This volume brings together analyses of provocative images and the work they do, both among Muslims and between Muslims and non-Muslims, to define norms or demarcate Islamic—pious, critical, artistic, political, and so forth—communities. It draws attention to a certain communication—provocation—as a mode of engaging in or escalating public debates in and on religion, and of driving processes of religious subject formation beyond the purview of written texts. Bringing together cases from around the world and building on approaches developed in (visual) anthropology and media studies, it presents a kaleidoscopic set of context-sensitive investigations of the practices and impact of provocative images in contemporary Islam.

Images and visual communication have low priority in the study of Islam, despite their ubiquitous proximity to lived experience and the everyday life of Muslims in many societies. The commonly cited grounds for this—the contested place of figurative images in Islamic theology and the subordination of images to texts through Islamic scriptural traditions—are debatable at best. As Leaman firmly states, "The ban on images in Islam does not exist" (2004, 17). At the same time, the provocations on which the contributors to this volume focus are hardly the images of pious perfection typically engaged by scholars looking at the role of images in Muslim societies. When Islamic images are discussed, it is often with art-historical purposes: beautifully decorated Qurans, the wonders of the Alhambra, and so forth. Such images are typically detached from their context, becoming objects in museums or pictures in books that are primarily aesthetic in value as works of art. We do not contest the importance of such images in the history of Islamic art. Indeed, there are many horizons still to be explored by tracing histories of Islamic art into new media art and reconceptualizations of information and the infinite (Marks 2010). Nevertheless, we do underline that these are particular kinds of images intended to communicate exalted ideals.

What the study of such images do not typically show is the everyday lived experience of Muslims. Rather than essentialist notions of Islamic art or notions of universal aesthetics, Wendy Shaw proposes a subject-centered framework based on culturally informed modes of perception, which "includes not only beautiful things such as paintings, sculpture, tiles, carpets, or vessels normally considered in Islamic art history, but also music, geometries, and dream images" (2019, 26). Following this trajectory, our aim is to dislodge stereotypical concepts of the religious image as representing or inspiring an idea of pious perfection framed, aesthetically, in terms of beauty, wholeness, and spiritual experience.

By addressing images from fashion and figurative painting, to television and social media, and also media archives and the dark net, our assembled authors engage with images in the context of both Muslim majority and minority societies that are quite distinct from the way Islam and Islamic images are often studied. Some of the images discussed in this volume are creative, nuanced, and deliberate,

if not also highly produced, cleverly designed, and artistically masterful, but remain distinct from images that are typically framed in relation to Islam by both adherents and others. Other images we study are clumsy, amateurish, and vernacular, perhaps signalling camp, kitsch, or fake qualities that can become satirical, unsettling, and even utterly offensive. As such, we build on and seek to contribute to an important recent trend in the study of contemporary religion that analyses the productive potential of imperfection and (moral) failure (see, e.g., Beekers and Kloos 2018, Verkaaik 2014), but that has not engaged much with the role of visual images.

In other words, we adopt a more inclusive and dynamic approach towards the relationship between Islam and image, by bringing together images that work both *for* and *against* Islam. That is to say, we consider images that reference contestations within Islam, about the definition of norms and virtues and claims to religious authority, for instance, as well as images that interpolate Islam within non-Muslim majority societies. This collection thus intentionally complicates the usual distinction between Islamic images as expressions of pious visuality and images that visualize Muslims in Islamophobic ways. The examples assembled here are neither strictly Islamic images nor specifically Muslim representations. Instead, by exploring the engagements with these images in a variety of "contact zones," the contributors to this volume endeavour to consider the way Islam becomes simultaneously recognizable and misrecognized as different social actors navigate the underlying power relations (Pratt 1991; Clifford 1997).

While Islam remains central to all these studies, what truly unifies these cases—across their diverse social contexts, wide ranging forms, and various modes of expression—is the affective intensity of provocation. Whether intended or not, these images terrorize, taunt, mock, and shame. This volume makes a case for using provocations as an entry point for identifying and analyzing contestations about and within Islam. This makes for a much more inclusive approach to the visual in Islam that seeks to understand the way ordinary images that may have gone unnoticed or seemed unremarkable become central to the politics, contestations, and struggles central to Islam. As such, our contributors seek to understand the role of visuality in religion that is always intersected by the messy reality of politics and moral ambiguity.

