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# The Image Debate

*Figural Representation in Islam  
and Across the World*

Edited by  
Christiane Gruber



*This book is dedicated to one of its authors, Mary Nooter Roberts (known to all as Polly), who died before seeing the book in its finished form.*

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*Part 1*

PRE-MODERN

ISLAM





Figure 1. Wall paintings on the west wall of the audience hall, Qusayr Amra, Jordan, 8th century.

## ‘Painters will be Punished’ – The Politics of Figural Representation Amongst the Umayyads

MIKA NATIF

Most art history books assert that the production and use of images in Islam, especially in religious contexts, is discouraged.<sup>1</sup> However, images were quite abundant under the first Muslim dynasty of the Umayyads (r. 661–750 CE).<sup>2</sup> The source of this apparent discrepancy comes from the emergence of certain hadith, that is, traditions and sayings ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad by his close companions and collected post-mortem by members of the ‘ulama’.<sup>3</sup> The following hadith narration by Sa‘id bin Abu al-Hasan provides a clear example:

While I was with Ibn ‘Abbas a man came and said, ‘O father of ‘Abbas! My sustenance is from my manual profession and I make these pictures.’ Ibn ‘Abbas said, ‘I will tell you only what I heard from Allah’s Apostle. I heard him saying, ‘Whoever makes a picture will be punished by Allah till he puts life in it, and he will never be able to put life in it.’ Hearing this, that man heaved a sigh and his face turned pale. Ibn ‘Abbas said to him, ‘What a pity! If you insist on making pictures I advise you to make pictures of trees and any other unanimated objects.’<sup>4</sup>

In this hadith the Prophet Muhammad deems the making of images of living beings in any medium as competing with God’s creation and on the Day of Judgement artists who have produced figural representations will be compelled to rise to the challenge of breathing life into their own creations. When they fail, they will be doomed to suffer severe punishment by the Almighty. In contemplating the harshness of this theological judgement on painters, we would expect to find few images produced in the Muslim world – after all, why would any Muslim believer consciously choose to paint images, knowing that they would be condemned to Hell?

However, when surveying the creative production of Muslim lands over the centuries, it is clear that figural representations, alongside calligraphy, ornament and geometry played an important role in the political, social, private and religious spheres. To resolve the question we might expostulate that artists who painted figures were non-believers, but such an argument is not supported by historical evidence since we

know of artists who were practising Muslims and members of religious orders, some of whom specialised in figural representations and portraiture.<sup>5</sup> How, then, can we explain this paradox between an anti-image religious directive and artistic praxis? Did such a paradox actually exist in the early centuries of Islam?<sup>6</sup>

I would like to propose that the hadith narrated by Sa‘id bin Abu al-Hasan is symptomatic of the ideological tensions between the Umayyad ruling elites and their opposition, represented by some religious scholars, mostly in the area of Basra during the late seventh to early eighth centuries CE. After all, these members of the ‘ulama’ were responsible for circulating a hadith that justified hostility toward images.

Under the Umayyad dynasty, Basra, like Kufa, was an important garrison town and one of the main urban centres of the eastern division of the empire (al-Mashriq). While the western region was under the direct rule of the caliph in Damascus, the eastern region was governed by a viceroy appointed by the caliph. The tension between some circles in al-Mashriq, especially in Kufa and Basra, and the central government was ongoing, with different rebellious groups involved, including the Shi‘ites, Kharijites, Zubir, Ash‘ath and Muhallabids. Previously, Mu‘awiya (the first Umayyad caliph; r. 661–680 CE) had expressed a similar anti-eastern bias, when he reportedly stated that he ‘favoured the people of the West over those of the East, since the former had submitted to him.’<sup>7</sup> Therefore, we should interpret the hadith in local terms and consider it as reflecting ongoing anti-Umayyad sentiments arising in the Basra area around 700 CE. A more nuanced and historically contextualised consideration of the hadith, together with contemporary works of art, can prove valuable for understanding the long-term implications of relationships to images under the Umayyad dynasty.

The Umayyads played an important role from the perspective of empire building. They established the first Muslim state and created new institutions, rules and regulations, monetary systems, practices of administration and visual language, all of



which carried on for centuries. Even though the Umayyads and the ‘ulama’ often were described as at odds with each other, they were not diametrically opposed groups.<sup>8</sup> Steven Judd has provided various examples of religious scholars who supported the Umayyads and worked under their administration, as well as others who criticized them and avoided serving under their aegis.<sup>9</sup>

In this essay, I will examine several case studies of Umayyad figural representations and discuss them in the context of the hadith. I argue that these images related strongly to visual signs of Umayyad political sovereignty and caliphal religious authority. They highlight the fluidity between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ domains, as well as contentions over ascendancy, divinity and image-making during the Umayyad period. Resisting caliphal claims to political and religious power, some members of the ‘ulama’ gave voice to a robust opposition latent in the Basran communities by circulating a hadith that justified, routinized and normalized opposition to images.

#### CIRCULATION OF THE HADITH

Let me begin by outlining the trajectory of the anti-image hadith. Its main transmitter was Ibn ‘Abbas (d. 687–88 CE) who served as the governor of Basra from around 657–61 CE.<sup>10</sup> He was appointed by ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–61 CE), the controversial fourth caliph and son-in-law of the Prophet, during whose lifetime arose divisions between Sunnis and Shi‘is due to his claim to be the rightful heir to the Prophet after his death in 632 CE.<sup>11</sup> Various political events and conflicts eventually led to the murder of ‘Ali by the Umayyads in 661 CE. It is worth noting that Ibn ‘Abbas appears to have been associated with ‘Ali and to have supported him in various political and military matters.<sup>12</sup> Their association gives weight to the notion of anti-Umayyad sentiments being behind the hadith and reinforces the role of the religious authorities in inciting political tensions within Basra. The politicization of the anti-image hadith and its anti-Umayyad intentions become even clearer in another version of the narration, in which the condemned figural representations appear in the house of Marwan ibn al-Hakam, then-governor of Medina (662–69 CE) and future Umayyad caliph (r. 684–85 CE).<sup>13</sup> This pronouncement of the tradition was transmitted through the religious authorities in Kufa, a city notorious for its rebellions against Umayyad authority.<sup>14</sup> With this in mind, the hadith can be seen as another sign of opposition to Umayyad authority.

