Fracture, Facture and the Collecting of Islamic Art

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The latter part of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th were the colonial heyday of international collecting in the art of the Islamic world. During that period an enormous number of portable objects were dug out of the ground or brought out of above-ground collections and entered into the art market, the vast majority of them migrating westwards to Europe and some of them later to the US. Moving through an international network of diggers, dealers, brokers and institutional and private collectors who enjoyed open season in a comparatively unregulated market, these objects were transformed within the colonial programme's great project of knowledge and classification into "artifacts, antiquities and art" (Cohn 1996: 76).[1]

In the burgeoning international market in Islamic art, several factors acted together to give rise to significant industries of faking and forging. In the first place, the *sans-papiers* status of much of the material created an economic environment receptive to doubtful objects. For example, the vast majority of archaeological pieces were not 'scientifically excavated' in the modern sense of the term, and undoubtedly many of the things that surfaced on the art market were the product of illicit excavation; accordingly, they usually entered that market with little or no truly verifiable documentation of their origins. Regulations on the movement of antiquities began to tighten noticeably in the first decades of the 20th century, as central authorities in the Ottoman Empire, Iran and elsewhere sought to stem the flow of artefacts, but this did not stop illegal exportation and all of the obfuscation that accompanies it (Jenkins-Madina 2006; Pancaroğlu 2011: 410; Ghiasian 2015: 892).

The escalating popularity of artworks from the Islamic world on the international collectors' market from the later 19th century onwards also pushed prices up to the point where sophisticated faking and wholesale forgery became financially

1 | A useful overview of Islamic art collecting is given in Vernoit 2000; more detailed studies of individual cases are included in Bahrani/Celik/Eldem 2011 and Kadoi 2016.

rewarding. Historical artworks from Turkey, Egypt, North Africa, the Levant and what is now Iraq were all widely traded, but Iranian art was increasingly elevated above that of all other cultures of the Islamic world by collectors and tastemakers during the great early 20th-century era of collecting. This occurred for a number of reasons, including its promotion by several notable scholars, brokers and dealers (Vernoit 2000a: 41-43; Hillenbrand 2016). Chief amongst these was Arthur Upham Pope (1881-1969), of whom more below. Accordingly, Iranian art seems to have accumulated more than its fair share of fakes — a circumstance that applies to pre-Islamic Iranian art as well (Blair n.d.).[2] In this essay I have chosen to explore forgery, faking and the early 20th-century market in Iranian art using examples drawn from the collections of my own institution, Indiana University, and elsewhere in the American Midwest. Not only are these pieces near to hand, but the colossal distances between their places of creation and their current institutional homes also highlight precisely the processes of dislocation that render this material so vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the market.

Spectacle: The Ballad of the *Andarz-nāma* Manuscript

The infamous *Andarz-nāma* manuscript is — or rather was, since it is now dismembered and dispersed — an illustrated copy of a Persian text, originally composed in the 11th century, that details guidelines for ethical conduct and princely manners. The manuscript surfaced in two parts on the international art market at the start of the 1950s, and caused a sensation (Frye 1971: A / 16). With an inscribed date of 483 AH or 1090 CE, and 109 miniature paintings all executed in a consistent style, the manuscript represented a potentially huge discovery for the history of Persian art as well as literature. If genuine, its paintings would be the earliest known examples of Persian miniature painting by well over a century, and would reshape the story of that medium; its text, meanwhile, would be the earliest manuscript version of a prose work which was probably completed only a few years before the manuscript's putative date of 1090 (de Bruijn n.d.). Part of the manuscript was sold, with involvement from Arthur Upham Pope, to the Cincinnati Art Museum (Gluck / Siver 1996: 413, 425). It remains in the possession of that institution.[3] The whereabouts of the rest of the manuscript, bought by the dealer and collector Hagop Kevorkian in the early 1950s for $ 70,000 (according to Pope's published correspondence), are unknown to me (Gluck / Siver 1996: 413; Frye 1971: A / 16).

2 | On the pre-Islamic material, see also Frye 1977; Carter 2001: 175; MacKenzie / Ménage 1963; Gignoux n.d.