This messy reality takes shape in a context where religion is mass mediated. Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors (2006) point out that religion in itself is already a mediation which "cannot be analyzed outside of the forms and practices of mediation that define it" (7). However, they also suggest that practices of religion have been significantly reconfigured since the 1970s and 1980s. Meyer and Moors point out that while in "the 1980s religion and electronic media were by and large seen as belonging to different spheres (belief and the culture industry), […] today we witness […] the deliberate and skilful adoption of various electronic and

digital media—cassettes, radio, video, television, and the Internet—and the styles associated with these media" to religious frameworks (1). This raises questions about aesthetics, style, performance, the means of mass mediation, and the ways in which these have an impact on (perceptions of) religious authority. Various scholars (Anderson 2003; Göle 2002; Heryanto 2008; Hirschkind 2001; Bayat 2007; Hoesterey 2012, 2015; Kloos 2019; Turner 2007; Schmidt 2017) have shown how modern information technology, globalization, mass education, literacy, and the second wave of Islamism resulted in the fragmentation of religious authority. In comparison to the end of the nineteenth century, Islamic authority is no longer the sole domain of muftis and ulama or other traditional figures of religious authority. In different parts of the Muslim world, new voices—from Muslim intellectuals and professionals with a secular education to celebrities and gurus—have for instance entered religious debates (Eickelman and Piscatori 1996; Eickelman and Anderson 1999). Their style, performance, aesthetics, and ways of addressing audiences often differ from formally or traditionally trained religious authorities (Schmidt 2018, 62; see also Kloos 2021), as they use entertainment, charisma, affect and allure to address and attract audiences.

This development is not uncontested. Bart Barendregt (2009) has for instance pointed out in the context of Southeast Asia that so-called "poster preachers," and the mass mediation of Islam, "does not escape controversy [as] conservative and Islamists groups especially have blamed it for what is now called either Market Islam, 15-minute Islam or Islam Lite as selling out or even of being the Devil in disguise" (Barendregt 2009, np). These controversies show that audiences do not read messages the same way. On the one hand, class and cultural proclivities shape the way people respond to messages; for instance, images aimed to galvanize the poor may shock bourgeoise sensibilities (Westmoreland 2016). On the other hand, audiences are not passively influenced by media messages, but negotiate, contest, and sometimes even claim authority themselves—often by using the same means: media and images. Today, religious practices, ideas, authority, forms, are thus not limited to textual authority or traditional and formally trained figures of religious authority—and the normative discourses that flow from it. Today's reality is thus messier and more complex. As we suggest below, provocation can serve as an analytic device to help identify and grasp this reality: the multidirectionality, the unintended effects, the seemingly marginal, sometimes banal, and often intangible aspects of much religious communication and subject formation. It helps to grasp the white noise and the grey areas, while it can help to map how Muslims navigate and make sense of the overwhelming abundance and multiplicity of sounds and images in the religious public sphere today.

This volume takes inspiration from Christiane Kruse, Birgit Meyer, and Anne-Marie Korte's volume on offensive images in religious contexts. In *Taking Offense:*

Religion, Art and Visual Culture in Plural Configurations (2018), Kruse et al. ask what makes images offensive. They observe that images are not intrinsically offensive, but "that their offensiveness arises in the experience of certain beholders who attribute it to the image, while others may remain indifferent, like it and defend it, or take offense not with the image as such, but with the intention of its producer to offend" (Kruse et al. 2018, 353–54). Kruse et al. show that offensiveness resides in the eye of the beholder, and that consequently different people in different cultural contexts respond differently to images. Our increasingly interconnected and at the same time highly diversifying world is therefore prone to generate much offense through pictorial media (343). Kruse et al.'s work shows how in diverse and plural societies, in secular as well as in religious contexts, images become nodal points for the articulation of fundamental "ideological differences, whether these be religiously, politically, gender-thematically, artistically, or otherwise motivated" (355). Their book offers intriguing insights into the question of why people in different parts of the world feel offended by images.

