the Islamic field. In the study of the early Islamic period the dialectic between continuity and innovation, or diversity and unity, is directly related to questions about where and when a distinctive Islamic art emerges, what its defining features might be, and the perennial question: What is "Islamic" about Islamic art? This in turn is connected to the larger previously mentioned tendency for scholarship on (and constituting) Islamic art to swing between two extremes, from the ahistoricity and potential essentialism of the term "Islamic," to the secularism of ethnically and regionally inflected historical categories.

As is well known, interest in Islamic luxury goods and material culture in the West goes back to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, amplified from the fifteenth century onwards by increased mobility and the circulation of prints and travel literature with the advent of the printing press. Nevertheless, serious academic study of Islamic art and architecture dates from the period of the Enlightenment.[32] From the eighteenth century onwards, European travelers and scholars began to collect and write about Islamic art, both from first-hand experience of Islamic lands and from the random selection of coins, metalwork, and paintings in European collections at their disposal. The question of attitudes to images often crops up in these early studies. In 1721, for example, the topic of painting among the Turks and Persians was treated at length in a *memoire* by the

French royal geographer Bourguignon d'Anville.[33] A more imaginative explora-
tion of images in Islamic societies, written by the Venetian Abbé Toderini,
appeared in French (translated from the Italian) in 1789, and was frequently cited
thereafter. The essay is particularly interesting for having been inspired by the
Abbé's acquisition of an illustrated Ottoman copy of the *Tārīkh-i Hind-i gharbī*
(The History of the West Indies), published in 1730 by Ibrahim Müteferrika
(d. 1745), a Hungarian convert to Islam who ran a celebrated printing press in
Istanbul. One of the first illustrated printed books in Ottoman Turkish, the text
was accompanied by 12 woodcut illustrations in which both men and animals of
the Americas were depicted.[34]

Despite these pioneering studies, it was only towards the end of the nineteenth
century that a combination of Orientalist scholarship, colonialism, archaeology,
the rise of the museum and ephemeral exhibition, and even the department store
spurred the emergence of more concerted and systematic approaches to the study
of Islamic art and architecture. Studies on the historiography of the field have
amply documented its origins at the interstices of Oriental studies and philology,
epigraphy, numismatics, archaeology, museology, collecting and the art market,
with art history being a relative latecomer.[35] This is not the place to repeat the
detailed genealogy of that trajectory, yet it must be strongly emphasized that
the study of Islamic objects and monuments was central to the development of
the wider discipline of art history as a whole, particularly in Austria and Germany.
Relevant figures include the likes of Alois Riegl, whose post as curator of the
carpet collection of the Museum of Applied Arts (MAK) in Vienna spurred an
interest in ornament that found expression not only in a much-neglected book on
Islamic carpets but also in a series of path-breaking books on late antique, medi-
eval, and early modern ornament. These challenged the prevailing orthodoxies
within the nascent discipline of art history by arguing for continuity and transfor-
mation, rather than decline, between the arts of classical antiquity and Islam, a
topic that continues to resonate in modern scholarship.[36] Those who followed
Riegl's lead included Wilhelm von Bode (d. 1929), Friedrich Sarre (d. 1945),
Ernst Herzfeld (d. 1948), Ernst Kühnel (d. 1964), Kurt Erdmann (d. 1964), and
Richard Ettinghausen (d. 1979), scholars who initiated a sophisticated apprecia-
tion of Islamic art and architecture through archaeological explorations within
the Ottoman territories, as well as studies on the "arabesque" and ornament, the
applied arts, and particularly carpets.[37]

Ettinghausen, a museum assistant participating in the installation of Islamic
collections at the Pergamon Museum before immigrating to the United States
from Nazi-controlled Germany, was the main catalyst in linking the tradition of
art historical scholarship in German-speaking countries with the emerging Islamic
field in his new habitat. He and his younger colleague, Oleg Grabar (d. 2011),
who was educated in France and the United States, have unanimously been hailed
as the two leading doyens of the field in American scholarship. Their predecessor
Mehmet Aga-Oglu (d. 1949), a scholar, curator, professor, and founding editor

of *Ars Islamica* (published 1934–1951), who pioneered the establishment of that field during his 20-year career in the United States, was born to Turkish parents in Yerevan, Armenia, and educated in Moscow, Istanbul, Berlin, and Vienna. In Tsarist Russia, late Ottoman Turkey, Austria, and Germany he met and studied with some of the founding figures of the field, including Halil Ethem Eldem (d. 1938), Carl Heinrich Becker (d. 1933), Ernst Herzfeld (d. 1941), and Josef Strzygowski (d. 1941).[38]

The connections between these individual actors testify to the international cosmopolitan milieus within which the field initially flourished through a collaboration of "foreign" (primarily French and German) and "indigenous" networks of expertise. In addition to key German contributions to the early history of the field, other centers for the study and collecting of Islamic art complemented this early multinational core (especially the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain, the Soviet Republics, Iran, Egypt, Syria, and South Asia), with Paris, London, and to a lesser degree New York constituting the primary centers for the art market initially dominated by Armenian dealers. Particularly after World War I, art historical scholarship proliferated in nation states with an Islamic visual patrimony, such as Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, India (and later Bangladesh and Pakistan), Spain, Italy (Sicily), and the Soviet Central Asian Republics.

Recently, the early historiography of Islamic art and architecture has become a lively subject of critical inquiry in its own right.[39] Thanks to these inquiries the ways in which trends in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship in Europe, the Middle East, and the United States have shaped the development of the field are becoming increasingly apparent. This is especially evident in the pervasiveness of certain favored topics above others, among them some of the peculiar tropes of the field that we will discuss in the next section. A central topic of interest was the already mentioned shared late antique heritage of Islamic art with Christendom and Judaism.[40] In addition, some of the early interest shown in Islamic art was functional or utilitarian. Studies on the "arabesque," and more generally decorative motifs and ornament, constituted a consistent topos that was initially instrumentalized for improving the industrial arts in Europe, becoming widely emulated by practitioners of the Arts and Crafts movement, and later on of the Art Deco and Art Nouveau styles. Islamic arts and calligraphy subsequently captivated the imagination of avant-garde modernist artists interested in abstraction (a theme discussed further below), as well as modern and contemporary architects-designers.[41] As an offshoot of the fascination with the eternal arabesque and its roots in late antique prototypes, interpretations of the timeless unity, "character" or "spirit" of Islamic art too gained momentum.[42] So did the question of aniconism and the alleged Islamic prohibition of figural representation, as discussed below.[43]

The primacy of Near Eastern archaeology in early research firmly established the centrality of Islamic architecture and the so-called Islamic city in scholarship, along with the affiliated subject of the "paradise garden," part of an ongoing

fascination with the theme of Paradise as an assumed trope in Islamic art.[44] With the agency of collectors and museums, subjects such as "Persian painting" eventually surfaced as subfields along with other media-based research on calligraphy, carpets, textiles, ceramics, glass, and metalwork. The reception of the "arts of Islam" in France at the turn of the twentieth century and the biographies of Parisian tastemakers have shown that the collections of the Musée des Arts Decoratifs were dominated by samples of "later Islamic art," which exercised a greater appeal to collectors than did the antiquarian tastes of Orientalist scholars, with their focus on early Islamic archaeology and epigraphy.[45] Media-based subfields were soon accompanied by studies focusing on particular ethnic or national artistic traditions with racial overtones. The teleological genealogies of Arab (Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi), Moorish (Spanish, North African), Persian, Indian, Turkish, and Central Asian art were subsequently complemented by monographic books on associated dynastic subcategories (e.g., Fatimid, Ayyubid, Mamluk, Seljuq, Mongol-Ilkhanid, Timurid, Uzbek, Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal to name the more prominent examples).

The desire to account for the unity and variety of Islamic art by reference to ethno-religious character traits has occluded the complexity of transregional artistic production in Islamic lands constituted as multiethnic, multilinguistic, and multiconfessional polities before the advent of modern nation states. The intimate connection between colonialism and European Orientalist scholarship on Islamic art and architecture is a widely acknowledged factor that contributed to shaping the field's early historiography. While this is generally recognized, the almost simultaneous mirroring of concepts absorbed from European Orientalist scholarship in the early nationalist and pan-Islamist narratives of native scholarship in Islamic countries has only recently been exposed. Hence, Orientalist and nationalist paradigms were inextricably entangled in the art and architectural historiography of the Islamic field, produced by European and indigenous scholars alike.[46]

The legacy in postcolonial scholarship of divisions based on colonial era zones of influence is another factor that is not readily acknowledged. This includes the predominance of Francophone scholarship on North Africa and Syria, Anglophone interests in Egypt and India, and Russian scholarship on Central Asia, a division of labor producing scholarship that cleaves along cultural and linguistic fault lines. Although Iran and the Ottoman empires were not colonies, various overlays of colonial influence prevailed in both. The resulting fragmentation in scholarship brought about the sundering of North Africa from Spain, Egypt, and Syria; of India from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Iran; of Iran from Anatolia, Central Asia, and Afghanistan. The anti-Ottomanism of French and British colonial scholarship in areas seized from that empire contributed to the devaluation of Ottoman-Turkish art, until it was promoted as a legitimate field of study by the efforts of German and Austro-Hungarian art historians and their native colleagues, at a time when strong political alliances joined together these multinational empires.[47] Emerging forces of the art market also exerted a

considerable influence on the ethnographic construction of a hierarchy of peoples and artistic traditions that came to privilege Persian art (seen as the product of an "Aryan" people) by the early twentieth century, resulting in the deliberate mislabeling of Turkish artifacts as Persian or Turko-Persian, and those of India as Indo-Persian.

Much like the Ottoman Balkans, Soviet Central Asia remained disconnected from mainstream scholarship on Islamic art and architecture, along with entire areas excluded from survey books, such as China, Mongolia, Indonesia, and Africa (with the exception of its northern strip). In short, the exclusions and subdivisions of postcolonial scholarship, accompanied by linguistic barriers, have played no small role in obstructing comprehensive studies on the global connectivity of Islamic visual cultures in formerly linked geographies, which constituted contact zones and spaces for intercultural interaction over the centuries. Some of the essays commissioned for the two *Companion* volumes address aspects of this legacy, providing diverse perspectives on their ramifications and focusing on underrepresented periods, regions, and topics.