3 | Email correspondence with Lisa DeLong, Assistant Registrar at Cincinnati Art Museum, January 2017.

Over the decade and a half that followed its first appearance on the art market, the manuscript was discredited as a modern forgery. It remains a notorious touchstone in the history of Islamic art, and yet one that has been curiously neglected: "What is remarkable is that no one even talks about the manuscript any longer, however interesting the lessons may be which can be drawn from it" (Grabar 2006: xxviii-xxix). Fear of visiting personal and institutional embarrassment upon one's colleagues, as well as of litigation, are certainly common motivations for avoiding debates about authenticity in art history. But given the length of time that has elapsed since the day in 1960 when art historian Richard Ettinghausen dramatically opened the envelope containing the laboratory analysis results for the pigments in the paintings, the former at least must be ceasing to hold much sway in this case (Blair / Bloom 2009; Grabar 2012: 22).

As with certain other artworks that passed through Pope's hands and into American museums and private collections, it is hard to know if he was fully aware, from the start, of the manuscript's problematic nature (Bloom 2004; Rogers 1997: 456; Bloom 2016: 94). As Oliver Watson has dryly observed, "it is clear that his income depended on an optimistic view of the field". Today it is hard to read Pope's polemics against "negative generalizations" and the danger of being "made over-cautious by the threat of forgeries" without wondering about the extent to which he was trying to convince himself as much as anyone else (Watson 2013: 68; Pope 1939; Pope 1971a). Soon after the manuscript's first appearance on the international stage damning rumours began to circulate, and these doubts were strongly expressed in a letter sent to the literary historian Mojtaba Minovi by a scholar who wished to remain anonymous. Minovi subsequently published a pamphlet in Persian that denounced the manuscript as a modern forgery (Minovi 1956-7). Pope, meanwhile, defended the codex loudly and publicly, eventually calling in a number of scholars to present papers on various aspects of the manuscript at the *New York International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* in 1960.

A special publication of these papers was first brought out in 1968, by which point Pope had presumably given up hope: the evidence presented in that publication makes a much better case against the manuscript's authenticity than it does for it (Pope 1971; Montgomery 2016: 406). Direct and indirect defences of the manuscript are offered by Pope, his wife and associate Phyllis Ackerman, Linda Bettman (who appears to have been a graduate student at Columbia University), and (slightly more ambivalently) Oleg Grabar. However, these are overwhelmed by the evidence for the prosecution brought to bear by the philologist Ehsan Yarshater and historian Richard Frye, the technical analysis of the pigments made by Rutherford J. Gettens (head of the Freer Gallery's conservation laboratory), and the circumspectly worded but quietly damning iconographic analysis by Richard Ettinghausen.

The case against the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript rests on three major points, and together they are fairly devastating. Firstly, textual analysis showed that the manuscript included a number of "pseudo-archaic words" (Yarshatar 1971: A / 23) and

incorporated mistakes consistent with those found in a history of Persian prose published in 1942, strongly suggesting that the copyist had used the latter as a source (Smith n.d.; Richard n.d.). Secondly, Richard Ettinghausen pointed out that the paintings in the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript include settings, compositions and individual motifs borrowed from 13th- and 14th-century manuscripts that were available in published reproduction by the time the manuscript first surfaced on the market. At the same time, the figures are drawn, rather clumsily but quite identifiably, from the figural painting found upon a type of 10th-century decorated pottery that had been excavated in large quantities at Nishapur in Iran and in Central Asia, and sold on the art market by the 1930s (Ettinghausen 1971). Given the number of the so-called 'Nishapur buffwares' that evidently underwent extensive restoration prior to their accession to various museum collections, it is possible that the figural designs on some of those ceramics were being touched up or redrawn at the same time that the painter of the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript was working. One wonders if the two might even be in some way connected.[4]