In contrast to Kruse et al.'s work, however, we are less concerned with the question of why the same image is considered offensive in one context and not offensive in the other, and more with the multifarious affects, implications, directions, and dynamics of provocation. What (or whom) do provocative images in religious settings disturb? Why and how do they do this and what are the consequences? Who are provoking by producing and disseminating images and why? How, and to what extent, can or should we understand the creation, use and dissemination of provocative images as a religious act? And how does the medium that carries the provocation matter, and allow for images to be(come) provocative?

While the notions of offense and provocation are closely related—they both involve and revolve around affective relations—provocation allows for a more comprehensive approach. The notion of provocation helps us to draw attention to a multiplicity of emotions that images may engender, from feelings of joy and enlightenment to terror and rage, and from mixed feelings and feelings of indifference to a sense of shame. The concept of provocation also helps us to explore the perspectives of (consciously or not) the provocateurs, the producers and disseminators of provocative images, as well as the perspectives of audiences who perceive images as provocative, even if these images were never meant to be provocative, while taking into account the (partially) constitutive role that the medium itself plays in the provocation.

Strikingly, although provocative images often attract attention, have the ability to cause social uproar, and potentially have an enormous impact on public opinion and on practices and perceptions of religion, relatively few theoretical or empirical studies have analysed them in depth. A study of provocative images could shed some much-needed light on the role provocation plays in debates about

multiculturalism (see Margaretha A. van Es' chapter in this volume) and the visibility of religion in public spaces (see the contributions by Maryam Kashani, and Pooyan Tamimi Arab). It could also help to investigate the gendered and embodied aspects of provocation (see Kirsten Scheid's and Carla Jones' chapters) and explore the role the medium with its affordances and affects, with its abilities to dazzle, share, reiterate, shock and mock, plays in the act of provocation (see the contributions by Yasmin Moll, Andrea Meuzelaar, Marwan Kraidy, and James B. Hoesterey). As Olivier Driessens (2013) observes in his work about media provocation, while scholarly work is done on provocations, its mediated version has largely been neglected (558). Driessens points out that media provocations are "mediated and constructed using media, which indicates that the practices and fields of raising awareness or protesting (through provocations for example) are intensely related to media and have changed through their mediation, or, in other words, have been mediatized" (560). It is therefore important that more attention is given to these practices. Starting from definitions of provocation, this volume presents a conceptualization of provocative images and their mediation, while also intervening in dominant views of provocation.

In previous literature, different works have defined the concept of provocation. The first is the pioneering work by German sociologist Rainer Paris, who in "Der kurze Atem der Provokation," or "The Short Breath of the Provocation," describes provocation as a social process. Paris defines provocation as "an intentionally induced and unexpected contravention of a norm, implicating the other in an open conflict which should elicit a reaction, which in turn makes the other especially in the eyes of third parties morally discredited and exposed" (Paris 1989, 33; in Driessens 2013, 558). Second, Richard Vézina and Olivia Paul (1997), who studied provocation as an advertising strategy, define provocation as "a deliberate appeal, within the content of an advertisement, to stimuli that are expected to shock at least a portion of the audience, both because they are associated with values, norms or taboos that are habitually not challenged or transgressed in advertising, and because of their distinctiveness and ambiguity" (179). The notion of provocation is also central to Anthony McCosker's (2014) study of trolling on YouTube. His main contention is that provocation should be always understood in context and examined in terms of the way it can not only problematise, but also productively intensify, vitalise and sustain publics. McCosker focuses on social media, which allows deviant behavior and enables people to act out or to "act up" (202–203). He sees provocation "as a productive element of social media spaces by reference to the political theory of 'agonistic pluralism' as conceived by Chantal Mouffe (2000)" (McCosker 2014: 202). According to McCosker, provocation forms an essential part of agonistic pluralism, which "describes modes of democratic sociality that are always and necessarily contested, where conflict remains ineradicable but may be

productively accommodated by social institutions and platforms that allow space for the flow of passion and contested interaction among adversaries" (McCosker 2014, 202). In addition to these definitions, a body of work inspired by the Chicago School of Sociology and the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies analyzes subcultural provocation. Subcultural studies depart from the idea that society includes a multitude of "social practices, some of which are 'alternative' or 'unconventional,' others of which are transgressive or even oppositional" (Anderson and Sandberg 2018, 4). Provocation here refers to acts of symbolic resistance intended to aggravate mainstream society (4).