## Some Historical Peculiarities and Tropes of the Field

Favorite themes and topics of nineteenth- to mid-twentieth-century scholarship continue to prevail among the historical peculiarities and tropes of studies on Islamic art and architecture. Here we briefly touch upon some of them, including the paradoxical treatment of religion, the role of written sources, the canonical position of epigraphy and archaeology, the primacy of architecture and the decorative or "minor arts," the emphasis on an assumed *Bilderverbot* (prohibition of images), and the prevalence of iconographic approaches to Islamic art.

A perennial problem inherent in the monolithic concept of Islamic art has been a dubious universalism, attributed to the common denominator of religion or religious culture. The treatment of religion, in turn, constitutes a central paradox in the field which oscillates between two poles of scholarship, from the secularism of historical frameworks to the ahistoricity of religious essentialism, namely, from the occlusion of religion to its elevation as the main determining factor of artistic production.[48] As we have seen, this oscillation is apparent in historical pendulum swings between ethnic or regional (and secular) categorization (Arab, Persian, or Turkish art) through the more universalizing "Islamic art" and back again. The question "what is Islamic about Islamic art?" has generated answers ranging from Islam as religion, to Islam as culture and civilization.

The culture–civilization perspective, which may or may not include a religious dimension, tends to be focused on issues of power politics, ideology, and royal patronage. What has only rarely been emphasized is the interface between the visual arts and contemporaneous trends in theology, legal theory, philosophy, the sciences, technology, literature, or music. One of the reasons for this striking

segregation of artistic–architectural production from cultural–intellectual pursuits is the prevalent assumption that art-makers in the Islamic lands were mostly illiterate handworkers, cut off from the contexts of high culture intellectual environments that surrounded them; this despite the abundant signatures on medieval objects and monuments (contradicting an established trope regarding the reluctance of Muslim artists to sign their work) or evidence for medieval ceramicists composing the verses they inscribed on their works.[49] This modernist assumption about the autonomy of Islamic visual arts is sometimes compounded by the positivism of the field's traditional methods and the substratum of an anti-intellectual stance against interpretation or theory.[50]

The alternative response to the question "what is Islamic about Islamic art?" foregrounds religion as the pre-eminent component and motivator. What is understood by religion entails a wide spectrum of interpretation, sometimes tending towards an essentialism rooted in the idea of a timeless, unchanging, and monolithic Islam. At the other end of the spectrum is recent revisionist scholarship that questions conventional understandings of the historicity of the Prophet Muhammad, the Qur'an and the Sunna and hadith. One advantage of such hardline revisionist approaches is that they have inspired debate and spurred a range of excellent scholarship on early Islam.[51] By contrast with this intense focus on origins, however, the impact of Sunni versus Sunni, and Sunni versus Shi'i sectarianism on artistic production, has generally been marginalized by monolithic visions of an artistic tradition unified by Islam, while Sufism is largely neglected, although valorized.[52]

Unlike studies on medieval art in the Latin West or Byzantium that have routinely been contextualized by the use of historical sources on mysticism and theological controversies (Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, or Protestant), interpretations of Islamic art hardly ever turn to juridical or theological texts that may shed light on the historicity of religious attitudes towards the visual arts in different times and places, other than standard hadith collections or the Qur'an. A curious paradox of the field of Islamic art and architecture, then, is that while the term "Islamic art" suggests the centrality of religion, and while there has been a consistent fascination with the idea of Paradise among historians of Islamic art, there has been very little scrutiny or clarification of the nature of potential connections between artistic production and religious belief that goes beyond subjective judgments veering between the poles of secular humanism and ahistorical religiosity. Curiously, this is true even of the art historical treatment of the early development of mosques and the material Qur'an (*mushaf*).

Arguably, the reluctance to make use of exegetical, juridical, and theological sources in order to understand artworks for which only few contemporary sources exist, reflects the historical origins of the field in a secular humanist milieu that was suspicious of religion in general, and religious Islam in particular. In addition, there has been a tendency among historians of Islamic art to perceive sources seen as religious as existing outside of history, and therefore incapable of providing the

"hard" data privileged in the field. Despite this reticence, some recent studies of specific kinds of material forms and practices – among them early funerary architecture, mosques, medieval metalwork, and imported paper –have drawn liberally from both exegetical literature (*tafsir*) and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) to excellent effect.[53]

The reluctance to engage with the widest possible range of primary sources is not only the product of an ambivalent attitude towards religion but also points to some historical peculiarities in approaches to textual sources more generally. In his 1951 essay on the state of studies on "Islamic Art and Archaeology," Richard Ettinghausen noted the division of the field into two camps whose methods should be combined: on the one hand scholars of Islamic studies without adequate visual skills, and on the other hand those well versed in stylistic analysis without sufficient command of textual sources. Thus, among the future agendas of the field, he highlighted the "need to study written primary sources so as to move beyond formal stylistic considerations to wider aspects of meaning and cultural context." A comparable contextual approach was promoted by Oleg Grabar, who emphasized the linguistic training of students in order to merge text-based and visual analysis common in other fields of art history. Thus in 1976, he recommended the compilation of repositories of documents and translations of primary sources among future priorities of the field.[54]

Despite this, and regardless of the fact that a vast array of potential primary sources has yet to be effectively marshaled for the study of Islamic material culture, a recent survey of the field asserts a preference for "traditional approaches" that "begin with the artworks themselves," attributing the shift of research to later periods since the 1970s to the greater availability of documentary evidence for those periods and to "the current fashion to privilege the text over the work of art itself," which requires "fancy footwork" to link written and visual sources.[55] However, in addition to the clear failure to capitalize on the widest possible range of sources for the medieval or pre-modern period, as in other fields, so too in the study of Islamic art the post-medieval period is naturally characterized by a larger number of written and visual sources. The extant artifacts and buildings are complemented by new genres of writing on the arts from the fifteenth century onward, especially in Persian and Turkish. Primary written sources in the Islamic lands that specifically concern the visual arts, such as biographies of calligraphers and painters, treatises on calligraphy, or on the lives of architects, emerge rather late during the early modern period as in Europe, which developed its own discourses on the arts from the Renaissance onwards. As for the medieval or pre-modern period, the written sources of the Islamic world are quite comparable if not richer than their Western counterparts, comprising a wide range of subjects such as aesthetics, biography, calligraphy, cosmology, geography, geometry, hagiography, *hisba* (a legal genre of market regulation that includes the arts and crafts), history, jurisprudence, legal endowments (*waqfiyyas*), literature, mathematics, metaphysics, music, philosophy, poetics, and theology.[56]

Many of these neglected potential sources have their own genre conventions that require specialist knowledge to navigate; conversely, those versed in the contexts and conventions of such sources are often unaware of their implications for the study of material culture. What is badly needed are more collaborative enterprises between scholars of material culture and texts. Perhaps an unexpected advantage of the current crisis in the funding of the humanities is that it will foster such collaborations across disciplinary boundaries, even if only for pragmatic reasons. One practical problem that has governed access to such sources is the frequent absence of published editions or recensions of key primary texts, let alone trustworthy translations. Recent initiatives to address this problem by publishing bilingual editions of major works are to be welcomed and may well change the nature of the source materials employed by art historians.[57] Typically, however, the same narrow range of texts available in translation in European languages has been endlessly recycled in art historical scholarship on the Islamic world, much as the same small coterie of canonical objects is consistently reproduced in illustrated survey texts. Rather than challenging the canon, or expanding its reach, such circumscription and repetition tends to reinforce the status quo, reducing the history of Islamic art to the objects and texts most accessible to (mainly Euro-American) scholars.

Instead of the paucity or proliferation of primary sources, the real issue seems to be the range of texts that scholars imagine to be useful, as well as questions of what one is looking for in texts, how one uses them, and whether or not they can shed light on the visual arts. The use of primary written sources was and still is generally limited to establishing facts concerning dates, provenance, and attribution, spiced with some anecdotal narratives. With a few exceptions, the immense corpus of medieval and post-medieval juridical, literary, and poetic sources remains largely untapped, thanks to the traditional emphasis on cataloguing and taxonomically classifying available artifacts. No wonder, then, that the field has been dominated by surveys, archaeology reports, and exhibition catalogues, as Oleg Grabar noted in 1976.[58]

One strand of scholarship on Islamic art to which the use of texts has been central is the search for meaning and symbolism, characterizing the work of many scholars in the post World War II period. At its best, this has inspired work that attempts to bridge the gap between things and texts; at its worst, it has resulted in crude essentialism, the idea of essential meanings attaching to "Islamic" artistic forms, regardless of where and when they occur.[59] Within the academy, the most common manifestation of this interest in questions of meaning is seen in the proliferation of iconographic studies in the second half of the twentieth century, largely focused on the content and meanings of images. In addition to their advantage of fostering the deployment of primary sources in attempts to understand the meaning of images for those who made and viewed them, such approaches can broaden the horizons of interpretation. However, it is doubtful whether any text can ever fully account for a building or object — for its

materiality, scale, technique, and so on, which also contribute to its overall meaning. Moreover, the logocentrism associated with the privileging of texts as vectors of interpretation runs the risk of sidelining the agency of artists and craftsmen, especially in cases where the imagery under analysis diverges significantly from textual canons. A more significant issue arising from the application of the iconographic method to Islamic art is the fact that it was primarily developed in analyses of European figural art. While it has proved very useful in the study of figural imagery in Islamic art, scholars have differed markedly over the question of whether one can talk of an iconography of the nonfigural ornament that is so pervasive in Islamic art and architecture; this is an ongoing debate.[60]

A second strand of interpretation that has flourished in the field over the past few decades, and which was closely associated with the late Oleg Grabar, draws upon theories of language in its attempt to elucidate meaning in Islamic art and architecture. This semiotic approach, rooted in the study of signs and the ways in which they connote and denote in the production of meaning, has been especially prominent in the study of architecture and epigraphy.[61] A potential weakness is its abstraction of material forms and practices, their subordination to linguistic theories whose application is often characterized by a lack of historicity, and whose validity for the study of material phenomena has been debated. A strength of this approach lies in its recognition that all kinds of forms are capable of signifying, of conveying meaning, so moving the ground of interpretation beyond the rather narrow field of figural art.