Thirdly, synthesising a convincing use of colour seems to have presented the creator(s) of the manuscript's illustrations with particular problems, probably because they were copying their images at least in part from greyscale reproductions. In fact, colour formed the most powerful part of the case for the prosecution: paint in some of the images was found to contain Prussian blue, a modern synthetic pigment only discovered in the early 18th century (Gettens 1971). This was the final nail in the coffin of the defence case. The technical evidence of the Prussian blue seems to be the point most often cited on the rare occasions that the manuscript is discussed: as is often the case in disputes around art forgery, it is the scientific evidence, with its wonderful appearance of certainty, that looms largest in the imagination (Lowenthal 1990: 19).[5]

By this point the story of the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript has almost everything: money, deception, showmen, squabbling scholars, scientific revelations, and international intrigue. The only thing missing is a forger. Richard Frye first saw the manuscript in the house of Fakr al-Dīn Naṣīrī Amīnī, who hailed from a line of scholars and calligraphers. The names of Fakr al-Dīn Naṣīrī, his father and his grandfather have all been linked with various seemingly doctored manuscripts, although their roles in the production of these remain unclear (Richard n.d.; Simpson 2008: n. 78). Fakr al-Dīn Naṣīrī himself claimed that his father's calligraphic talents were exploited by unscrupulous dealers who would remove the signature and date from his historicising creations in order to sell them as antiques (Richard n.d.).

4 | I am currently conducting research on two such pieces in the collection of the Eskenazi Art Museum, Indiana University.

5 | On antagonisms between scientific analysis and connoisseurship over questions of authenticity, see Eastaugh 2009; Kemp 2014; Johnson 2015.

Looking beyond the particular case of the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript, this statement raises the complicated question of culturally specific practices of copying and their awkward assimilation into a globalised art market.[6] Reliance on modern binaries of authentic / inauthentic or original / imitation, aligned most often in this context with the Arabic word *tazwīr* (falsification or embellishment of the truth), fails to account for cultural practices that value emulation in obeisance to tradition. This latter concept is, in the Islamic tradition, given primarily legal expression in the term *taqlīd*, but historically it also had significant currency in literary and artistic realms, such as calligraphy, where the mastery of tradition and master-student 'chains' were constituted through emulation and reconstruction (Gacek 2009: 108-9; Adamova 1992; Roxburgh 2003). The intention to deceive, which we are accustomed to using as a kind of malign diagnostic for the category of forgery, could even in some historical circumstances meet with a positive rather than a negative reception (Rice 1955: 7-8; Roxburgh 2003: 41-43).

Cultural contingencies notwithstanding, the intention to deceive remains a critical issue in the story of the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript. It entered the international art market as an 11th-century artefact, not a 20th-century one, and managed to pass as such — at least for a while. And this is where the spectacle of the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript is arrested. The 'picaresque aesthetics' that drive so much popular interest in art forgery would now have the figure of the forger, that master trickster, leap centre stage and reveal to us all, with a wink, how he pulled the wool over everyone's eyes — even if only for a short time (Radnóti 1999; Hay 2008: 7). But there is no-one to take the spotlight. A finger is pointed, but nothing more: the identity and methods of the forger are not triumphantly revealed, and the audience is left shuffling its feet and looking around uncomfortably for either a moral or a punchline. Perhaps what is truly unforgivable about the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript is that it has supplied neither.

Transactions: Pages and Pieces

The spectacle of the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript reveals a moment when the often-invisible systems that assign value to artworks were made suddenly and awkwardly apparent. Scholars and collectors desired certain things, and the market responded: rarity combined with familiarity (a known text, a painting style seen on other artefacts); a date; the documentation of a text close to its time of origin; completeness. The vulnerability of these desiderata was revealed when they became the mechanisms of malfeasance. After that, exposure of the manuscript was the only way the value-systems of scholarship and the market could be rehabilitated. Jonathan

6 | Instructive parallels can be found in the 19th-century market for Italian art: see Helstosky 2009.

Bloom has pointed out that this self-regulation was in some ways effective: once the *Andarz-nāma* was publicly 'exposed', further forgeries of complete manuscripts from the Islamic world did not appear (at least, not as far as we know!), although one can point to whole-cloth forgeries in other media that have since come to light (Bloom 2004; Jones 1990: 12; Blair / Bloom / Wardwell 1992). To explore the impact of collecting upon that alarmingly nebulous thing, authenticity, from a different angle, the second part of this essay turns to the extraordinarily populous realm of doctored objects, meaning those that have been 'enhanced', 'completed', or otherwise physically transformed somewhere along the way to becoming collected artworks.