Notwithstanding the differences between the above-cited definitions, two elements recur when addressing the provocative: intentionality and the transgression of norms. Vézina and Paul speak of a "deliberate appeal" (1997, 179), Paris of an "intentionally induced contravention" (Paris 1989, 33; in Driessens 2013, 558), subcultural studies of "symbolic acts of resistance to aggravate" (Anderson and Sandberg 2018, 4), and McCosker of "acting out or up" (2014, 203). As we will see, chapters in this volume question the centrality of intentionality to the concept of provocation. Jones' study of Muslim fashion (chapter 7) for instance shows how some images of modesty that were not intended to provoke migrate from attractive to provocative on the basis of gender and the medium in which they appear. In her study of Facebook-posts that are created with the intention to do anything other than to provoke, Van Es (Chapter 4) describes how she felt provoked by "benevolent posts." This volume therefore questions intentionality as a central trait of provocation and instead approaches the theme of provocation more in terms of a spectrum of intentions and perceptions as the chapters in this book show that provocation is a messy and less binary phenomenon. Images, once they start to travel, be (re-)appropriated and (re-)viewed, become recontextualized and become part of assemblages in which it is very hard to clearly delineate between intended and unintended (Spyer and Steedly 2013).

The definitions cited above also imply that provocations run counter to the "normal" horizon of expectations and involve contraventions of norms, values, rules, laws or symbolic power, although Driessens (2013) rightly points out that it is not necessary for an actual contravention to have occurred for it to be classified as a provocation. It could be said that a provocation "questions rather than contravenes the prevailing norms or values" (559). These norms which will of course vary from one cultural context to another, thus highlight that provocations are often context-dependent. In certain cultural contexts, "a media provocation might question a norm that is still taboo, whereas in others it may not be a controversial issue or contravene any norm" (561). And in yet other contexts, such as some expressions of populist politics, provocation may become the norm. As such, we could say that provocations "are struggles over symbolic power, as they attempt to overrule

current standards and subvert hegemonic positions" (559). Having said that, it is necessary to ask specifically which hegemonic positions are exactly contested in each of the contexts the chapters are dealing with, and what role provocation plays in these struggles with Islam. Our volume shows that the answers to these questions are not straightforward. Margaretha A. van Es' chapter in this volume for instance shows how the same case study articulates different positions and contestations. In her study of Facebook posts in favour of cultural diversity, posted by non-Muslim Dutch people on the Facebook page *#NietMijnIslam* [#NotMyIslam], Van Es shows how posts negotiate and contest anti-Muslim rhetoric. Yet, at the same time, as said, from her own speaking position, Van Es herself feels provoked by these contestations.

While these definitions refer to provocation in general, this volume explores provocative images. It makes sense to offer conceptual clarification here and go into the distinction between picture and image, as both can provoke, either organically together, or separately. To explain the difference, Christoph Baumgartner's (2018) elaboration is useful here. Baumgartner (2018, 319) points out that the concept "picture" denotes a material object that is meant to be seen by someone. A picture thus is a visual media that is used and produced to let people see things. "The thing that is seen, then, is the image that appears in a picture. Images of visual things are dependent on pictures, since images never appear except in some medium or another, but unlike a picture, the image is not a material object; you can hang a picture, but you cannot hang an image" (319). This also means that images can survive the pictures in which they first appeared, and that iconoclasm can destroy a picture, but not the image, since images can be memorized and re-materialized in new pictures or other media. An image "can migrate through different media, and it can be conserved or transformed in this process" (319). Although most authors in this volume do not distinguish between picture and image, the distinction is useful for thinking about what it is exactly that provokes: is it the carrier, the genre, the re-use and re-materialization, the thing depicted, the context in which it is mediated, or a specific combination of these?