Pinpointing the origin and spread of the hadith tradition on images is difficult due to variations in the text, the chain of transmission, as well as other factors. However, recent scholarly

methodologies allow us to demonstrate with better precision the networks, time and geographical area of the circulation of the text. For instance, research done by Joel Blecher has brought to light invaluable information.<sup>15</sup> It appears that the hadith came into wide circulation and dissemination in Basra through the religious authorities during the time of the Umayyads in the early eighth century and later. From Ibn ‘Abbas the hadith was transmitted to the following people: Abu Nadra (d. 727 CE) in Basra; Sa‘id ibn Abi al-Hasan<sup>16</sup> (d. 728 CE) in Basra; and al-Nadr ibn Anas (d. 724 CE), in Basra. A second line of transmission via ‘Ikrima ibn Abdallah (d. 723–24? CE), the *mawla* (slave) of Ibn ‘Abbas in Basra, went to Qatada ibn Daima al-Sadusi<sup>17</sup> (d. 735–76 CE) in Basra and Ayyub al-Sikhtiyani (d. 748 CE), also in Basra.<sup>18</sup> Since the Umayyad court elites were the primary patrons and sponsors of high-level images, the spread of this hadith can be viewed as a criticism of the court by several religious scholars. This is not to say that the hadith transmitters were responsible for starting the opposition to the Umayyads, only that they appear to have contributed to it.

#### IMAGES, POLITICS AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

The primary examples of figural representation in the Umayyad period are related to court production and include coins, wall paintings, sculptures, mosaic floors and textiles. It is worth noting that some of these items were specifically linked to Basra. The stucco decoration at the small palace of Tulul al Sha‘iba resembled the representations at Khirbat al-Mafjar.<sup>19</sup> The renowned historian Yaqut al-Rumi (1179–1229 CE) mentions in his *Mu‘jam al-buldan* (Dictionary of Countries) that the governor’s palace in Basra, built by the Umayyad viceroy Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad, contained paintings and wall decorations embellished with figures of animals related to the hunt.<sup>20</sup>

Surviving evidence of figural wall paintings can be found in some of the Umayyad palaces located in the historical area of Greater Syria (al-Sham).<sup>21</sup> The best known examples are from the small palace of Qusayr ‘Amra in Jordan which date to the early eighth century and offer a glimpse into the rich tradition of image-making under the Umayyads. In addition to paintings of animals, builders, game and hunting scenes, the murals also depict a number of naked or scantily clad women standing, reclining, sleeping, bathing and dancing (Figure 1). The diverse paintings epitomize an Umayyad artistic tradition that combines and repurposes different Late Antique, Byzantine and perhaps Sasanian elements into a new visual language.<sup>22</sup>

The overall meaning of the image cycle in Qusayr ‘Amra



Figure 2. Wall painting on the lunette of the apodyterium, Qusayr Amra, Jordan, 8th century.





Figure 3. Astrological map or celestial globe painted on the interior dome of the caldarium, Qusayr Amra, Jordan, 8th century.

has to date remained rather elusive and thus has elicited numerous interpretations. For example, Oleg Grabar suggested that the pictures might reflect the world of upper-class women in Umayyad society, or perhaps the male gaze into the sphere of female life.<sup>23</sup> Garth Fowden, on the other hand, placed the paintings within the literary context of Late Antique and pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, linking such images to courtly pleasures of the hunt, female beauty and lush surrounding related to the life of the patron himself.<sup>24</sup> Both these interpretations must now be re-evaluated on the basis of new findings. Since 2011, the palace and especially its wall paintings have undergone extensive conservation and cleaning treatments that will change and expand our knowledge of the images.<sup>25</sup> As a result, some of the well-known figures appear to be very different, with new details coming to light. For instance, a reclining female figure located on the back wall of the west aisle is now thought to be a male figure, possibly al-Walid.<sup>26</sup>

Most pertinent to this discussion is the recently cleaned Arabic inscription in the audience hall which mentions the name of the Umayyad prince al-Walid ibn Yazid, the

future caliph al-Walid II (r. 743–44 CE).<sup>27</sup> The inscription clearly links the building's wealth of figural representations to royal Umayyad sponsorship and establishes its decorative programme to between 725 and 743 CE.<sup>28</sup> Intriguingly, these years correspond to the likely period that the anti-image hadith came into circulation in the Basra area.<sup>29</sup> All the transmitters of this narration were active in Basra in the first half of the eighth century. Although it is not possible to draw a direct link between the spread of the hadith in Basra and the creation of Qusayr 'Amra in Jordan, the temporal correlation is noteworthy.