One of the most significant factors for faking in the field of Islamic art is the fetishisation of the individual, autonomous object in art collecting. This preference is still strongly evident in display practice in this field. Paradoxically, fixations on the aestheticised and self-contained display object have had two directly opposed but equally far-reaching effects on the modern-day corpus of collected art from the Islamic world. One is the fracturing and dismemberment of things — buildings, certain types of objects such as textiles, and most notoriously manuscripts — into pieces that are now dispersed all over the world. The other is the synthesis of whole objects, especially ceramics, from fragments.

On the one hand, the late 19th and first half of the 20th century — in fact right up until the 1970s — saw many of the most famous illustrated and illuminated Arabic and Persian manuscripts and albums dismembered. Typically, their illustrated leaves were cut out and sold, a few at a time, on the art market. If a page had paintings on both front and back, the paper was sometimes split to separate *recto* from *verso*. The point of this was of course that the cumulative profit from selling individual illustrated pages was greater than a complete manuscript could ever fetch, however magnificent it was, because there is an upper limit to what the market can bear for any single item (Welch 1985; Roxburgh 1998).

Dismemberment had the effect of converting manuscripts into discrete and dislocated fields that were more susceptible to the forger's art than intact manuscripts would have been. As demonstrated by the *Andarz-nāma* manuscript, forgery of a whole manuscript is a high-risk venture. But by breaking down the physical integrity of an existing manuscript, dispersing its image cycle, and removing any certainty about what went where within its original structure, dismemberment greatly facilitated new interventions into the fabric of the book. An eye-catching case was explored in Mohamad Ghiasian's recent study of the dispersed illustrated manuscript of the *Majma' al-tawārīkh* ("Assembly of Histories") by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 1430). This codex, probably created in the early 15th century, was exhibited whole in 1926 and cut up shortly afterwards; its leaves have long been treasured possessions in a number of major collections. Ghiasian demonstrated that many paintings in this manuscript are almost certainly post-production additions, probably added in the early 20th century, for which space was created by simply wiping out passages