In many of the chapters in this volume, provocative images are (re-)mediated via different types and genres of (social) media, e.g., television programmes, posters, and memes. This movement through different media forms often builds into "image events." Karen Strassler uses this term to describe "a political process in which an image (or a constellation of related images) crystallizes otherwise inchoate and dispersed imagining within a discrete and mobile visible form that becomes available for scrutiny, debate, and play as it circulates in public" (2020, 13). In his (2013) work on the Belgian rock artist Stijn Meuris who provoked audiences by declaring on Facebook that he would not vote in elections, Driessens explains how the fact that a provocation is mediated—that is, communicated through media—has particular

implications for our understanding of the notion of provocation. Driessens notes that the essential characteristic of mediated provocation is that the media are (partially) constitutive of provocations. This has four implications:

> First, the mediation or coverage and unfolding of provocations in the media is a primary characteristic of the constitution of media provocations. Second, non-mediated provocations also exist. […] Third, the mediation of provocations gives the provocateurs a lead because it adds to their impact in the public sphere, and as such questions the legitimacy of the powerful who might therefore be urged to react. Fourth, because of its mediated character, the third parties who observe the provocation are primarily the media audiences. These are not necessarily passive observers though, as the potentially spectacular nature of the provocation and its reference to moral and power issues might easily draw their attention and involve them in debates. (560)

One can question whether provocation is by definition a non-hegemonic practice or whether hegemonic provocation is also possible. For Driessens, the presence of third parties, or audiences, highlights two other important aspects of the concept of provocation, namely, the possible occurrence of fatigue and the reduction of provocations into media spectacles. First, "provocation fatigue may set in when the audience is confronted repeatedly with the same kind of provocation. A media provocation's potential effect can thus be neutralized by a desensitization of the audience" (Driessens 2014, 561). A consequence of this may be that subsequent provocations may not have the same effect as the first provocation, and thus become less provocative. Second, and related to the first point, repeating the same provocation "might turn provocations into nothing more than media spectacles, depoliticizing their message and reducing them into mere entertainment" (Driessens 2014, 561). The mainstreaming of punk or Marilyn Manson's encapsulation into mainstream pop culture demonstrate this dynamic. And a third possibility, as demonstrated in Hoesterey's chapter, people may grow "tired" of the provocations by Islamic reactionary groups and decide to "provoke back," thus actually escalating the public engagement and exposure to provocation.

To sum up, a provocative image can be defined as a mediation (in the form of a picture, painting, social media post, television broadcast), which questions norms, values, rules, laws and symbolic power in such a way that it intentionally or unintentionally runs counter to the "normal" horizon of expectations in a certain cultural context. In this volume, each chapter engages in different ways with this concept of provocation.

In an effort to think beyond textual forms of analysis, we have invited some of the contributors to produce visual essays. These chapters (Kraidy, Kashani, Scheid) demonstrate forms of scholarship that make their argument through both text

and images. These highlight ways of thinking through images that do more than merely illustrate textual ideas. More than attempts to reveal or make apparent, these visual essays help animate certain conceptual frameworks. They enact ways of looking, seeing, and gazing that evoke the tension between visibility and invisibility, thus drawing our attention to the seen and unseen, the exposed and hidden, the spectacle and the mundane. Kashani, for instance, uses the visual essayic form to make tangible the ephemeral effects of Islamophobia and American Muslims' tactical, subtly provocative responses to state-directed surveillance by inscribing the San Francisco Bay Area into a larger "Islamoscape."

The chapters are organized in a relay-style sequence where every chapter passes the baton to the next based on their connections, common themes, and the questions the chapters raise. The order itself introduces a kind of provocative structural logic, in which juxtapositions help draw out certain themes, while resonances in one paper also reverberate with other pieces located elsewhere in the order. This structure also resists conceptual logics that would otherwise group these cases according to regional geographies or thematic dichotomies. Instead, we invite the reader to follow these provocations.