In her recent interpretation of one of the paintings at Qusayr 'Amra, Nadia Ali suggests a reading related to Islamic religious imagery (Figure 2). She argues that the painting in the eastern lunette of the apodyterium (dressing room) which depicts the Qur'anic version of the Nativity of Jesus, represents signs or proof of divine intervention into human life since Jesus is viewed as a messenger, a prophet of God and a forerunner to Muhammad in Islamic tradition.<sup>30</sup> The artists of these frescoes repurposed elements from the Greek mythological themes of

'Dionysus discovering Ariadne asleep on the beach at Naxos', and 'Leto's labour', as well as the Christian iconography of the Nativity of Christ, making subtle changes in each case. Bringing these diverse traditions together, the painters created visual and mental allusions to an Umayyad Islamicate notion of an unbroken chain of divine messages manifested by a lineage of prophets, culminating in Muhammad. Through the figural representation of the divine birth, the caliph-to-be could claim his place in this chain of transmission, not as a prophet, but as a protector of the faith. As such, the Umayyad rulers enjoyed God's protection of their caliphate and his intervention 'on behalf of his people'.<sup>31</sup> To that interpretation we may add the existence of other representations of religious personages in the wall-paintings at Qusayr 'Amra, such as Abraham, David, Jonah and probably Job, all of whom partake in the chain of prophetic transmission of the divine message.<sup>32</sup>

The use and sponsorship of images by the Umayyad ruling elites, even in religious settings, are attested to in a story about the caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz (r. 717–720 CE). Two decades before the paintings in Qusayr 'Amra, we learn from historical sources that the caliph used a censer decorated with human imagery that he had specifically brought from Syria, in the mosque of Medina.<sup>33</sup> It is also recorded that he ordered the removal of a picture that he deemed offensive from a bathhouse. Creswell suggested that the wall painting might have contained sexual images (he uses the word 'pornographic'), which would explain the caliph's disapproval. Hence, the problem with the picture was neither its location nor the fact that it was a figural depiction, but rather its content.<sup>34</sup>

Other Umayyad caliphs are also known to have encouraged the production of images related to religio-cosmic concepts, ones that represent the signs of prosperity and earthly abundance as divine wealth bestowed upon the ruler and his empire. For example, in Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, built by Caliph Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. 724–43 CE), scenes of the hunt, musical entertainment, imagery of abundance, personifications of the earth (*Ge*) and the seasons appear in the floor paintings.<sup>35</sup> The representation of the Umayyad ruler as operating under divine authority and his power as a religious leader – as God's Caliph – is implied by various images related to astrological representations. For example, at Qusayr 'Amra a two-dimensional depiction of an astrological map or celestial globe is painted on the interior dome of the caldarium (Figure 3). At Khirbat al-Mafjar, a complex attributed to al-Walid II in the period when he was a prince, a flower with six heads set on the interior of a dome carried by four winged horses, may symbolize the ruler's cosmic presence and authority (Figure 4).<sup>36</sup> Similar notions promoting the Caliph as a representative of

God and a cosmic ruler are echoed in Umayyad court poetry, in which the ruler is described as 'the sky of God'.<sup>37</sup> With many of these motifs repeated in murals, reliefs and sculpture in the Umayyad palaces, we start to recognize a shared figural visual language expressing larger cultural, political and religious ideals, attitudes and needs.<sup>38</sup> However this visual language is defined, it appears that the Umayyad patrons linked to these images were labouring to claim worldly and divine authority, a pictorial strategy shared by numerous global cultures, such as the Byzantines, Romans and Sasanians.

A quote attributed to the fifth Caliph and founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan, supports this religio-political position: 'The earth belongs to God and I am a deputy of God'.<sup>39</sup> 'Deputy of God' (*khalifat Allah*) was among the titles assumed by Umayyad rulers and Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds interpret this honorific appellation as meaning nothing less than 'God's vice-regent', creating a direct line between the Umayyads and the divine.<sup>40</sup> The title asserted the caliph's position both as religious authority and head of a state, thus helping to overcome tensions and power struggles with some religious scholars.<sup>41</sup> As state rulers, the Umayyads saw their roles extend beyond the political sphere inasmuch as they served as the protectors of the faith.<sup>42</sup> By claiming the title *khalifat Allah*, they positioned themselves as the ones who 'inherited from the Prophet Muhammad the mission of protecting God's religion', and as such, they had to be obeyed.<sup>43</sup>



Figure 4. Moulded plaster sculpture of a flower with six heads set on the interior of a dome, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Jericho, Palestinian Territories, 724–43. Photograph in the public domain.



This image of the caliph also resonated in contemporary court poetry, in a passage where the ruler is said to embody 'himself the prayer direction, the *qibla*'.<sup>44</sup> He brings people to the path of guidance (*subul al-huda*), he is 'a light which has illuminated the land for us', and 'the *khalifa* of God among His subjects through whom He guides mankind after *fitna*'.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps such blatant claims to supreme religious authority deepened sentiments of animosity in anti-Umayyad regions, including Kufa and Basra.

#### IMAGE AND SOVEREIGNTY IN EARLY UMAYYAD COINAGE

The caliphs, as 'guardians of God's religion', possessed several emblems of power and legitimacy that had been passed down to them from the Prophet through the three rightly-guided caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman.<sup>47</sup> One precious article was the signet ring (*khatam*) of the Prophet, which according to tradition had the words *Muhammad rasul Allah* ('Muhammad, the Messenger of God') written on it over three lines.<sup>48</sup> Umayyad coins minted between 691–92 and 696–97 CE were often inscribed with this same phrase claiming the authority of the caliph through the Prophet Muhammad. Some of these coins also included a bust image of a Sasanian imperial ruler (*shahanshah*) alongside the reference to Muhammad, thus conjoining symbols of religion and empire (Figure 5).<sup>49</sup>

Other Umayyad coins linked more directly the figure of the caliph with religious pronouncements. After the end of the Second Civil war (*fitna*) in 692 CE, 'Abd al-Malik introduced fiscal and administrative reforms and began to publicly display religious proclamations.<sup>50</sup> For example, silver and gold coins



Figure 5. Silver drahm with *shahanshah* and 'Muhammad, the Messenger of God', minted in Damascus, year 72 (691–92 CE). After Heidemann, 'The evolving representation of the early Islamic empire and its religion on coin imagery', 172, fig. 18.