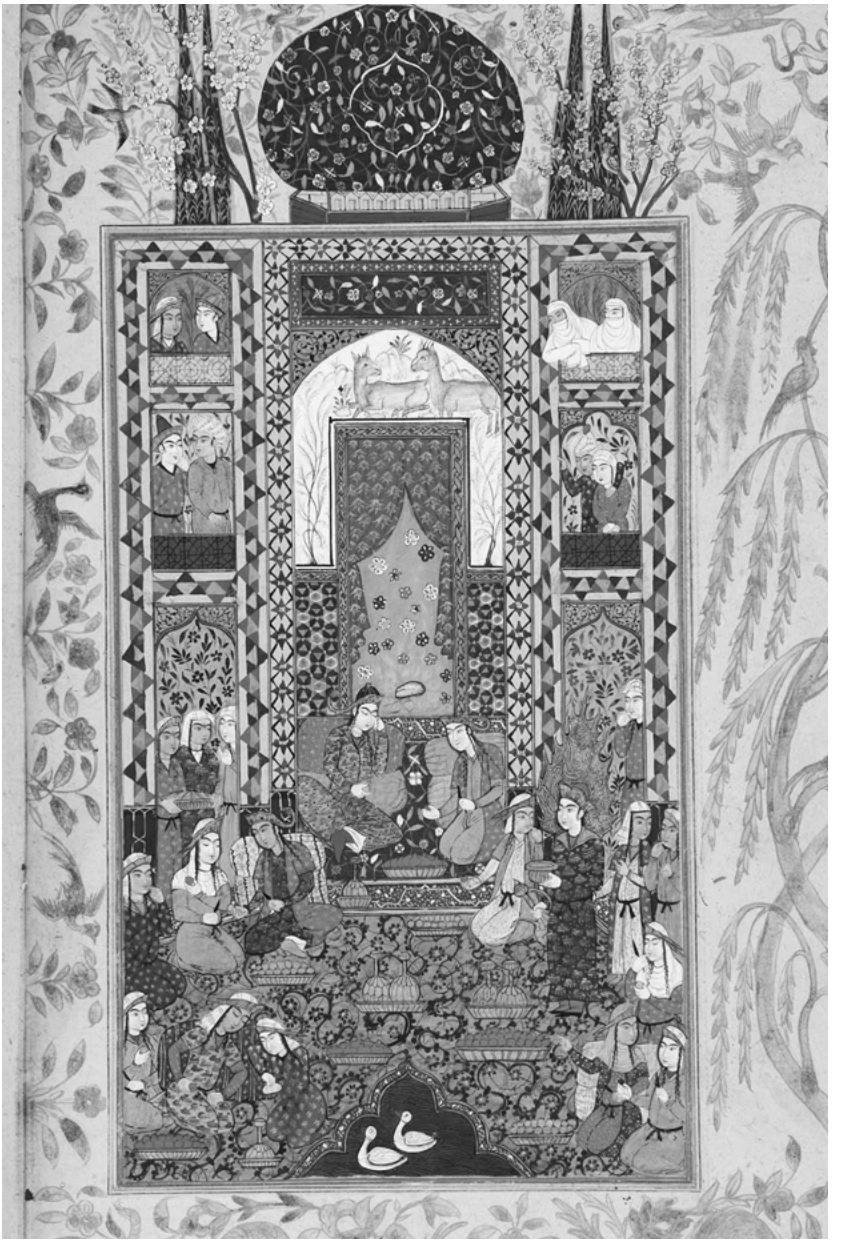


Figure 1: "The maids slice their hands upon seeing Yusuf's beauty", illustrated manuscript of the Haft awrang *("*Seven thrones"*) of Jāmī. Kabul, text transcribed 959-960 AH / 1552-1553 CE, illustrations possibly early 20th century. Page 35. 9 × 23.2 cm.*

from the text. While at least some, and possibly all, of the modern miniatures were added before the book was quickly dismembered for sale on the art market, it is only through Ghiasian's painstaking reconstruction of the now globally dispersed leaves of the manuscript that many instances of repetition, copying and stylistic infelicity in the paintings can be recognised (Ghiasian 2015).

We are usually inclined to judge this kind of market-driven forgery very harshly, particularly when it is accompanied by the dismemberment and defacing of the original object. But what of those who effected very similar acts, probably for similar reasons, but without incurring the same kind of destruction in the process? A 16th-century manuscript of the *Haft Awrang* of Jami in the Lilly Library of Indiana University has been 'enhanced' by the addition of what are probably early 20th-century paintings in a kind of pastiche of 17th-century Perso-Indian styles (fig. 1). These were presumably intended to convince the collector that they were buying an illustrated 16th-century manuscript with what the connoisseurs' literature would call 'fine paintings', thereby elevating the market value (Simpson 2008). The thick impasto of the white paint in some of these images reveals their recent manufacture; real 16th-century miniatures were made with water-based paints that do not have built-up surfaces. Closer inspection reveals failings of symmetry in the architectural decoration, overmodelled facial features and other stylistic traits that most likely point to recent manufacture, albeit with high production values.

In fact, the manuscript was copied in Kabul in 1552/53, according to its colophon information, which would make it one of the earliest dated manuscripts of the Mughal dynasty (Gruber 2009: 31-32). Analysis performed by Laura E. Parodi with near-infrared light indicates that the miniatures were not painted over text, nor do they seem to have been painted on top of pre-existing images, but instead into blank spaces: it seems likely that the manuscript came down to the modern era with illuminations but no illustrations.[7] Failure to complete the image cycle is certainly not an unknown phenomenon in pre-modern manuscript production; depending on the stage at which the book project faltered, this could result in pages where the margins and text are completed but blank boxes remain without illustrations.[8]

If the paintings in the Indiana manuscript had been executed after the manuscript's creation but prior to the advent of the international art market, they would most likely be regarded as simply an interesting node in the object's life history (Soucek/Çağman 1995). As it is, the fact that they were most likely created with

7 | Laura E. Parodi examined the manuscript in 2011 and will be publishing her research in the near future. I am grateful to her for sharing some of her unpublished findings with me.