Following the Provocative

This volume opens with Marwan Kraidy's visual essay about Islamic State's (IS) image-warfare. IS's visuality compels a reconceptualization of the digital image. Kraidy's chapter explores the central role of digital images in IS's war spectacle. It focuses on ten provocative stills from Healing of the Believers' Chests, the infamous IS video of the immolation of a captured Jordanian pilot released in February 2015. Using concepts from the literature on spectacle, fire, new media phenomenology, and affect theory, and drawing on related IS primary texts in addition to the video stills, this visual essay concludes with the notion of the projectilic image, an image that mimics fast, lethal, penetrative objects. The essay also reflects on the ethics of showing IS imagery, grappling with the question of whether trying to understand those violent images and the ways in which they provoke contributes to the spectacle of their circulation and the painful affects they elicit.

While Kraidy's chapter discusses the aesthetics and production of violent images, Andrea Meuzelaar's chapter about the reiterations of footage of the Rushdie affair (1989) on Dutch television reveals the archival logic behind provocative images of violence. Meuzelaar explores the emergence of the generic figure of the Muslim mob by showing how the Rushdie affair was retold through the prism of present anxieties and how its meaning has been continuously reshaped—despite the many asymmetries between past and present—to suggest a historical precedent

of current affairs. Meuzelaar concentrates on Sound and Vision (the Dutch national audio-visual archive) as an actor in this practice of reshaping. It shows that the archival practice of describing stock footage for reuse has an important performative effect that feeds into the "iterativity" (Rosello 1998) of the stereotype of the angry Muslim mob.

The image of Islam as a "violent" religion is a stereotype that is not only reiterated, but also contested, as Margaretha A. van Es' chapter shows. In "Multicultural Clumsiness: Provocative Anti-Provocations in the Aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo Attacks," Van Es focuses on a collection of Facebook posts in favour of cultural diversity, posted by non-Muslim Dutch people on the Facebook page *#NietMijnIslam* [#NotMyIslam]. Many of these people indicate that they do not have many opportunities to interact with Muslims in their everyday lives. The posts are created with the intention to do anything other than to provoke, yet as a researcher who also happens to be Muslim, Van Es sometimes felt strongly provoked by the images and texts. By introducing the term "multicultural clumsiness," Van Es draws attention to the efforts taken by people who long for social cohesion, but who do not really know how to reach out to others. It reveals that, in fact, this support for diversity often goes hand in hand with subtle expressions of everyday Islamophobia.

Maryam Kashani's visual essay about the visuality of Muslim life in the San Francisco Bay Area responds to notions and questions of multiculturalism that are raised by Van Es' chapter as it foregrounds a specifically Islamic knowledge and practice that has been pushed to the background (not unlike the way multicultural universalism in Van Es' chapter does). As a conceptual object and lived experience, "Medina by the Bay" describes the aggregate of people, places, histories, and ideas of Muslims and others in the San Francisco Bay Area. Medina by the Bay is both real and imaginary and refers to a specific node in a larger Islamic landscape or Islamoscape in which Muslims and Islamic knowledge and practices travel. Kashani's visual essay brings forward the visual registers of Medina by the Bay by representing the place-making and mobility of Muslims in urban and suburban and private and public spaces in an increasingly gentrified and segregated Bay Area. The photographs and accompanying essay demonstrate how making Islamic practice visible is a Muslim (and ethnographic) strategy for articulating historical and contemporary presence in a socio-political context in which Islam and Muslims continue to be described as foreign and threatening.

Like Kashani, Pooyan Tamimi Arab opens a debate about different kinds of Muslim subjectivities and visualities in an urban landscape—in Tamimi Arab's case in the context of the Netherlands. In "Islam and the Romantic Kiss: Provocative Posters in Dutch Visual Culture," Tamimi Arab presents an ethnography of two poster campaigns in favour especially of minority women and LGBT-individuals' right to display affectionate behaviour in public, organized by the feminist

organization Femmes For Freedom in 2017 and 2018. The pictures were made in collaboration with actors ranging from the right-wing (populist, anti-immigration) political party Leefbaar Rotterdam, independent cartoonists, and progressive artists with different political, cultural, and religious provocations in mind. By focusing on sensational provocation, the chapter shows the salience of "pictures that divide" in the power relations and entanglements of Islam and gender central to contemporary pluralist societies.