from that period included the *shahada*, or testimony of faith ('There is no God but God and Muhammad is His messenger'), inscribed in Arabic (Figure 6A). A powerful declaration of Islamic presence, the *shahada* pronounced the unity of God and the role of the Prophet Muhammad as his messenger. Some coins inscribed with the *shahada* or other religious phrases from the years 693–96 CE also include an image of the caliph (Figure 6B).<sup>51</sup> On these coins, the caliph is usually represented bearded, with long hair, standing, wearing a robe and holding the hilt of a sword.<sup>52</sup> Some aspects of his appearance may be related to a later and much larger sculpture of the standing caliph at Khirbat al-Mafjar, although the latter appears to wear Sasanian clothing (Figure 7). The figure of the caliph on the coin (Figure 6B) is flanked by two Arabic inscriptions: one gives his title *amir al-mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful), while the other declares him *khalifat Allah*.<sup>53</sup> The composition brings together the image of the Umayyad ruler as a military commander holding a large sword, as protector of the faith and as a religious authority in his position as deputy of God on earth.

The design of the 'standing caliph' image appeared, with variations, on gold, silver and copper coins (Figure 8).<sup>54</sup> This type of coin has elicited numerous interpretations, ranging from a reaction to Byzantine coins to representations of the Prophet Muhammad. Although still a source of debate, some of the coins (excluding those inscribed with the name of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik or that of his brother) may depict the Prophet Muhammad. For example, a copper coin minted in Harran shows an image of the standing figure inscribed with

Figure 6A and B. Silver drahms, A with an image of the *shahanshah* surrounded by the *shahada* on the outer circle; B with the 'standing caliph' figure flanked by the titles *amir al-mu'minin* and *khalifat Allah*, no mint, year 75 H (694–95 CE). After S. Heidemann, 'The evolving representation of the early Islamic empire and its religion on coin imagery', 175, fig. 24.



Figure 7. Moulded plaster statue depicting a caliph standing above two lions, entrance portal, Khirbat al-Mafjar, Jericho, Palestinian Territories, 724–43. Jerusalem, The Rockefeller Museum. Photograph courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.





Figure 8. Gold dinar with a standing figure, minted in Damascus, year 75 (694–95 CE). American Numismatic Society 1970.63.1.obv. Photograph courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 9. Copper alloy fals with a standing figure, inscribed 'Muhammad', Harran, undated (circa 694–97 CE), American Numismatic Society 1917.215.3376. Photograph courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 10. Copper alloy fals with a standing figure with a radiating halo, Yubna, undated (circa 694–97 CE). American Numismatic Society 1917.215.3320. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



Figure 11. Silver drahm with Caliph and standing orans on the obverse, inscriptions in Pahlavi and Kufic, minted in Basra under the authority of Bishr ibn Marwan, year 75 (694–95 CE). American Numismatic Society 1975.270.1. Photograph courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.

the name 'Muhammad' beside it (Figure 9).<sup>55</sup> Another example of a coin from Yubna includes the design of the standing figure, in this case with a halo (Figure 10). The coins from Yubna usually bear an inscription around the image stating *Muhammad rasul Allah*.<sup>56</sup> Since a halo with rays or flames is associated with divinities (including solar deities) in the Roman and Sasanian spheres, I would like to raise the possibility of a conflation between the identity of the caliph and that of the Prophet on some of these coins.<sup>57</sup> By pairing a haloed figure holding a sword and a statement about Muhammad's special status, the die engravers promoted an iconographic blending of caliphal and prophetic tropes.

Under the governorship of 'Abd al-Malik's half-brother, Bishr ibn Marwan, coins combining figural representations with religious phrases were produced in Basra and Kufa. One example from Basra, dated 694–95 CE (Figure 11), shows three male figures on the reverse. The man standing in the centre raises his arms in the *orans* pose which symbolizes a gesture of prayer or supplication.<sup>58</sup> Two figures flanking him cross their hands in respect and turn their heads toward him. Luke Treadwell interprets Bishr's figural coin in light of the renewed Umayyad rule in the Mashriq (east), an area 'that was still largely hostile to control from Damascus and deeply resentful of the past history of Umayyad rule in Iraq'.<sup>59</sup> Hence we may consider the initial spreading of the anti-image hadith in tandem with some resentment toward images in Basra to be associated with the hostility toward renewed Umayyad presence in this region.

When Bishr died in 694 CE, 'Abd al-Malik appointed his successful army commander al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf as viceroy of Kufa, Basra and the eastern parts of the empire.<sup>60</sup> During his governorship, al-Hajjaj continued to mint figural coins that can be linked visually to the Umayyad-Sasanian style of currency. In accordance with the coins being produced in Damascus, al-Hajjaj kept the phrase *'Muhammad rasul Allah'*, and added the *shahada* as another religious invocation.<sup>61</sup> The intertwining of religious proclamations and caliphal imagery proved a recurrent practice during the Umayyad period. Even after 'Abd al-Malik introduced a new design that dispensed with figural imagery and replaced it with Qur'anic texts, al-Hajjaj in the Mashriq continued to include images on his coinage.<sup>62</sup>

It appears that during his governorship al-Hajjaj maintained a respectful relationship with the 'ulama'. Yet some who were based in Basra expressed resentful attitudes towards any Umayyad authority. Basra (and other areas in the east) remained restless even after the rebellious Ibn Zubayr was defeated in 692 CE. Two major anti-Umayyad uprisings

took place in Basra: one led by Ibn al-Ash'ath in 700 CE and another by Yazid ibn al-Muhallab in 719–21 CE. The first revolt attracted diverse groups who were opposed to the ruling government and 'took on a significant religious tone'.<sup>63</sup> The Muhallabid revolt was centred in Basra during the time of the caliph Yazid II (r. 720–24 CE).<sup>64</sup> In his anti-Umayyad rhetoric, Ibn al-Muhallab called for the restoration of 'the Book of God and the sunna of the Prophet' and the rejection of Umayyad policies, specifically those established earlier by al-Hajjaj.<sup>65</sup>