8 | For example, the image cycle of the British Library's 1386-88 *Khamsa* of Nizami stops partway through the *Haft Paykar*, leaving framed blank spaces, ready to receive images, throughout the second half of the text: see Graves 2002.

the intention to deceive in a modern marketplace means that they physically superimpose present conditions of commodity exchange onto those of the past. In the collectors' literature there is a tangible sense that such 20th-century incursions into a 16th-century artefact taint the past with the present. Lying at the heart of these anxieties is that elusive thing, 'authenticity', a concept that is, at least in the ways we use it now, inextricably bound up in post-Enlightenment European frameworks of taxonomy, documentation and historical time. Time, however, can also be a neutralizing agent: the early 20th-century modernity that the paintings probably represent has now begun to recede into the historical past, permitting a greater sense of scholarly objectivity to grow up around such interventions.

At the same time that some of the most notorious cases of manuscript dismemberment were occurring, and probably around the same time that the Indiana manuscript was receiving its images, the market demand for complete objects was distorting another type of historical material from the Islamic world. Medieval ceramics are by their very nature usually recovered in fragmentary form, and yet most museum display pieces in this medium are presented as whole objects. In the vast majority of cases they were acquired that way from dealers or agents rather than being reconstructed within the institutions that now hold them.

The additive process of 'completing' fragmentary ceramics, or building new wholes from disparate parts, was such a widespread practice that most scholars who work on premodern Islamic ceramics will develop sceptical reflexes about the integrity of any of the pieces they encounter. This is particularly true of pieces from Iran. Many early collectors had a taste for figural designs as well as the glitter and fine draughtsmanship found in the Persian lustre and *minā'ī* techniques of ceramic decoration. Moreover, they liked their ceramics to be whole. These proclivities led to a significant market for doctored objects (Watson 1999: 426-27). More than one scholar reports having encountered the construction of 'complete' ceramics from boxes of disparate sherds, sorted by type, in dealer's workshops in Tehran in the 1950s and 1970s, making it clear that this practice cannot be entirely consigned to the early 20th century (Sigel / McWilliams 2013: 38; Watson 2004: n. 25). And yet there remains some unwillingness within the field to acknowledge publicly the extent to which almost all of the ceramic corpus has undergone intervention of one form or another at some stage in its history.

In the first place, there are institutional tensions about revealing the true condition of some pieces. With such a premium placed on the pristine integrity of the self-contained object, visitors, collectors and funders alike can find it painful to be told that beloved pieces are not what they seem. Furthermore, curators are very restricted with regards to the amount of information that they can present with an object, and there seems to be a collective consensus, amongst Anglophone museums at least, that post-production interventions on the object need to be carefully explained in order to turn them into source of interest rather than shame (McWilliams 2012: 169). Many major institutions have established norms in conservation

practice that aim to clearly differentiate between original and modern material in historic ceramics, but this entails a substantial conservation department and a sizeable budget — not things that every museum has.[9] And in spite of this, a quick look at any recent auction house catalogue will show that market standards, and by extension display standards in many contexts, continue to prioritise whole objects and invisible and even deceptive repairwork.

I will use a single bowl to illustrate the varied means by which agents at work in the 20th century crafted whole ceramic pieces for sale on the art market. The piece is now held in the Eskenazi Art Museum of Indiana University, where it is part of a 47-piece teaching collection of Islamic ceramics accessioned in the 1960s and 70s (fig. 2). None of the pieces in this group has undergone any major conservation work during their half-century in the museum and they still bear all of their 20th-century art market restorations, much of it becoming increasingly obvious with age and discolouration.