The deeply embodied reading of the kiss and its visceral provocation raises questions about the role the (visibility of the) body plays in provocative acts. As Kirsten Scheid notes in her chapter, visualizing Muslims and exploring Islamic visuality are distinct projects. Disregarding the latter has allowed the former to stand in for it, with the result of obscuring Muslim projects of perception and self-representation. One project of Muslim modernity that has consequently received inadequate attention by scholars is nude figural art's deployment in twentieth-century anti-imperial contexts. A 2016 exhibition of the genre in Beirut produced fearful visibilizations of Muslims that ironically enfolded the very claims to modernity which had triggered engagement of the genre on behalf of Muslims decades earlier. Scheid's chapter explores the responses of those who felt provoked to reveal the reductions resulting from a confusion of Muslim visuality with Islamic visuality.

Scheid's work on the nude, which tries to situate this genre both within a Muslim art practice as well as the contestations over distinguishing between good and bad Muslims raises questions about gender that are addressed by Carla Jones' chapter. In "Dangerous Beauty: Selfies, Vanity and Piety in Indonesian Moral Debates," Jones observes that across Asia, Europe, North America, and the Gulf, Muslim fashion designers and consumers have noted that because "Allah loves beauty," their covered but elaborate styles glorify Allah's divine creativity. These claims are in dialogue with a parallel tension about modest beauty quickly being able to become dangerous to both the person on display and those who see her. Through an analysis of anxieties about images of pious women on Indonesian social media, Jones asks how particular images can migrate from attractive to ugly, deceptive or offensive, on the basis of gender. While some modest styles intentionally provoke, as fashion often does, the fact that these styles are either created, worn or defended by women who want to be simultaneously visible and modest complicates their aesthetic statements.

The aesthetization of Islam as provocative—religious—practice is also addressed by Yasmin Moll. In "Image Theologies in the Egyptian Islamic Revival," Moll looks at how new forms of religious media act as provocations to passionate contention among Egyptian participants in the Islamic piety movement. These provocations take place both on and off-screen. Moll suggests that at stake in these debates over *da'wa* (Islamic outreach, or proselytization) are conflicting theologies of mediation

that configure the boundaries of the religious and the secular differently. This "God-talk" matters greatly to Islamic revivalists, who spend more time debunking (and provoking) each other than they do secularists. Attention to these internal critiques foregrounds the competing moral conceptions of human flourishing and divine obligation that animate Egypt's Islamic Revival, to the provocations these differences incite and to the forms of life they celebrate or condemn.

Moll's chapter about "dazzling" images of Islamic authority on television and how this is contested by the Salafi notions of *bid'a*, contrasts with James B. Hoesterey's investigation of a generation of loosely-affiliated networks of online activists in Indonesia who deploy humour, satire, disgust, and outrage as part of broader efforts to unmask what they perceive as the moral vacuity and duplicity of Islamist projects. As but one of many examples, Islamic hardliner Rizieq Shihab fled the country after being summoned by police concerning sexually explicit WhatsApp conversations with his alleged mistress. In some respects, the case study of the strategic "unmaking" of Islamist "hypocrites" appears to answer Christopher Pinney's (2016) call for the revolutionary potential of visual critique. On the other hand, this case study also suggests that grand visions of visual critique can also be understood in less celebratory terms, especially as they also shed light on moral ambivalence, religious authenticity, and political compromise.

In the epilogue, Karen Strassler builds on her own and other scholars' influential work in visual anthropology to reflect on the essays. Provocative images, she notes, do not simply address or arouse their audiences; they are part of a wider "economy of attention" and as such generate new publics, intentionally or unintentionally, thereby actively influencing the ways in which religion is shaped, experienced, and contested in today's mass-mediated world.

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