An important member of the 'ulama' who served as a *qadi* (judge) in Basra between 694–97 CE<sup>66</sup> and maybe also in 720 CE and who supported both anti-Umayyad revolts (Ash'ath and Muhallab) was al-Nadr ibn Anas ibn Malik.<sup>67</sup> One of the early transmitters of the anti-image hadith, his name also appears in one of the text variations, where he sits next to Ibn 'Abbas when the latter proclaims his ruling on the matter.<sup>68</sup> It can be deduced that other Basran *qadis* and members of the 'ulama' also took an anti-Umayyad position from their attempts to avoid serving in the administration. At least three scholars 'tried desperately to avoid appointment', while others were reluctant to provide any service to the Umayyad government.<sup>69</sup> The reluctance of some of the religious scholars in Basra to cooperate with Umayyad rule reached a point where 'instead of a tradition of government service, in Basra, the scholarly community appeared to dread such appointments'. This attitude seems to be distinctly in Basra and becomes more pronounced after the death of al-Hajjaj in 714 CE.<sup>70</sup> It can be construed therefore that the anti-image hadith may reflect anti-Umayyad sentiments, especially with the continuation of figural coin production in the east.

#### CONCLUSION

It is clear that in their architectural decoration and coinage, the Umayyads utilised imagery to establish their political and religious authority. Some hadith transmitters in Basra opposed the making of images and appeared to have contributed to the anti-Umayyad unrest in the area. It is difficult to understand why members of the 'ulama' in Basra would have been actively circulating this hadith unless it were designed as a political manoeuvre to delegitimize the Umayyads. Some of these same strategies were utilized by the Abbasids, who overthrew the Umayyads in 750 CE and described the latter as godless, decadent rulers.<sup>71</sup>

Situating the anti-image hadith in its historical and visual contexts enables us to unearth a variety of possibilities with a more nuanced understanding of different contemporary attitudes toward image-making during the Umayyad period. The hadith has had an overwhelming influence on the perception of Islamic art today. However, its early dissemination was used by anti-Umayyad circles in their power struggles and attempts to undermine Umayyad legitimacy and the caliph's religious authority, which was often portrayed and propagated in a visual manner. Hence, the putative 'ban' on images can be understood as a local political ploy to destabilize the Umayyads rather than a universal, atemporal proscription. Scrutinizing such specific contexts and materials may prove a useful method of inquiry to further explore the hadith's commentary and expansion in later periods and different geographical areas.