Some of this bowl, at least, is from late 12th-century Iran, decorated in the painting technique known as *minā'ī*. The principal painted design is at first glance a fairly standard radial pattern of seated figures and trees. However, it does not take any specialist equipment, or even a very trained eye, to see that the piece is composed of fragments from more than one object — a condition it shares with a large number of *minā'ī* vessels as well as lustre-painted ones (Pease 1958; Norman 2004; McCarthy / Holod 2012; Sigel / McWilliams 2013; Michelsen / Olafsdotter 2014; Masteller 2016: 276-81). For example, the oddly-oriented harpy, appearing where we would expect to see a fifth figure, is manifestly from a different object: some of the painting is considerably finer than that of the figures on the rest of the bowl, the palette is different, and the use of fine white highlights distinguishes it from all other figures (fig. 3). Below the harpy, the knee of the human figure who once occupied this position, clad in a dark purple robe, is still visible, although an attempt to disguise it has been made through the application of dots of modern red overglaze decoration. Above the harpy's head a mish-mash of different fragments and patches of fill make up the rim.

The figure next to the harpy is equally inharmonious (fig. 4). The upper parts of the body and the head have been painted onto a greyish, rather putty-like fill. To the right of the figure is a bilateral foliate design that has nothing to do with the rest of the composition and is manifestly an unrelated sherd; on the other side of the figure there has been an attempt to give this inclusion some design logic by painting in a crude bilateral sprig. The rim is clearly a patchwork all the way around. What is un-

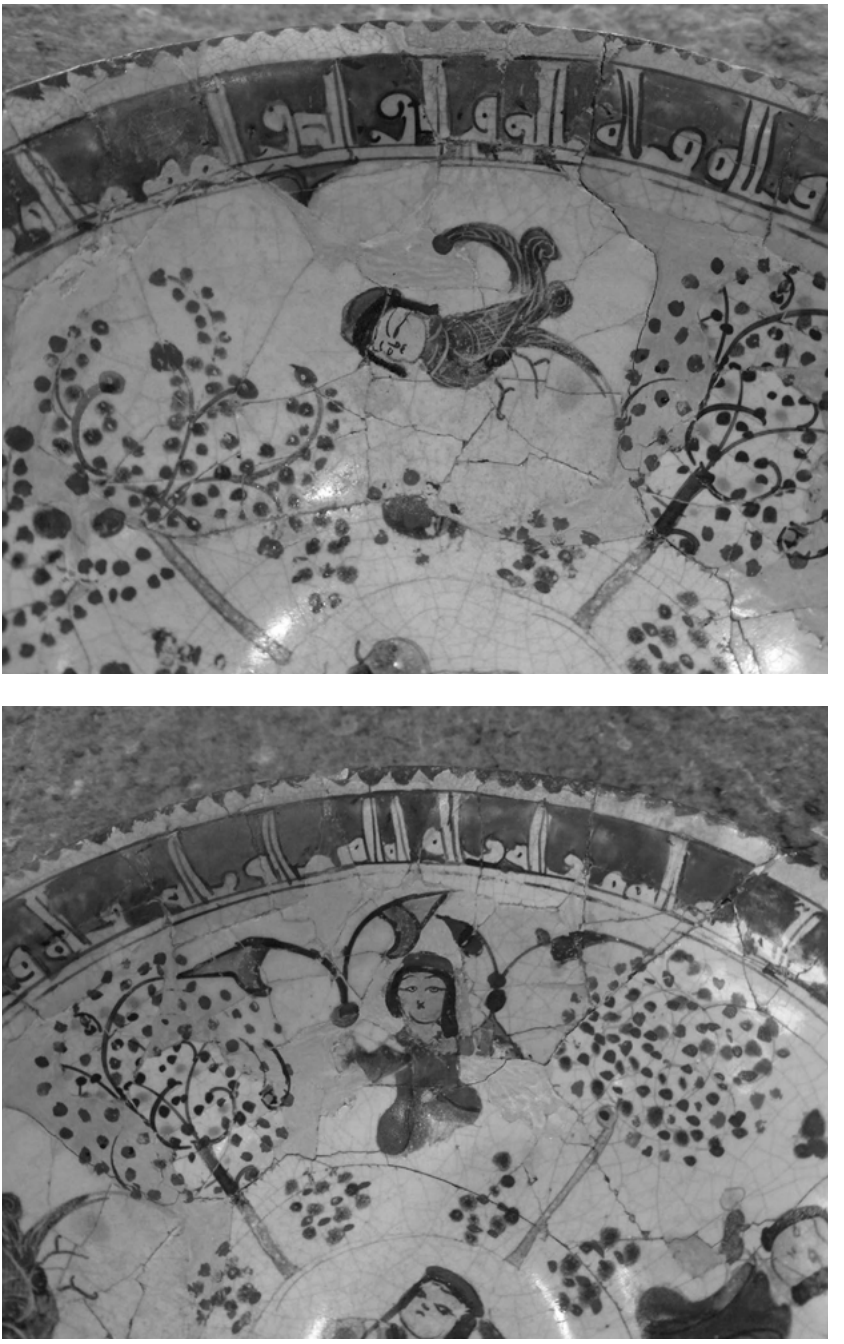
9 | The Metropolitan Museum of Art has done some exemplary work in this field, most notably in the 2016 special exhibition curated by Martina Rugiadi, *Transformed: Medieval Syrian and Iranian Art in the Early 20th Century*. See also the case studies presented online and in print: de Lapérouse n.d.; id. n.d. a; id. / Stamm / Parry 2007.