Historians of Islamic art have generally not dealt well with questions of materiality. Epigraphy has, for example, been central to the study of Islamic architecture, yet until recently inscriptions were rarely read from the monuments on which they were placed but from modern printed compendia.[62] Their compilation was initiated in the 1890s by the Swiss master of Arabic epigraphy, Max van Berchem, and was geared towards the encyclopedic compilation of an additively growing *Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions* that was to be accompanied by an unrealized *Manual of Arab Archaeology*. The latter would have been arranged according to media, such as inscriptions, coins, seals, architecture, and the applied arts, from which van Berchem excluded the arts of the book and painting. Although the pioneering epigraphic compendia are immensely useful, when scholars access monumental inscriptions in published form, transliterated and printed according to the conventions of modern typography, they lose the ability to consider questions of material, placement, scale, script, and relationship to architectural spaces, questions that were no less integral to the meaning of an inscription than its semantic content, the nugget of data that it conveyed.[63]

This neglect is all the more surprising, since one of the persistent tropes in the study of Islamic art is that in their content, placement, and scale, monumental Islamic inscriptions, at least those found in mosques and shrines, fulfill the function of icons in Christian contexts.[64] Despite the ubiquity of this idea (which would bear much closer analysis than it has received), it is only recently that any

attention has been paid to the content of religious inscriptions in Islamic architecture. The primary focus on historical inscriptions in the study of monumental epigraphy seems to have been informed by the perception of religious and literary inscriptions as mostly decorative rather than iconographically meaningful, a view that is no longer subscribed to by Islamic art and architectural historians.[65] Still, some peculiarities remain: while recent decades have seen increasing attention to the choice of Qur'anic inscriptions in architectural epigraphy, less attention is paid to the presence of hadith (Traditions of the Prophet) even in religious architecture, and the potential choices that underlay their selection.

The traditional emphasis on "hard" data can partly be attributed to the role played by archaeology in the construction of the field and the constitution of its canon.[66] Excavations in the ninth-century Abbasid capital Samarra in the decades before World War I were especially influential, transforming what was previously known about early Islamic architecture, gardens, ornament, and urbanism; the results of these excavations continue to resonate in contemporary scholarship. Acknowledging the historical importance of archaeology, Ettinghausen and Grabar, who were among the first scholars to write state of the field essays in 1951 and 1976, respectively, titled them "Islamic Art and Archaeology." Ettinghausen stressed the "split personality" of the field's genealogy, oscillating between art history and archaeology, while Grabar observed a tension between the legacy of the two fields; his subsequent state of the field essay in 1983, titled "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art," dropped archaeology from the field's name.[67] Although archaeology has recently lost ground as a specialized subfield increasingly divorced from the wider discipline of art history, it continues to be an important component of the Islamic field.[68]

One of the legacies of the historical relationship to the discipline of archaeology is the prioritization of architecture, separated from the so-called minor arts in the study of Islamic art. This bifurcation is evident in the earliest examples of the manual format, which became the prototype of several handbooks on Islamic art and architecture. An early example is Henri Saladin and Gaston Migeon's, *Manuel d'art musulman*, published in 1907.[69] Comprising not just Arab but also Persian, Turkish, and Indian art, its first volume covered the privileged medium of architecture, with the second one dedicated to the decorative arts and painting. The updated edition of the *Manual*, published in 1927, could no longer cope with the expansion of information even though it was twice as large in size. The architectural volumes, written by Georges Marçais, covered only North Africa, Spain, and Sicily. The volumes on the arts written by Migeon, who was a curator at the Louvre's "objets d'art" department, capture the growing fascination with illustrated manuscripts, particularly what came to be known as "Persian painting." The "minor arts" and painting largely fell into the domain of museum curators, collectors, and dealers, unlike architectural history with its stronger academic connection to Max van Berchem's conception of archaeology and epigraphy.[70]

The taste for ornamental eclecticism among European collectors, dealers, artisans, artists, architects, and travelers has left behind a still vibrant legacy of deep appreciation of Islamic art, based on purely aesthetic criteria. The nineteenth-century aestheticization of the Islamic visual tradition facilitated its adoption in the West as a neutral transcultural model for the industrial arts and architectural design.[71] The abstract values of Islamic art, ornament, and calligraphy have also been and continue to be a rich source of inspiration for contemporary artists-designers and architects from both Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds in the increasingly globalized present.

The emphasis on the ornamental qualities of Islamic art and architecture is, however, related to the historical tendency to deny that ornamental forms could be imbued with any associated meaning. It is also closely allied to one of the most persistent tropes in the perception and study of Islamic art: the idea that Islamic art is a strictly aniconic art, or that the reflexive aniconism and iconoclasm of Muslims (the two are often conflated) spurred the compensatory development of calligraphy, geometric ornament, and vegetal imagery (especially the arabesque), since figural art was not an option. The idea of Islamic art as an art of aniconic abstraction is remarkably persistent, regardless of the vast array of figural art from the medieval and early modern Islamic world that appears in museum collections and survey texts. It is rooted in nineteenth-century conceptualizations of Islamic art and architecture as an offshoot of a late antique artistic heritage that was shared by Europe but that took a radical, aniconic turn, which some nineteenth-century scholars ascribed to the re-emergence of a "Semitic" distaste for figural art from under a veneer of Hellenism that had spread across the Near East with the conquests of Alexander the Great.

The question of aniconism and the image in Islamic art had been a topos in the writings of European travelers from the sixteenth century onwards, but the nineteenth century saw the issue incorporated into "scientific" discourses on the Orient and Orientals. Around 1860, the idea of an image problem in Islam and Judaism was reified by the coining of the German term *Bilderverbot* to name an assumed rejection of mimesis and figuration on the part of "Semitic" peoples (that is, Arabs and Jews) and, by not entirely logical extension, of Muslims in general. Within these racially inflected discourses, Arabs were distinguished from Persians. Writing in 1896, the Belgian scholar Victor Chauvin, paraphrasing the French Orientalist Charles Barbier de Meynard, noted that the triumph of the iconoclastic spirit in Islam followed from "the triumph of the Semitic element over the powerful current of ideas coming, directly in the case of the Persians, and indirectly elsewhere, from the Aryan spirit."[72] Thus, racial abstractions were mapped onto artistic forms. The convolutions of the arabesque – universally acknowledged as the distinguishing feature of Islamic art par excellence– could even be invoked as emblematizing the quasi-sexual threat of miscegenation posed by Oriental Semites to the legacy of Aryan Hellenic civilization in Europe.[73]

The invocation of the arabesque reflects the importance that ornament had assumed in late nineteenth-century debates about culture as an index of race. Islamic art was especially susceptible to the charge of ornamentalism, since it occupied an ambiguous role in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European debates on aesthetics and ethics. As early as the 1860s, two related but not entirely commensurate developments are discernible in French and German discourses on ornament that were to have a long-lasting impact on the perception of Islamic art. The first is the identification of the "arabesque" (a term coined in early modern Europe) not only as the epitome of Islamic art but also as the epitome of the ornamental. The second is the idea that the arabesque was symptomatic of a racially determined penchant for abstraction and an incapacity for mimesis or naturalistic representation, the appropriate goals of all artistic activity within a European tradition that claimed the classical tradition as its own. These debates on the causes and symptoms of the *Bilderverbot* were contemporary with the rise of European colonialism. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, to find the idea of an image prohibition in Islam being invoked by colonial officials in the Arab lands as symptomatic of the persistence of a medieval mindset that precluded the ability to modernize and progress under the aegis of colonial rule.[74] Conversely, it was scholars from the Arab world critiquing this reductive and racialized strand in Orientalist scholarship who pioneered the use of juridical and theological sources for providing more complex histories of attitudes to images in the Islamic world.[75]

This is a largely forgotten history, but one with striking contemporary resonances for a Europe presently convulsed over issues of migration and assimilation, in which attitudes to images are once again being deployed as a touchstone of difference, as witnessed in recent controversies around caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad.[76] Moreover, understanding this longer European historiography is important for understanding some of the more idiosyncratic tropes of the field. Among the more peculiar clichés of Islamic art, for example, is the idea of the horror *vacui*, the idea that artists in the Islamic world had an instinctive horror of empty space, owing to which they packed as much ornament onto the surface of artifacts and buildings as possible. The most sustained exploration of this purported phenomenon offers the hypothesis that those whose urban centers were separated by menacing deserts internalized a fear of the threat posed by these wide open spaces, and hence developed a compulsion to leave no empty spaces in their artworks.[77] Whether seen as amusing, sinister, or quirky, it is important to acknowledge that these kinds of interpretations are deeply rooted in broader art historical debates about art, environmental determinism, and mentalité that were current in the early twentieth-century continental milieu from which many of the pioneering scholars of Islamic art hailed.[78]

One further aspect of the idea of the *Bilderverbot* and its legacy to contemporary perceptions and representations of Islamic art is the consistent emphasis on abstraction as a core value of Islamic art, whether presented as reflecting a racial

predisposition, the impact of an image prohibition, or both. As noted above, in European scholarship of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the abstract qualities of Islamic (with the possible exception of Persian) art was generally seen in negative terms. However, with the rise of abstraction as a positive aesthetic value in Euro-American art of the pre-World War II period, it became valorized as an expression of spiritual transcendentalism. The recognition of transhistorical abstract values was consolidated in the move from ethnic categorization (Arab, Persian, Saracenic, and so forth) to more unitary terms such as "Muhammedan" and eventually "Islamic." The radical decontextualization of the whitewashed gallery space was itself a further abstraction initiated in *Meisterwerke muhammed-anischer Kunst*, the ground-breaking 1910 exhibition of Islamic art in Munich, whose pared down aesthetic attempted to combat the perception of this visual tradition as an art of bazaar crafts and decadent ornamentalism.[79] The mode of display pioneered in Munich represented a shift from a quasi-ethnographic presentation to one which appeals to the formal qualities of the work. It was precisely the eschewal of questions of context and iconography that enabled the selective "elevation" of Islamic artifacts to sit alongside the canonical works of Euro-American modernism on the leveling ground of formalism.