## NOTES

- \* I wish to dedicate this essay to the memory of Patricia Crone, a mentor and a source of inspiration.
- One early attempt to place the proscription on images within an art historical perspective argued that problems with images began toward the end of the eighth century, K.A.C. Creswell, ‘The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam’, *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946), 162. Oleg Grabar accepted Creswell’s dating in *The Formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven 1987, 83. It is worth noting the important work done by hadith scholars with respect to dating and analysing religious traditions on images. See, for example, Rudi Paret, ‘Die Entstehungszeit des islamischen Bilderverbote’, *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–1977), 158–181; Daan van Reenen, ‘The Bilderverbot, a New Survey’, *Der Islam* 67, no.1 (1990), 27–77.
  - One exception is the edict against images issued by the caliph Yazid II in 723 CE. However, it lasted less than a year and its impact was felt mostly by Christian communities in the southern Levant. See Christian C. Sahner, ‘The First Iconoclasm in Islam: A New History of the Edict of Yazid II (AH 104/AD 723)’, *Der Islam* 94, no. 1 (2017), 5–56.
  - After careful scrutiny and vetting, hadiths that were considered authentic were collected and written down into what is known as ‘The Six Books’ (*al-Kutub al-sitta*). This process occurred between the ninth and thirteenth centuries CE, two centuries after the death of the Prophet in 632 CE.
  - Quotation from *Sahih al-Bukhari*, book 34, chapter 104, Sales and Trade: number 428: The Selling of Pictures, translated by Dr. M. Muhsin Khan. This is a well attested hadith with much information on its transmission; there are around 60 recorded variants. See [http://library.islamweb.net/hadith/display\\_bbook.php?bk\\_no=158&hid=3952&pid=107819](http://library.islamweb.net/hadith/display_bbook.php?bk_no=158&hid=3952&pid=107819) and <http://library.islamweb.net/hadith/hadithServices.php?type=1&cid=247&sid=4883>
  - One of the most famous Persianate artists, Kamal al-Din Bihzad, was associated with the circles of Nava’i and Jami. See Thomas W. Lentz, ‘Changing Worlds: Bihzad and the New Painting’, *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby, Bombay 1990, 39–54.
  - For a discussion regarding the historiography of aniconism and iconoclasm in Islamic art and a refreshing analysis of its implications on the study of the Umayyad period, see Nadia Ali, ‘The Royal Veil: Early Islamic Figural Art and the Bilderverbot Reconsidered’, *Religion* 47, no. 3 (2017), 1–20. Some ideas on the politics behind aspects of iconoclasm in Islamic art and its historiography have been raised by Finbarr Barry Flood in ‘Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm and the Museum’, *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (2002), 641–659; and more recently in ‘Lost Histories of a Licit Figural Art’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45 (2013), 566–570.
  - Reported by Christian sources and discussed by Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of the Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam*, Princeton 1997, 644 and n. 76.
  - Much of what we know about the Umayyads comes from Abbasid written sources that portray their political rivals as hedonistic immoral rulers; see Gerald R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad Caliphate AD 661–750*, London 1986, 18; Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 11–20, 120–23; Steven Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*, New York 2014, 17–37.
  - Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*, 41–90, 142–146, with useful appendixes listing specific individuals.
  - ‘Abdallah ibn ‘Abbas was a parental cousin of Muhammad and a Companion of the Prophet. On his life and works see Claude Gilliot, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed.: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_ei3\\_COM\\_23549](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23549).
  - As the son-in-law of the Prophet and one of his close companions, ‘Ali saw himself as the natural heir to Muhammad. Shi’is claim that Muhammad designated ‘Ali to be his successor, while Sunnis argue that even though the Prophet and ‘Ali had close spiritual relationships, Muhammad never intended to appoint Ali as his political successor. Robert M. Gleave, ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed., [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_ei3\\_COM\\_26324](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_26324)
  - For example, Ibn ‘Abbas may have commanded some of ‘Ali’s troops in the Battle of the Camel. ‘Ali also wanted Ibn ‘Abbas to represent him during the arbitration of the battle of Siffin, but he ended up escorting Abu Musa al-Asha’ri, ‘Ali’s representative, to the meeting instead, Gilliot, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās’.
  - Marwan was the governor of Medina from 662–69 CE. The hadith is quoted and analysed by Reenen, ‘The Bilderverbot, a New Survey’, 47.
  - Reenen, ‘The Bilderverbot, a New Survey’, 63.
  - To get a more reliable sense of the time in which the hadith came into wider circulation, Blecher has combined a two-pronged approach, applying Harald Motzki’s *isnad* and *matn* analysis together with Behnam Sadeghi’s ‘Travelling Tradition Test’. See Harald Motzki, ‘Dating Muslim Traditions: A Survey’, *Arabica* 52, no. 2 (2005): 204–253; Behnam Sadeghi, ‘The Traveling Tradition Test: A Method for Dating Traditions’, *Der Islam* 85, no. 8 (2008): 203–242.
  - Sa’id b. Abi al-Hasan could be the younger brother of the famous theologian and teacher Hasan al-Basri. I thank Steven Judd for this information.
  - Qatada or Katada was a companion of Hasan al-Basri. See Ibn Khallikan, *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*, trans. Baron William MacGuckin de Slane, Paris 1842, 2:513.
  - Ayyub ibn Abi Tamima al-Sikhtiyani was also linked to the circles of Hasan al-Basri. A brief survey of other chains of transmission of variants of the same hadith in an online database also shows an overwhelming association with Basra, [http://library.islamweb.net/hadith/dyntree1.php?type=1&sid=4883&bk\\_no=158&cid=247](http://library.islamweb.net/hadith/dyntree1.php?type=1&sid=4883&bk_no=158&cid=247). Blecher argues that the early history of this hadith ‘is almost exclusively associated with collectors and transmitters in Basra’ from the early eighth century CE. He clarifies that ‘such a strong regional pattern is highly unusual especially considering there is nothing particular about Basra in the hadith. Therefore, the evidence is very strong that it was circulating in Basra during that time’, Joel Blecher, personal communication, April 19, 2017. Similarly, Rudi Paret dates several other hadiths dealing with the prohibition on images between the end of the seventh century and 720 CE. Paret, ‘Die Entstehungszeit des islamischen Bilderverbote’, 161–64, 172. For the various suggested dates of this hadith and its spread see also Reenen, ‘The Bilderverbot, a New Survey’.