Figure 2: Glazed fritware bowl painted in minā'ī technique. Iran, late 12th/early 13th century with modern additions. Height 20.3 cm. Eskenazi Museum of Art, Indiana University, 60.54.

usual about this *minā'ī* bowl is not the extent to which it has been doctored, but how openly it declares that process. The poor quality of the workmanship announces itself so clearly that in this case examination under ultraviolet light largely confirms what one could already divine from examination with the naked eye (fig. 5). UV does however make it easier to see the likely extent of the largest continuous fragment of the original bowl (this includes the foot and the right-hand side, excepting most or all of the rim). This substantial portion was presumably deemed large enough to make the job of rather sloppily building up the rest from sherds, plaster and paint financially worthwhile.[10]

The undocumented interventions visited upon objects like the Indiana *minā'ī* bowl are very often treated by collectors and scholars alike as something that

10 | Further investigation of this object will be included in a future publication.



Figures 3 and 4: Detail of figure 2.

comes between the viewer and the authenticity of the object. Curiously, this is quite often framed as a betrayal on the part of the object — as if the objects themselves have lied to us. There is a recurring discussion of both 'innocent' and 'deceptive' objects in the scholarly literature that speaks of a peculiar tendency to assign moral agency to the artworks themselves (Kennick 1985: n. 16). My point here in exploring the interventions that have taken place upon this rather disparate collection of objects is not to single them out as shameful, nor to wag the finger of reproach at those who forged or doctored them and moved them through the art market. Rather, these pieces are an exemplary means of exposing and recording the direct effects of collecting cultures and the art market upon the material that we study (Jones 1990: 11, 13-14; Radnóti 1999: 6). One has only to look to Oliver Watson's research on changing fashions in the collection of medieval Middle Eastern ceramics to

Figure 5: Photograph of figure 2 under UV lighting.

witness the dramatic effects of taste — capitalism's market force par excellence — on what has been kept and what has been discarded (both figuratively and literally) from the art historical master-narrative. Ceramic types that are not 'recognised' and therefore not saleable have been written out of art history because they never make it onto the market, in spite of their presence in archaeological sherd deposits (Watson 1999).

One can only speculate upon the extent to which each object in this essay was intended to deceive credulous buyers. Such speculations are ultimately dependent not only on the current condition of the objects themselves but also on circumstantial documentation from their lives as collected objects: how much was paid for them, what do we know about the careers of the dealers from whom they were bought, and what kind of information accompanied them at the time of purchase? For, perhaps counterintuitively, deception is borne out not at the moment of intervention upon the object, but at the moment of transaction: whether that be the moment of financial transaction through purchase, or the moment of publication — itself a form of scholarly transaction. Moreover, the entanglement of scholarship and the market in Islamic art is not a historiographic issue that can be made palatable by isolating it from the present: the two things continue to exist in symbiosis (Graves 2012). Not only does the art market continue to shape the canon of art history, but time and again it has also wrought physical changes upon the objects making up that canon, as the pieces in this essay can mutely attest.

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