The valorization of the perceived abstract qualities of Islamic art is part of a broader twentieth-century phenomenon in which the experience of abstraction constituted a period taste. This gave rise to a feedback loop, whereby the reception of pre-modern visual cultures around the globe as precocious arts of abstraction was informed by a modernist vogue for abstract art, which in its turn had been partly conditioned by the experience of pre-modern artistic traditions.[80] As the century wore on, many of the works produced by modern artists who had looked to the arts of the Islamic world for inspiration came to be displayed alongside examples of Islamic art. "Abstraction" (however conceived) has thus served consistently in twentieth- and twenty-first-century-art historical writing, museums, and exhibitions to bring examples of pre-modern Islamic art into constellation (more rarely, dialogue) with modern and contemporary Euro-American art.

It is often unclear what exactly is being suggested by these kinds of juxtapositions. Even where a common genealogy is asserted or implied, this is often in tension with somewhat vague notions of affinity.[81] More importantly, affinity is often produced by the omission of figural works in order to reinforce the central message that Islamic art was an art of abstraction in which the canonized trinity of the vegetal arabesque, calligraphy, and geometry predominated. The reinforcement of this polarity between aniconism and figural art in presentations of Islamic art ignores innovative attempts on the part of medieval and early modern artists and patrons to reconcile desires for figural art and piety that modern scholarship often assumes were incommensurate.[82] Equally significant is the fact that, with the occasional exception of one or two token works by contemporary artists from the Islamic lands working in "traditional" idioms, comparison almost always entails the juxtaposition of *pre*-modern Islamic art with the work of

modern Euro-American artists, establishing not just spatial but temporal difference, a denial of coevalness that avoids awkward questions about authenticity and global modernism(s) (or even modernities).[83]

# Recent Developments in the Study of Islamic Art and Architecture

Over the past decades, the field of Islamic art history has become much more self-reflexive, not only in questioning canons and practices formerly taken for granted but also in expanding its "frontiers" with work on new geographies, periods, concepts, and approaches. A major growth area of recent scholarship is a concern with the history and historiography of the field itself, including the formation of collections, exhibitions, and museums, as well the role of collectors and dealers in shaping tastes and the Islamic canon.[84] Such developments are necessary and welcome, but if they are not accompanied by new fieldwork and research intended to expand or reformulate the boundaries of the canon, run the risk of transforming the study of Islamic art into a meta-field of inquiry.

Conversely, other recent studies respond to a current return to the object, the classic arena of traditional connoisseurship, revalorized by the augmented prestige and growing number of museums that have turned into the new cultural icons of the global world economy. The range of formal analysis has, however, extended to include nontraditional questions of agency, from that of materials and techniques to producers and consumers. The creative use of written sources and archival documents, and closer attention to inscriptions has further enriched the realm of object studies by providing insights into the biographies of artifacts, as well as the production of associated value and meaning. These responses to broader disciplinary trends are closely related to contemporary discourses of the global and globalization in the disciplines of art history and anthropology, and a current move away from iconographic approaches towards a growing interest in questions of agency, materiality,and subject–object relations.[85] Most recently, "thing theory" has propelled the phenomenology and sensuality of objects to the center of art historical analysis, thus challenging the previous domination of "representation" and the "power of images" with analyses of the affective and efficacious dimensions of the object. More than "image culture," it was "object culture" that occupied center stage in Islamic art and architecture. Hence, this field promises to provide fertile ground for the rising interest in material culture and portable objects, including luxury manuscripts and textiles.

The dynamic interactions between human subjects, inanimate objects, and multisensory architectural environments, which mutually constitute one another, are increasingly being explored by Islamic art historians. Indeed, the material from the Islamic world is especially well suited to such lines of inquiry, which have

focused on phenomena ranging from "speaking" objects to the ingestion of Qur'anic texts for healing or medicinal purposes.[86] Also represented in recent scholarship are the topics of gift exchange and conspicuous consumption, subjects located between the disciplines of art history, social history, and museology.[87] The theme of portability has been at the forefront of object studies, which explore the circulation and translation of artifacts, together with their currency in cross-cultural exchanges, diplomacy, and trade. This interest in portability reflects another major development: an interest in circulation, reception, and the art of cultural frontiers, both within and without the Islamic world, topics addressed by several essays in these *Companion* volumes.[88]

An exciting new internal frontier concerns research on the pre-Islamic heritage of South Arabia, whose contribution to the formation of early Islamic visual culture was overlooked or minimized in the past.[89] At the same time, scholarship on the formative period of Islamic material culture has proliferated: our understanding of the early history of the material Qur'an (*mushaf*) in particular has improved greatly as a result of this development.[90] Other studies are also exploring such internal frontiers as Sunni and Shi'i artistic sensibilities, interrogating the very idea of a distinctive Shi'i art, and the ways in which intra-Sunni disputes may have informed artistic production.[91] At the same time, we have seen excellent studies of inter-sectarian Shi'i–Sunni patronage, which complicate our understanding of the relationship between artistic practice and religious belief still further.[92] All of this constitutes a departure from the recent past, when studies on the modalities religious difference were almost anathemized as if perpetrating a betrayal of the field's coveted pan-Islamic unity. Such studies have even been criticized as "sectarian interpretations" that "often tell us more about the investigator than the investigated."[93]

Questions of *convivencia* (cohabitation, coexistence) and sharing within the multiconfessional Islamic domains are ever more examined, with a special focus on the Iberian Peninsula.[94] These investigations have borne remarkable fruit and helped to foster scholarship that crosses traditional boundaries, but they can sometimes be problematic in their tendency to emphasize commonalities over alterities, regionalisms, and the untranslatable, flattening the complexities in highly contoured cultural landscapes. In other disciplines we are already beginning to see a backlash against celebratory narratives of sharing and translatability that is likely to inflect future scholarship on Islamic art.[95]

Growing analysis of artistic relations between Muslim and non-Muslim groups is likewise typical of new studies on other frontier regions including medieval Syria-Egypt (Syriac, Coptic), Balkans-Anatolia (Latin Christian, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Jewish), Iran (Armenian, Georgian), Sicily (Latin Christian, Greek Orthodox, Arab-Muslim) and South Asia (Buddhist, Hindu, Jain). Related topics are the ways in which the Islamic tradition of Iberia provided paradigms for the *Reconquista* of Spain and the colonization of the New World, as well as the translation of "Mudéjar" visual culture in the Americas.

New frontiers of the Islamic field include formerly uncharted parts of Africa, China, India (especially the Delhi Sultanates and the Deccan), the Indian Ocean littoral, Indonesia, and Malaysia.[96] Studies on Yuan and Ming China as well as the Mongol Ilkhanate in Iran–Iraq and Anatolia occupy an especially prominent place, highlighting the role of the Ilkhanid dynasty as a major catalyst in cultural and artistic exchanges between the central Islamic lands and Yuan China.[97] The substantial rise of studies on India and China is thus beginning to counterbalance the traditional focus on the Mediterranean world with new horizons stretching to the Indian Ocean and East Asia.

This is paralleled by an exponential growth in the field of Mediterranean studies, and the concomitant realization that the Islamic world participated in major early modern and modern cultural horizons, previously seen as phenomena specifically limited to Christian Europe. Because the Renaissance and early modernity were once conceptualized as exclusively Western phenomena, the intensification of post-medieval exchanges between European and Islamic art was formerly only explored in a few specialized studies of artistic "influence," often underestimating the agency of patrons or artists and overlooking questions of reception. New studies of transcultural exchange in the early modern Mediterranean world have launched frameworks going beyond the passive "influence" paradigm to an exploration of more dynamic interactions informed by theories of cross-cultural translation and transculturation.[98]

This trend not only reflects the growth of the Islamic field beyond its medieval perspective but also a reciprocal shift in European Renaissance studies since the 1990s. The reframing of Renaissance visual culture has had a major impact on reassessing the global interactions of early modern European visual culture with the New World and the Islamic lands. Thus, it is increasingly being recognized that the mutual Roman–Byzantine architectural heritage of the Mediterranean, which had played an important role in the formation of early Islamic art, continued to mediate the shared histories of European and Islamic art long after the medieval period. The renewed early modern conversation of Ottoman court culture with the classical and Byzantine visual heritage of the Mediterranean, which was being reinterpreted concurrently in Renaissance Italy, has constituted one of the fruitful venues of inquiry.[99] The newly emerging trend of integrating early modern Islamic art and architecture within Renaissance and Baroque art history therefore constitutes a significant departure from earlier paradigms.[100]

An allied trend in art historical scholarship is the increasing concern among Byzantinists with the life of post-Byzantine visual culture after the 1453 fall of Constantinople, both within Europe and the Ottoman Empire.[101] The interconnection between the Protestant Reformation and the Ottoman world is just beginning to emerge as a rich subject, as is the long-distance conversation between the Ottomans and the New World.[102] It has even been argued in some studies that the competitive identities and religious orthodoxies of the Catholic Habsburg,

Sunni Ottoman, and Twelver Shi'i Safavid empires were fashioned dialogically in the sixteenth century, an age of confessionalization and imperial polarization.[103]

This dialogic dimension is also reflected in recent work that reflects a temporal extension of the canon into the modern period. Art historical studies of the Islamic world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have, for example, proliferated over the past decades.[104] Many of these studies have engaged with the receptivity of the Islamic world to artistic forms and practices developed in contemporary Europe and elsewhere, but they have also tried to redress the balance, highlighting the reciprocal nature of this receptivity and the enthusiasm for Islamic art and architecture in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.[105] The phenomena came together in the promotion of neo-medieval architecture in the nineteenth-century Islamic world, often under the aegis of European architects whose vision of medieval Islamic architecture was shaped by contemporary Orientalist art.[106]