  - The palace has not survived well. Rina Talgam, *The Stylistic Origins of Umayyad Sculpture and Architectural Decoration*, Wiesbaden 2004, part 1, 49; Dakhl Majhul, ‘Majmu‘at telul al-Sheibah’, *Sumer* 2018 (1972) 243–46.
  - The reference is made to the palace known as al-Bayda at Basra, M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton 1984, 737–39. Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad (d. 686 CE) was the Umayyad viceroy in the East from 674 CE and in Basra from 675/76 until 683/84 CE; see Creswell, ‘The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam’, 160. The governor’s house in Kufa also contained wall paintings with patterns of birds, stylized flowers, split palmettes and pomegranates; for a brief discussion of the murals at Kufa, see Munir Yousif Taha, ‘A Mural Painting from Kufa’, *Sumer* 27 (1971), 77–79.
  - A number of Umayyad palaces were lavishly decorated with figural representations, including wall paintings of enthroned princes, hunting scenes, stucco reliefs of female figures holding horns of plenty and large-scale sculptures of men and women, either naked or minimally clad. See the palaces at Khirbat al-Mafjar, Qusayr ‘Amra, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi and Mshatta, among others.
  - Oleg Grabar, ‘Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered’, *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), 93–108; Oleg Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art*, 200–2; Garth Fowden, *Qusayr ‘Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria*, Berkeley, Calif. 2002, 230; Garth Fowden, ‘Greek Myth and Arabic Poetry at Qusayr ‘Amra’, *Islamic Crosspollinations: Interactions in the Medieval Middle East*, eds. Anna Akasoy, James Montgomery and Peter Pormann, Cambridge 2007, 29–36; Ali, ‘The Royal Veil’, especially 8–15.
  - Oleg Grabar, *Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court*, Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1955; Grabar, ‘Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered’, 93–108.
  - Fowden, ‘Greek Myth and Arabic Poetry at Qusayr ‘Amra’, 29–45; Fowden, *Qusayr ‘Amra*, especially 85–141.
  - The project is run by the World Monuments Foundation, in coordination with the Italian Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro and The Department of Antiquities in Jordan, see <http://www.wmf.org/project/qusayr-amra>.
  - See Frédéric Imbert, ‘Al-Walid et son bain: itinéraires épigraphiques à Qusayr ‘Amra’, *Bulletin des Etudes Orientales* 64 (2016), 338–39; Örgü Dalgıç, ‘Solomon’s Bath/Solomon’s Throne Again: The Paintings of Qusayr ‘Amra’, in preparation. In a recent article, Nadia Ali related many of these images to personifications of the seasons and calendric representations of wealth and plenty, see ‘Qusayr ‘Amra and the Continuity of Post-Classical Art in Early Islam: Towards an Iconology of Forms’, *The Diversity of Classical Archaeology*, eds. Achim Lichtenberger and Rubina Raja, Belgium 2017, 161–198. See also Nadia Ali and Mattia Guidetti, ‘Umayyad Palace Iconography’, *Power, Patronage and Memory in Early Islam*, eds. Alain George and Andrew Marsham, Oxford 2018, 175–254. For new pictures of the scene after treatment see *Qusayr ‘Amra: Site Management Plan*, eds. Gaetano Palumbo and Angela Atzori, Amman 2014, 33, 62, fig.2.6.
  - The inscription is located in the western aisle of the audience room; see the discussion by Imbert, ‘Al-Walid et son bain’, 321–363.
  - Based on the inscriptions in Qusayr ‘Amra, Imbert, ‘Al-Walid et son bain’, 359, suggests the dates 738–39 CE for the wall painting, closer to the death of the Caliph Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik whom al-Walid was eagerly waiting to succeed.
  - The time period for the spread of the hadith is based on the Travelling Tradition Test methodology proposed by Sadeghi, see note 15. It is important to keep in mind the administrative division of the empire into Damascus and al-Mashriq (East), placing Basra under the rule of the governor of the eastern provinces.
  - Ali, ‘The Royal Veil’, 9, fig. 1.
  - Ali, ‘The Royal Veil’, 12–17; quotation from p. 17. On the Umayyads as guardians of the faith, see Uri Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs: The Biblical Foundations of the Umayyad Authority’, in *Method and Theory in the Study of Islamic Origins*, ed. Herbert Berg, Leiden 2003, 88.
  - The Hebrew Bible figures are considered prophets in the Qur’an. Their images are identified by inscriptions that became clear after the recent cleaning treatment at Qusayr ‘Amra; see Palumbo and Atzori, *Qusayr ‘Amra Site Management Plan*, 34. Rubin in ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 73–99, discusses the concept of the unity of God and the unchanging religion transmitted by the prophets.
  - The censor decorated with human figures was in use at the mosque until 785 CE, when the Abbasid governor of Medina ordered that the images should be obliterated; this episode appears in the *Kātib al-A‘laq al-nafisa* (‘Book of precious things’) written by Ibn Rusta (d. after 903 CE). See Creswell, ‘The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam’, 160–61.
  - Creswell, ‘The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam’, 160–61, claims that murals depicting sexual scenes were common in bathhouses at this time. The story appears in Ibn al-Jawzi’s *Manaqib* (biographies), in which the author (1126–1200 CE), a Hanbali jurist, traditionalist and historian in Baghdad, discusses the life of the Umayyad caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz.
  - These archaeological finds are housed at the National Museum of Damascus, Syria. For the interpretation of calendric imagery in the central vault in Qusayr ‘Amra, see Ali, ‘Qusayr ‘Amra and the Continuity of Post-Classical Art in Early Islam’, 161–198; and Ali and Guidetti, ‘Umayyad Palace Iconography’, 193–206. I would like to thank Nadia Ali for sharing her articles with me.
  - The palace was probably constructed during the reign of the caliph Hisham. For the publication of the early excavations conducted by Baramki and Hamilton, see Robert W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al Mafjar; an Arabian mansion in the Jordan Valley*, Oxford, 1959. For a recent discussion of patronage see Fowden, *Qusayr ‘Amra*, 160–161. The cosmic motif may be further linked to court performances, such as a dance performed before al-Walid II, in which the dancers were dressed as stars, Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art*, 148. The image of the Umayyad caliph in wall painting and sculpture links him, as the deputy of God, to