These new developments in the study of Islamic art and architecture and its historical connectivities are invariably shaped by current discourses of the global and, perhaps less obviously, by contemporary geopolitics and the pressures that they exert, directly or indirectly, on the study of this field at an important turning point in its history. In addition to the two Gulf Wars, Israeli wars on Gaza and Lebanon, the turmoil of the Arab Spring and its aftermath, more recently the so-called Islamic State (IS) has implemented a radical policy of destroying holy shrines and mosques (both Shi'i and Sunni) as potential icons and sources of idolatry, forbidden by Islam. This development was foreshadowed in 2001, when the Taliban regime of Afghanistan destroyed the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan by using dynamite and artillery. In both cases, these new self-proclaimed iconoclasts broadcast their feats globally through the contemporary media.[107]

Against this background, over the past decade or so, major museums in Cairo, Copenhagen, Detroit, Doha, Paris, London, New York, and other cities have installed or reinstalled their Islamic collections.[108] As the framing of many of these new installations suggests, Islamic art and architecture is increasingly being co-opted as a "cultural ambassador" a balm for the "clash of civilizations" deployed to counteract negative representations of Islam in the media and other international public forums.[109] Given the proliferation of such representations in the decades after 2001, this is an understandable impulse. However, it is questionable whether art produced centuries ago can speak directly to current concerns, even where it provides a window of understanding into the cultural values that shaped its production and collection. More importantly, the instrumentalization of the material past risks reinforcing narratives of fallen greatness, the idea that Islamic cultures had their heyday long ago and are mired in a decline that can only be remedied by American or European intervention.[110]

Another way in which contemporary economic and geopolitical trends have shaped developments in the field is reflected in the foundation of new Islamic art museums by Muslim patrons in Kuwait, Sharjah, Doha, Abu Dhabi, and Toronto,

the commissioning of signature architects to create prestige monuments of contemporary Islamic architecture, and the establishment of awards and educational programs to promote the practice and study of Islamic architecture and the arts. Ettinghausen predicted this phenomenon in his 1951 state of the field essay, where he observed the potential of Islamic art for the self-promotion of the Muslim world, albeit in an unintentionally derogatory tone:

> Since this is its one cultural achievement widely accepted and admired by the West, a rededication to it can compensate the East to a certain degree for its scientific and technological retardation, something which neither the oil fields, nor strategic location can achieve. Be that as it may, there has been and still is no better ambassador of good will than art.[111]

Although the proliferation of institutions providing public access to spectacular collections of Islamic art is a very welcome development, there is the danger of a growing chasm between the instrumental simplifications of populist messages and the sophisticated complexity of interpretations advanced by cutting-edge academic scholarship. Whereas earlier pioneers of Islamic art often held positions in both museums and universities, one of the challenges for contemporary academics and curators is to forge dialogues between approaches to Islamic art that are invariably shaped by different institutional demands and expectations.

## Conclusion

The past two decades have been among the most dynamic in the history of the field of Islamic art and architecture, a field that emerged in close dialogue with the nascent discipline of art history itself. These decades have witnessed the flourishing of new approaches, methods, and scholarship which have reconfigured the canon of "Islamic art and architecture," a rubric that has often been taken to refer to everything from the House of the Prophet in seventh-century Arabia to the latest Shirin Neshat video.

The chronological range of the canon has come under pressure from both ends, from work on the origins and earliest phases of Islamic art to ongoing debates about whether or not the modern and contemporary art of the Middle East and beyond can or should be accommodated within the canon of Islamic art, which was largely constituted by medievalists, so that most surveys of Islamic art come to a screeching halt sometime around 1800. At the same time, the geographical limits of the canon have expanded to accommodate regions that lie on the traditional margins of the Islamic world but whose artistic traditions are rich in material capable of contributing to the study of connected histories that has flourished over the past decades. In short, we have seen the flourishing of diversity within a field that, as currently constituted, eludes easy definition.

These developments take place against the much-vaunted rise of the global, which may in fact have exacerbated Eurocentric imbalances within the discipline, reinscribing traditionally privileged fields within the heart of the discipline, at the very moment when discourses of the global and the expansion of canons seemed to threaten the supremacy of Western art. In the field of art history, as it has developed over the past few decades, the increasing emphasis on the global has been consistently associated with two striking phenomena. First, a push towards the early modern, modern, and contemporary at the expense of earlier, or even longue durée histories. Second, the reinvention of Europe itself with its centrality to the recuperation of histories of circulation, mobility, and transculturation, thereby producing a new improved, bigger, better, apparently more connected, cosmopolitan and inclusive model of European art history.[112] This often comes at the expense of a vision of cultural history that is truly global in its spatio-temporal sweep and its attention to the multidirectionality of cultural flows, their historical constitution and impacts, including those to which Europe is entirely irrelevant. As the essays commissioned for these *Companion* volumes suggests, the art and architecture of the Islamic world is rich in material capable of documenting such phenomena and addressing some of the historical inequities that have shaped the development of the discipline as a whole.

We do not insist that the global turn in the broader discipline of art history should make globalization a new requirement in the Islamic field. Nor should the enrichment gained by expanded frontiers lighten the Islamic field's traditional centers of gravity and specializations. As Mike Featherstone has argued with reference to Roman cultural history, "If there is a global culture it would be better to conceive it not as a common culture, but as a field in which differences, power struggles and cultural prestige contests are played out. Something akin to an underlying form which permits the recognition and playing out of differences."[113]

It is from such a multifaceted relational perspective that questions of global connectivity and regional specificity within the field of Islamic art history are approached in these volumes. Pioneering studies that expanded the frontiers of this field have shown that studying artistic concepts and artifacts which cross frontiers requires several specializations to elucidate exchanges in multiple directions, rather than from a single cultural standpoint. Here lies the challenge of creating more nuanced shared histories of Islamic art and other traditions. That challenge means that new generations of art historians will have to develop greater familiarity with several visual traditions because, after all, transcultural exchange is by definition reciprocal, even if asymmetrical. This requirement is entirely in keeping with the vision of the two founding forefathers of the Islamic field in the United States. Ettinghausen (1951), for instance, specifically underlined "the need to overcome the insularity of Islamic art and archaeology from pre-Islamic and contemporary civilizations which exerted an influence on it." Likewise Grabar (1976) listed the relationship with neighboring or earlier traditions as a subfield of Islamic art history.[114]

In 1983, Grabar went a step further by suggesting that the underdevelopment of the Islamic field posed a distinct advantage for the advancement of innovative methodologies and theories that may be relevant for other areas as well: "The novelty of the field and the variety of its present directions can contribute in uniquely striking fashion to an understanding of both Islam and the arts or material culture in general."[115] Predicting the future directions in which the field of Islamic art history and its relevance for other areas might develop is not easy. Yet in the spirit of Grabar, we believe that the diverse and rich body of material accommodated under the absurdly capacious rubric of "Islamic art and architecture" is well capable of engaging contemporary concerns and interests within and beyond the discipline of art history, while initiating dialogues and trends (in the best sense) within it.

## Notes

1   S.D. Goitein, "A Plea for the Periodization of Islamic History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968): 224–228, emphasis original. The epochs in his periodization were 500–850 "Arabism and Arabic Islam"; 850–1250 "The Intermediate Civilization"; 1250–1800 "Institutionalized Islam, mostly non-Arab civilizations"; 1800–Present, "Transition to National Cultures, mainly inspired by sources other than Islam."

2   *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA*, 4 (2008). On periodization and the term "Islamic", see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches," in *Islamic Art and the Museum: Approaches to Art and Archaeology of the Muslim World in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber, and Gerhard Wolf (London: Saqi, 2012b, pp. 57–75). Electronically reproduced in the *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): special issue on the historiography of Islamic art and architecture, guest edited by Moya Carey and Margaret S. Graves (arthistoriography.wordpress.com/(accessed 4 February 2017)).

3   Post-1990 surveys of Islamic art and architecture include Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1991). Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *Islamic Arts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997); Robert Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture, and the Literary World* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1997); Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (London: H.F. Ullmann, 1999); Marcus Hattstein and Peter Delius, *Islam: Art and Architecture* (Cologne: Könemann, 2000); Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Medina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650–1250* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Bernard O'Kane, *Treasures of Islam: Glories of the Muslim World* (London: Duncan Baird, 2007a); Bernard O'Kane, *The World of Islamic Art* (Cairo: American University Press, 2007b). Also see entries on Islamic art edited by Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom in *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), reprinted as *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

4   Finbarr B. Flood, "From the Prophet to Postmodernism? New World Orders and the End of Islamic Art," in *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and its Institutions,*

ed. Elizabeth C. Mansfield (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 31–53, reproduced online in the *Journal of Art Historiography*, 6 (2012) (arthistoriography.wordpress. com/(accessed 4 February 2017)). See also Nasser Rabbat, "What is Islamic Architecture Anyway?" and Avinoam Shalem. "What Do We Mean When We Say '"Islamic Art"'? A Plea for a Critical Rewriting of the History of the Arts of Islam," in the same digital publication.

5   Robert Nelson, "Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art," *Gesta* 35/1 (1996): 3–11, on p. 4. See also his "The Map of Art History," *Art Bulletin*, 79/1 (1997): 28–40.

6   See the essays in Junod, Khalil, Weber, and Wolf, eds, *Islamic Art and the Museum*.

7   Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field," *Art Bulletin*, 85/1 (2003): 152–184, quotation on p. 178; see also pp. 156–158, 175–176. Reproduced electronically in the *Journal of Art Historiography*, June 1, 2012, vol. 6 (arthistoriography.wordpress.com/(accessed 4 February 2017).

8   For the argument on the parallelism between the categories of "Western" and "Islamic" art, see Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art." For debates about the Western canon, see the special issue "Rethinking the Canon," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (1996): 198–217.

9   Islamic art is often considered unique because it is not confined to a region, a dynasty, a nation, an ethnic group, a period, or a style. Islamic art is most easily defined by what it is not, "neither a region, nor a period, nor a school, nor a movement, nor a dynasty, but the visual culture of a place and time when the people (or at least their leaders) espoused a particular religion." Consequently, the field of Islamic art is viewed "as a curious anomaly because … it is neither a period nor a style, it is not restricted to one country or region," Blair and Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art," pp. 153, 155. See also a variant of this definition by Oleg Grabar in "Islamic Art, I. Definitions," *Dictionary of Art* 15 (1996): 99.

10  Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 1, *The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 59. For the use of the term in a case study of intercultural reception see Phillip B. Wagoner, "'Sultan among Hindu Kings': Dress, Titles, and the Islamicisation of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 55/4 (1996): 853–855.

11  Deniz Türker, "Hakky-Bey and His Journal *Le Miroir de l'art musulman*, or, *Mir'āt-i ṣanāyī-i Islāmiye* (1898)," *Muqarnas* 31 (2014): 277–306.

12  The 1873 Vienna Exhibition catalogue is discussed in Sibel Bozdoğan and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural Historiography of the 'Lands of Rum,'" in Bozdoğan, S. and Necipoğlu, G. (eds), *Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum," Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 1–6. This date is earlier than the first documented use of "Islamic art" in Europe, in an exhibition organized by the Czech architect Franz Schmoranz in Vienna in 1876: Mercedes Volait, "L'art islamique et la problème de périodisation," *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA* 4 (2008): 101. See also the essay by Rémi Labrusse in the second of these *Companion* volumes.

13  Nasser Rabbat, "What's in a Name? The New '"Islamic Art"' Galleries at the Met," *Artforum* 50/8 (2012): 75–78.

14 See the essays, including Avinoam Shalem's, "Dangerous Claims: On the 'Othering' of Islamic Art History and How it Operates within Global Art History," in the special issue on the contents and discontents of global art history, entitled "Universalität der Kunstgeschichte?" *Kritische Berichte: Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 40, no. 2 (2012): 69–86.

15 See, for example, the panel "What is Contemporary Islamic Art?" sponsored by AMCA (Association for Modern and Contemporary Art of the Arab World, Iran, and Turkey) at the annual conference of the College Art Association, New York City, February 14, 2015.

16 While publications on modern art abounded in Middle Eastern languages since the early twentieth century, among the pioneering art historical publications in English are Wijdan Ali, ed., *Contemporary Art from the Islamic World* (Northampton, MA: Interlink, 1990); Wijdan Ali, *Modern Islamic Art : Development and Continuity* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997); Nada Shabout, *Modern Arab Art: Formation of Arab Aesthetics* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2007); Nada Shabout, Wassan al-Khudhairi, and Deena Chalabi, *Sajjil: A Century of Modern Art (Dawhah, Qatar)* (Milan: Skira. Distributed in North America by Rizzoli International Publications, 2010); Talinn Grigor, *Contemporary Iranian Art: From the Street to the Studio* (London: Reaktion, 2014).

17 Ettinghausen, Grabar, and Madina, *Islamic Art and Architecture 650–1250*; Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*.

18 For a critique of national discourses, see Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu, "Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies." and other articles in *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 1–6, a special issue on the proceedings of the 2006 symposium "Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum,'" organised by both authors.

19 For a thematically organized survey, see Hattstein and Delius, *Islam: Art and Architecture*. Examples of thematic displays, accompanied by dynastic-cum-geographical schemes, include the Islamic art museums in Doha (Qatar) and Cairo, and the redesigned Islamic galleries of the Louvre Museum. For the proceedings of a theme-based biennial symposium series in association with the Qatar Foundation in Doha, the Biennial Hamad bin Khalifa Symposium on Islamic Art, edited by Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, see *Rivers of Paradise: Water in Islamic Art and Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); *And Diverse are their Hues: Color in Islamic Art and Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); *God is Beautiful and Loves Beauty: The Object in Islamic Art and Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

20 Differing criteria for schemes of periodization in art history, including political, geographical, cultural, and artistic, are discussed in *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA*, 4 (2008). The chronology of Islamic art, with its problematic omission of the modern period, is discussed in that volume in Mercedes Volait, "L'art islamique et la problème de périodisation." An example of a recent global history of architecture based on a timeline model is Francis D.K. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, eds, *A Global History of Architecture* (Hoboken, NJ.: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2007). For a global approach to early modern and modern architecture see also

Kathleen James-Chakraborty, *Architecture since 1400* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

21 Oleg Grabar underscored the need to "improve contacts between many sub-fields of study or regions" in "What Should One Know About Islamic Art?," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (2003): 5.

22 Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 1–14, cited from p. 12.

23 For alternative schemes of periodization see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Shifting Paradigms in the Palatial Architecture of the Pre-modern Islamic World," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 3–27; and "The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited discourses and new approaches." The latter essay proposes four longer time zones, named according to common categories coined for Western history to facilitate a more effective integration of the Islamic field into coeval periods of global art history: (i) 650–*c.* 1050, late antique and early medieval; (ii) *c.* 1050–1450, medieval and late medieval; (iii) *c.* 1450–1800, early modern; (iv) 1800–present, modern and contemporary.

24 This more than half a millennium, labeled "Institutionalized Islam, territorial, mostly non-Arab civilizations," is defined in somewhat negative terms as a time of "military feudalism" when "religious creativity is largely replaced by obscurantism, and true ecstatic mysticism by speculative theosophy," a period toward the end of which "markedly diversified" cultures emerge with differing languages and traits "especially in art and architecture": See Goitein, "A Plea for the Periodization," p. 227, and note 1 above.

25 Blair and Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art," pp. 172, 174. This view is also articulated by Oleg Grabar in the *Grove Dictionary of Art*. See his "Islamic Art, I. Introduction," p. 101, where it is argued that the Islamic world changed in the thirteenth century after which it is hardly possible to hold on to the "notion of universal artistic values across time and space," a position that "is reasonable for whoever deals with the early centuries of Islam roughly until the mid-13th century." The chronological divisions in the *Grove Dictionary of Art* are: The Caliphate 632–*c.* 900; Early Middle Period *c.* 900–*c.* 1200; Later Middle Period (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1500); Early Modern Period (*c.* 1500–1916).

26 Flood, "From the Prophet to Postmodernism?; Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art"; Volait, "L'art islamique et la problème de périodisation," pp. 783–786. On the comparable predicament of Byzantine art, see Nelson, "The map of art history." Notably, Byzantine architecture is also Orientalized by being coupled with its Saracenic counterpart rather than participating in the rise of the West from late antiquity to the present.

27 Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (Totowa, NJ, distributed by Sotheby Publications, 1982); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: Reaktion, 2000); Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Gerald MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Alexander Nagel, *Some Discoveries of 1492: Eastern Antiquities and Renaissance Europe*, The Seventeenth Gerson Lecture (Groningen: The Gerson Lectures Foundation, 2013).

28  The evidence for Deccani merchants in Bursa is mentioned by Halil Inalcik, "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1960): 141. For the use of European and Ottoman paper in Qur'ans from the Horn of Africa, see Alessandro Gori, Anne Regourd, Jeremy R. Brown, and Steve Delamarter, *A Handlist of the Manuscripts in the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Volume Two: The Arabic Materials of the Ethiopian Islamic Tradition* (Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies) (London: Pickwick, 2014), passim.

29  On Becker and the Pergamon Museum, see Necipoğlu, "The Concept of Islamic Art: Inherited Discourses and New Approaches," pp. 17–23. His theory of civilizations is discussed in Alexander Haridi, *Das Paradigma der "islamischen Zivilisation" – oder die Begründung der deutschen Islamwissenschaft durch Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933): eine wissenschaftsgeschtliche Untersuchung* (Würzburg, Ergon, 2005).

30  The classic study is Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973, Rev. and enl. ed. 1987). See also Garth Fowden, *Qusayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

31  For a critique, see Finbarr B. Flood, "Faith, Religion and the Material Culture of Early Islam," in *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition*, ed. Helen Evans (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), pp. 253–254. See also Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105.

32  Richard Ettinghausen, "Islamic Art and Archaeology," in *Near Eastern Culture and Society*, ed. T. Cuyler Young (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 17–47; J.M. Rogers, *The Uses of Anachronism: on Cultural and Methodological Diversity in Islamic Art* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1994).

33  Bourguignon d'Anville, "Memoire où il est question de la Peinture des Turcs et des Persans," *Le Nouveau Mercure* (April 1721): 25–41.

34  Giambattista Toderini, "Dissertation critique sur cette question. Si les figures d'hommes et d'animaux sont défendues par l'alcoran," in idem, *De la littérature des Turcs*, 4 vols., tr. Abbé de Cournand (Paris: Poinçot, 1789), vol. 3, p. 48. See also Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othman*, 7 vols. (Paris: de l'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1788–1824), vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 444–445.

35  Ettinghausen, "Islamic Art and Archaeology," pp. 17–47; Oleg Grabar, "Islamic Art and Archaeology," in *The Study of the Middle East: Research in the Humanities and the Social Sciences*, ed. Leonard Binder (New York: Wiley, 1976), pp. 229–263; idem, "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 1–14.

36  Alois Riegl, *Altorientalische Teppiche* (Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1979 [1892]); idem, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: G. Siemens, 1893); trans. Evelyn Kain as *Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

37  Annette Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth And Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), pp. 117–127; Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

38  Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "Remarks on the Character of Islamic Art," *Art Bulletin* 36 (1954): 175–202. See also Zeynep Simavi, "Mehmet Ağa-Oğlu and the Formation of the Field of Islamic art in the United States," reproduced electronically in the *Journal of Art Historiography*, June 1, 2012, vol. 6 (arthistoriography.wordpress. com/(accessed 4 February 2017)).

39  Stephen Vernoit, "Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850–c. 1950," in *Discovering Islamic Art*, pp. 1–61; Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu eds, *Muqarnas*, 24 (2007), special issue titled, "Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum'"; *Journal of Art Historiography*, June 1, 2012, vol. 6, special issue on the historiography of Islamic art and architecture, eds Carey and Graves (arthistoriography.wordpress.com/(accessed 4 February 2017)); Junod, Khalil, Weber, and Wolf eds, *Islamic Art and the Museum*. On the milieu of dilettantes, amateurs, and "Islamophiles," see Rémi Labrusse ed., *Purs décors? arts de l'Islam, regards du XIXe siècle: collection des Arts Décoratifs*, exh. cat. (Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs, Musée du Louvre, 2007); idem, *Islamophilies: l'Europe moderne et les arts de l'Islam, exh. cat.* (Paris: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, Somogy Éditions d'art, 2011). Mercedes Volait, *Fous du Caire: Excentriques, architectes et amateurs d'art en Égypte, 1867–1914* (Guarnizo: Archange Minaure, 2009); Benedict Cuddon, "A Field Pioneered by Amateurs: The Collecting and Display of Islamic Art in Early-Twentieth Century Boston," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 13–33.

40  Oleg Grabar, "Islamic Art and Architecture and the Antique," in *Islamic Visual Culture* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), vol. 3, pp. 423–424; Anna Contadini, "Ugo Monneret de Villard: A Master of the Italian Orientalist School," in *Discovering Islamic Art*, pp. 156–162.

41  Ernst E. Herzfeld, "Arabesque," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1913), pp. 363–367; Ernst Kühnel, *The Arabesque: Meaning and Transformation of an Ornament*, trans. Richard Ettinghausen (Graz: Verlag für Sammler, 1977); originally published as *Die Arabeske: Sinn und Wandlung eines Ornaments* (Wiesbaden: Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1949).

42  Robert Irwin, "Louis Massignon and the Esoteric Interpretation of Islamic Art," in *Discovering Islamic Art*, pp. 163–170; Richard Ettinghausen, "The Character of Islamic Art," in *The Arab Heritage*, ed. N.A. Faris (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1944), pp. 251–267. For a critique of Ettinghausen's article, see Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "Remarks on the Character of Islamic Art."

43  Finbarr B. Flood, "Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm, and the Museum," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002): 641–659; Daan Van Reenan, "The Bilderverbot, a New Survey," *Der Islam* 67 (1990): 27–77.

44  Hugh Kennedy, "From Polis to Madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria," *Past & Present* 106 (1985): 3–27; Janet Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987): 155–176. On the theme of Paradise, see Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art* (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, 1991); Daud Ali and Emma J. Flatt, "Introduction," in *Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan*, ed. Daud Ali and Emma J. Flatt (New Delhi: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1–12.

45  Labrusse, *Purs décors*; idem, *Islamophilies*.

46  Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu, "Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies," pp. 1–6. See also Finbarr B. Flood, "Introduction," in *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque, Debates in Indian History and Society*, ed. Finbarr B. Flood (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. xi–lv.

47  See Gülru Necipoğlu, "Creation of a National Genius: Sinan and the Historiography of 'Classical' Ottoman Architecture," in Bozdoğan, S. and Necipoğlu, G. (eds), *Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum," Muqarnas* 24 (2007b): 141–183. See also Kishwar Rizvi, "Art History and the Nation: Arthur Upham Pope and the Discourse on 'Persian Art' in the Early Twentieth Century," ibid., 45–65; Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, "An Uneasy Historiography: The Legacy of Ottoman Architecture in the Former Arab Provinces," ibid., 27–43.

48  On the paradoxical treatment of religion see Wendy M.K. Shaw, "The Islam in Islamic Art History: Secularism and Public Discourse," *Journal of Art Historiography* June 1 (2012), vol. 6 (arthistoriography.wordpress.com/(accessed 4 February 2017)).

49  Leo A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1956a); idem, *Islamic Astrolabists and Their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1956b); Sheila S. Blair, "A Brief Biography of Abu Zayd," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 155–176.

50  See, for example, Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, "Review of Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material culture and medieval 'Hindu–Muslim' Encounter*," *Art Bulletin* 93/1 (2011): 108–110.

51  See, for example, Fred M. Donner, "From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-identity in the Early Islamic Community," *Al-Abhath* 50–51 (2002–2003): 9–53; idem, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010).

52  For the rejection of "sectarian" interpretations, see Bernard O'Kane, "A Tale of Two Minbars: Woodwork in Syria and Egypt on the Eve of the Ayyubids," in *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia: Studies in Honour of Charles Melville*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, A.C.S. Peacock, Firuza Abdullaeva (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 316–328; Jonathan M. Bloom, "Woodwork in Syria, Palestine and Egypt during the 12th and 13th Centuries," in *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187–1250*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvia Auld (London: Altajir Trust, 2009), pp. 129–146. The impact of Sunni–Shi'i and intra-Sunni disputes on art and architecture are discussed in Yasser Tabbaa, "Originality and Innovation in Syrian Woodwork of the Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Centuries," in *Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of the Muslim Middle East*, ed. Daniella Talmon-Heller and Katia Cytryn-Silverman (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 188–215; Stephennie Mulder, "The Mausoleum of Imam Shafi'i," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 15–46; Stephennie Mulder, *The Shrines of the 'Alids in Medieval Syria: Sunnis, Shi'is and the Architecture of Coexistence* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); Finbarr B. Flood, "Islamic Identities and Islamic Art: Inscribing the Qur'an in twelfth-century Afghanistan," in *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century (Studies in the History of Art Series)*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009), pp. 91–118. For explorations of the relationship between Shi'ism and art see Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

1998); James W. Allan, *The Art and Architecture of Twelver* Shi'ism: *Iraq, Iran and the Indian Sub-Continent* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2012); Pedram Khosronejad, ed., *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2012); Fahmida Suleiman, ed., *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2015).

53  Thomas Leisten, "Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of attitudes in the Shari'a toward Funerary Architecture," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 12–22; Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Societies* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2007); idem, "Christian Impurity versus Economic Necessity: A Fifteenth-Century Fatwa on European Paper," *Speculum* 83 (2008): 917–945; Ruba Kana'an, "The de Jure 'Artist' of the Bobrinski Bucket: Production and Patronage of Metalwork in pre-Mongol Khorasan and Transoxiana," *Islamic Law and Society* 16 (2009): 175–201; Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion, 2005, second edn. 2011), pp. 47–70.

54  Ettinghausen,"Islamic Art and Archaeology,"; Grabar, "Islamic Art and Archaeology."

55  Blair and Bloom, "The Mirage of Islamic Art," p. 171.

56  The implications of some of these kinds of sources for histories of art, images, and material culture more generally are outlined in José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, *Historia del pensamiento estético árabe: Al-Andalus y la estética árabe clásica* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1997); Ahmad Ghabin, *Hisba, Arts and Craft in Islam* (Arabisch-Islamische Welt in Tradition und Moderne) (Wiesbaden; Harrasowitz, 2009); Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll – Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995); idem, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight and Desire," *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 23–61.

57  See, for example, The Library of Arabic Literature recently launched by New York University, Abu Dhabi (http://nyuad.nyu.edu/en/research/nyuad-institute/institute-research/library-arabic-literature.html (accessed 4 February 2017)) and, more recently, the Murty Classical Library of India (www.murtylibrary.com/(accessed 4 February 2017)).

58  Grabar, "Islamic Art and Archaeology."

59  See, for example, Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning*, trans. J. Peter Hobson, foreword by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (London: World of Islam Festival Pub. Co., 1976); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1987); Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (London: Kazi Publications, 2000).

60  On the question of meaning in Islamic architectural and ornamental forms see Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll*; idem, "L'idée de décor dans les régimes de visualité islamiques," in *Purs Décors*, pp. 10–23; Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art During the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); idem, "Originality and Innovation in Syrian Woodwork." For a contrary view see Sheila S. Blair, and Jonathan M. Bloom, "Ornament in Islamic Art," in *Cosmophilia: Islamic Art from the David Collection, Copenhagen*, eds Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom (Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, Chicago: Distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2006).

61  Oleg Grabar, "Signs and Symbols in Islamic Architecture," in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, ed. Jonathan G. Katz (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980), pp. 25–32.

62  Among them the *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum* (1894–1925) and the *Repertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* (1937–).

63  But see Bierman, *Writing Signs*; Gary Leiser and Scott Redford, *Victory Inscribed: The Seljuk Fetihname on the Citadel Walls of Antalya* (Istanbul: AKMED, 2008).

64  Erica Cruikshank Dodd, "The Image of the Word," *Berytus* 18 (1969): 35–79.

65  Richard Ettinghausen, "Arabic Epigraphy: Communication or Symbolic Affirmation," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honour of George C. Miles*, ed. Dikran K. Kouymijian (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974), pp. 297–311; Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image of the Word*, 2 vols. (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981); Robert Hillenbrand, "Qur'anic Epigraphy in Islamic Architecture," *Revue des études islamiques* 59 (1991): 171–187.

66  The pioneering excavations were not the preserve of European scholars alone: see Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem eds, *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753–1914* (Istanbul: SALT, 2011); Wendy Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Ayşın Yoltar-Yıldırım, "Raqqa: The Forgotten Excavation of an Ottoman Site in Syria by the Ottoman Imperial Museum in the Early Twentieth Century," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): 73–93.

67  Ettinghausen, "Islamic Art and Archaeology"; Oleg Grabar, "Islamic Art and Archaeology"; idem, "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art."

68  Not only have the frontiers of Islamic archaeology started to expand into later periods (such as Ottoman archaeology), but also a new monograph series launched by Brill is firmly grounded in archaeology with its title, *Arts and Archaeology of the Islamic World*, eds Marcus Milwright, Mariam Rosser-Owen, and Lorenz Korn (Leiden, Brill). See also Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll eds, *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2000).

69  Gaston Migeon and Henri Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1907).

70  Georges Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman: L'architecture*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1926–1927); Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman: Arts plastiques et industriels* (Paris: Picard, 1927).

71  Labrusse, *Purs Décors*; idem, *Islamophilies*.

72  From the French of Victor Chauvin, "La défense des images chez les Musulmans," *Annales de l'Académie archéologique de Belgique* 49 (1896), 408. See also Labrusse, *Islamophilies*, p. 180.

73  Margaret Olin, *The Nation Without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), p. 21.

74  See, among others, Florian Pharaon, "La peinture et sculpture chez les musulmans," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1869): 442–446.

75   For example, 'Ali Enani, *Beurteilung der Bilderfrage im Islam nacht der Ansicht eines Muslim*, dissertation published by the Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 1918; Ahmad Taymur Basha, *Al-Taswir 'inda al-'Arab* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lif wa-al-Tarjama wa-al-Nashr, 1942); Bishr Farès, *Essai sur l'esprit de la decoration islamique* (Cairo: Institut français du Caire, 1952).

76   Jytte Klausen, *The Cartoons That Shook the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Finbarr B. Flood, "Inciting Modernity? Images, Alterities and the Contexts of "Cartoon Wars," in *Images That Move*, eds Patricia Spyer and Mary Margaret Steedly (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2013a), pp. 41–72.

77   Richard Ettinghausen, "The Taming of the Horror Vacui in Islamic Art," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123/1 (1979): 15–28.

78   In this case, it is clear that Ettinghausen's ideas reflect the impact of the very influential art theorist Wilhelm Worringer (d. 1965). In his influential 1907 work *Abstraktion und Einfühlung*, Worringer argued that for empathy to flourish, man must rise above his innate fear of the natural world, a fear manifest in a tendency towards abstraction in art and transcendentalism in the sphere of religion. According to Worringer, the civilizational stasis, manifest in the drive to abstraction in Islam, is reflective of a superstitious inability to move beyond the stifling fears of the primitive that reflects "an immense spiritual dread of space": Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*, tr. Michael Bullock (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 104, citing Otto Pfleiderer on religion.

79   See the essays in Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem, eds, *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

80   For example, Madeline H. Caviness, "Broadening the Definitions of 'Art': The Reception of Medieval Works in the Context of Post-Impressionist Movements," in Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico, eds, *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 259–282; J.B. Bullen, "Byzantinism and Modernism 1900–1914," *Burlington Magazine* 141 (November 1999): 665–675; David Lewis, "Matisse and Byzantium, or, Mechanization Takes Command," *Modernism/Modernity* 16/1 (2009): 51–59; Madeline H. Caviness, "The Politics of Taste. An Historiography of 'Romanesque' Art in the Twentieth Century," in *Romanesque Art and Thought in the Twelfth Century: Essays in Honor of Walter Cahn*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 57–81.

81   Typical in this regard was the 2001 exhibition at the Fondation Beyeler in Basel: Markus Brüderlin, ed., *Ornament and Abstraction: The Dialogue Between non-Western, Modern and Contemporary Art*, exh. cat. (Riehen/Basel: Fondation Beyeler, 2001); see also idem, "L'art abstrait du XXe siècle, autour de l'arabesque," *Perspective, La revue de l'INHA* 1 (2010–2011): 171–176.

82   Finbarr B. Flood, "Lost Histories of a Licit Figural Art," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45/3 (2013b): 566–569. For a recent affirmation of incommensurability between the Islamic world and Europe emblematized by attitudes to images, see Hans Belting, *Florence and Baghdad: Renaissance Art and Arab Science*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), critiqued in Necipoğlu, "The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures."

83 A rare exception was the *Taswir: Islamische Bildwelten und Moderne* exhibition held in the Martin-Gropius-Bau in Berlin in 2009–2010: Almut S. Bruckstein and Hendrik Budde, eds, *Taswir: Islamische Bildwelten und Moderne* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2009).

84 Vernoit, *Discovering Islamic Art*; Lermer and Shalem, *After One Hundred Years*; Bozdoğan and Necipoğlu eds, "Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage in the Lands of Rum" (Special issue of *Muqarnas*, vol. 24, 2007); Yuka Kadoi and Iván Szántó eds, *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia* (Cambridge: Scholars Publishing, 2013); Iván Szántó, *Safavid Art and Hungary: The Esterházy Appliqué in Context* (Piliscsaba, Hungary: Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, 2010).

85 The key work is Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010).

86 Avinoam Shalem, "The Otherness in the Focus of Interest: Or, If Only The Other Could Speak," in Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli and Gerhard Wolf, eds, *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World: Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer* (Venice: Marsilio, 2010a), pp. 29–44; idem, "If Objects Could Speak," in Jürgen Wassim Frembgen, ed., *The Aura of the Alif* (Munich: Prestel, 2010b), pp. 127–147; Avinoam Shalem and Eva-Maria Troelenberg. "Beyond Grammar and Taxonomy: Some Thoughts on Cognitive Experiences and Responsive Islamic Ornaments," *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* 3 (2012): 385–410; Finbarr B. Flood, "Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam," in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally M. Promey (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 459–493; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 132–155.

87 Massumeh Farhad, ed., *The Tsars and the East: Gifts from Turkey and Iran in the Moscow Kremlin*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2009). Sinem Arcak, Gifts in motion: Ottoman–Safavid cultural exchange, 1501–1618, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Minnesota, 2012); Linda Komaroff, *The Gift Tradition in Islamic Art*, exh. cat. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

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89 ʿAli Ibrahim al-Ghabban, *Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010).

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91 See note 52 above.

92 Mulder, "The Mausoleum of Imam Shafiʿi"; idem, *The Shrines of the ʿAlids in Medieval Syria: Sunnis, Shiʿis and the Architecture of Coexistence*.

93 See note 52 above.

94 Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). See also a journal published by Brill, titled *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*.

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96　Alka Arvind Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During the Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009a); Elizabeth Lambourn, "The Formation of the Batu Aceh Tradition in Fifteenth-century Samudera-Pasai," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32/93 (2004a), 211–248; idem, "Carving and Communities: Marble Carving for Muslim Patrons of Khambhāt and Around the Indian Ocean Rim, Late Thirteenth-Mid–Fifteenth Centuries," *Ars Orientalis* 34 (2004b): 99–133; Mark C. Horton, *Shanga: An Early Muslim Trading Community on the East Coast of Africa* (London: British Institute in East Africa, 1996); idem, "Port Cities and their Merchants on the East African Coast," in A. Green and R. Leech, eds, *Cities in the World 1500–2000* (London: Maney, 2006), pp. 15–29.

97　Stefano Carboni and Linda Komaroff, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002); Yuka Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Deniz Beyazıt, *At the Crossroads of Empires: 14th–15th-Century Eastern Anatolia* (Paris: De Boccard, 2012); Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia After the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

98　See a special issue of *Muqarnas* 29 (2012) with essays focusing on the shared histories of Islamic and Italian art.

99　Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinoplis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

100　Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, eds, *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Gülru Necipoğlu, "Architectural Dialogues across the Eastern Mediterranean: Domed Sanctuaries in the Ottoman Empire and Renaissance Italy," chapter 20 in Alina Payne, ed., *The Companion to the History of Architecture: Renaissance and Baroque* (New York: Wiley, 2017). See also essays on Islamic topics in Alina Payne, ed., *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); and Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne, eds, *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), with an introductory essay by the editors.

101　Scott Redford, "Byzantium and the Islamic World," in Helen C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 243–255, 397.

102　Serge Gruzinski, *Quelle heure est-il la-bàs? Amérique et islam à l'orée des temps modernes* (Paris: L'Univers historique, 2008); Tijana Krstić, "Illuminated by the Light of Islam and the Glory of the Ottoman Sultanate: Self-Narratives of Conversion to Islam in the Age of Confessionalization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51/1 (2009): 35–63; Evelin Wetter and Ágnes Ziegler, "Osmanische Textilien in der Repräsentationskultur des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Patriziats," in *Türkenkriege*

*und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Robert Born and Sabine Jagodzinski (Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia 14) (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014), pp. 269–285; Finbarr B. Flood, Islam and Image: Polemics, Theology and Modernity (London: Reaktion, forthcoming).

103  Necipoğlu, "Early Modern Floral."
104  In addition to the various works cited above, see, for example, Ahmet A. Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Farnham, England: Ashgate 2015); Stephen Vernoit, *Occidentalism: Islamic Art in the 19th Century* (London: Azimuth Editions, 1997); Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit, eds, *Islamic Art in the 19th Century – Tradition, Innovation, Eclecticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).
105  Among these, see the essays in Finbarr B. Flood and Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century*, dedicated issue of *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2011); Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).
106  Nasser Rabbat, "The Formation of the Neo-Mamluk Style in Modern Egypt," in *The Education of the Architect: Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge*, ed. Martha Pollak (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), pp. 363–386.
107  Flood, "Between Cult and Culture"; Jamal J. Elias, "(Un)making Idolatry: From Mecca to Bamiyan," *Future Anterior* 4/2 (2007): 2–29; Finbarr Barry Flood, "Idol Breaking as Image Making in the 'Islamic State'" *Religion and Society: Advances in Research* 7 (2016): 116–138.
108  For the general background see Sonja Mejcher-Atassi and John Pedro Schwarz, eds, *Archives, Museums and Collecting Practices in the Modern Arab World* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012).
109  Coco Ferguson, "Islamic Art at a Crossroads," *Bidoun: Arts and Culture from the Middle East* 1/2 (2004): 52–55; David J. Roxburgh, "After Munich: Reflections on Recent Exhibitions," in *After One Hundred Years*, pp. 359–386.
110  Flood, "From the Prophet to Postmodernism," pp. 38–39.
111  Ettinghausen, "Islamic Art and Archaeology," p. 147.
112  Shalem, "Dangerous Claims: On the 'Othering' of Islamic Art History and How it Operates within Global Art History."
113  Mike Featherstone, *Undoing Culture: Globalization. Postmodernism and Identity* (London: Sage, 1995), p. 14.
114  Ettinghausen, "Islamic Art and Archaeology"; Grabar, "Islamic Art and Archaeology."
115  Grabar, "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art."

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