- concepts of abundance, fertility and wealth; his just rule makes the land flourish and he bestows blessings upon people, Ali, ‘Qusayr ‘Amra and the Continuity of Post-Classical Art in Early Islam’, 185; Ali and Guidetti, ‘Umayyad Palace Iconography’, 208–9.
37. This phrase occurs in a poem by al-Farazdaq (d. 730 CE), Garth and Elizabeth Fowden, *Studies on Hellenism, Christianity and the Umayyads*, Athens 2004, 47–48; Fowden, *Qusayr ‘Amra*, 124–25.
38. The meaning of this visual language is still a matter of academic debate; see Grabar, *Formation of Islamic Art*, 195–202; Fowden, *Qusayr ‘Amra*, 170–71; Ali, ‘The Royal Veil’, 17–18. Nadia Ali’s forthcoming book will undoubtedly shed more light on this subject.
39. Al-Waqidi in al-Baladhuri’s *Kitab futuh al-buldan* (Book of the Conquest of Lands). The quotation is attributed, with variations, to several Umayyad rulers, see Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God’s Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam*, Cambridge and New York 1986, 6, 8, 25, 31.
40. This title was already used by the third caliph ‘Uthman, together with other epithets, Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 4–5. Their interpretation drew some criticism. See also Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 73–99; Andrew Marsham, ‘“God’s Caliph” Revisited: Umayyad Political Thought in Its Late Antique Context’, *Power, Patronage and Memory in Early Islam*, eds. Alain George and Andrew Marsham, Oxford 2018, 3–38, who argues that the title bore different meanings for diverse audiences.
41. For a nuanced discussion of these relationships, see Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*. Marsham links the title *khalifat Allah* to Roman Imperial titles and considers the changing meaning, Marsham, ‘“God’s Caliph” Revisited’, 3–38.
42. The title *khalifat rasul Allah* (successor to the Prophet of God) appears to be later than *khalifat Allah*. Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 4–5, 11–13, 24–27; Marsham, ‘“God’s Caliph” Revisited’, 4–8.
43. ‘...while God Himself will punish anyone who rejects them’. Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 90–96, further explains that by recognizing the chain of transmission from the old prophets to Muhammad and through the three rightly guided caliphs, the Umayyads established the notion of a hereditary position for themselves.
44. Expression by the poet al-Farazdaq (d. 732 CE); Fowden, *Qusayr ‘Amra*, 141, considers these poetic expressions to have been part of normal court flattery. However, in light of the title of *khalifat Allah* and its implied religious authority, these poetic lines may go beyond eulogy and praise and point further to the caliph’s religious role. For references to the role of court poetry beyond the idea of plain flattery, see Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 6, 12, 31; Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 93–99.
45. In this context, *fitna* can mean a civil war, revolt, or test of faith, see the poetry by Jarir (d. 728 CE), al-Farazdaq and others, quoted in Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 34–35.
46. Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 93.
47. The name of ‘Ali is missing from the list because the Umayyads did not recognize him as the fourth caliph and a legitimate heir to the Prophet; see Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, 97.
48. The ring was lost by ‘Uthman, who made a copy of it. On Muhammad’s *khatam*, see Venetia Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum*, London 2011 1–2. For a discussion of this tradition in the Umayyad context, see Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 97–98.
49. Rubin, ‘Prophets and Caliphs’, 87–99. This phrase was inscribed on coins produced earlier during the Zubayrid opposition to the Umayyads in the 680s. Robert Hoyland in *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, 553, links the inclusion of religious proclamations in ‘Abd al-Malik’s coins after the second *fitna* to the coins issued by the rebel Ibn Zubayr: ‘The lack of overtly Islamic declarations from before the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik, the proliferation of them issued by him and his successors and the religious causes espoused by the various opposition movements of the intervening civil war, all lead us to the conclusion that it was pressure from rebel factions that induced ‘Abd al-Malik to proclaim Islam publicly as the ideological basis of the Arab state.’ For examples and a discussion of Zubayrid and Kharijite coins, see Stefan Heidemann, ‘The Evolving Representation of the Early Islamic Empire and its Religion on Coin Imagery’, in *The Qur’an in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur’anic Milieu*, eds. Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, Michael Marx, Leiden 2010, 167–170.
50. The inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock were added during this phase, Jeremy Johns, ‘Archaeology and the History of Early Islam: The First Seventy Years’, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46, no. 4 (2003), 416.
51. Wolfgang and Ingrid Schulze, ‘The Standing Caliph Coins of al-Jazira: Some Problems and Suggestions’, *The Numismatic Chronicle* 170 (2010), 343. Tony Goodwin in *Arab-Byzantine Coinage*, London 2005, 93, 110, shows that some coins from Yubna have a design of the standing haloed figure with an inscription stating ‘*Muhammad rasul Allah*’. See also Clive Foss, ‘Anomalous Arab-Byzantine Coins. Some Problems and Suggestions’, *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* 166 (2001), 9 and *Arab-Byzantine Coins, an introduction, with a catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Washington D.C. 2008, 67–69; Robert Hoyland, ‘Writing the Biography of the Prophet Muhammad: Problems and Solutions’, *History Compass* 5, no. 2 (2007), 593–96; Mika Natif, ‘The Painter’s Breath and Concepts of Idol Anxiety in Islamic Art’, *Idol Anxiety*, eds. Josh Ellenbogen and Aaron Tugendhaft, Stanford 2011, 42. For the latest objections to the ‘Muhammad coin’ interpretations see Luke Treadwell, ‘Symbolism and Meaning on the Early Islamic Copper Coinage of Greater Syria’, *Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East*, vol. 4, eds. Andrew Oddy, Wolfgang Schulze and Ingrid Schulze, London 2015, 86–87.
52. Schulze and Schulze, ‘The Standing Caliph Coins of al-Jazira’, 333–34, show that the design of the standing imperial figure coin changed from one mint to another.
53. Heidemann, ‘The Evolving Representation’, 176, argues that the title *amir al-mu’minin* appears in Arabic for the first time on this coin.
54. Heidemann, ‘The Evolving Representation’, 175.
55. Some scholars entertain the possibility that the name Muhammad inscribed in ‘unusual Kufic’ on the coins from Harran may refer to Muhammad ibn Marwan, the governor of al-Jazira; Schulze and Schulze, ‘The Standing Caliph Coins of al-Jazira’, 343.
56. Flames emanate from the figure’s robe on some coins, Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage* 104–10, 124–135; Heidemann, ‘The Evolving Representation’, 175–76, n.71.
57. Goodwin, *Arab-Byzantine Coinage*, 110, suggests links between the iconography on the Yubna coins and Sasanian coins with Mithras and Anahit, Constantinopolitan coins with *Sol Invictus*, as well as Christian images of martyrs from Egypt.
58. See Luke Treadwell, ‘The “Orans” drachms of Bishr b. Marwan and the figural coinage of the early Marwanids’, *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns, Oxford 1999, 223–270.
59. Treadwell, ‘Symbolism and Meaning’, 83. For his interpretation of the coin, see ‘Abd al-Malik’s Coinage Reforms: The Role of the Damascus Mint’, *Revue numismatique* 6e série, no. 165 (2009), 378.
60. He stayed in this position until his death in 714 CE. In 694 CE, al-Hajjaj appointed al-Hakam ibn Ayyub al-Thaqafi as the amir of al-Basra. See A. Dietrich, ‘al-Ḥad j d j ād j b. Yūsuf’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_2600](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2600)
61. Heidemann, ‘The Evolving Representation’, 183.
62. See an example in the David Collection, Copenhagen C 241, dated 699 CE and minted in Bishapur, the coin has ‘al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf’ inscribed in Arabic on the obverse, facing the portrait bust in profile of Khusrav II, the Sasanian king; another Arabic inscription in the margin reads: ‘To God be the praise’. <https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/umayyads/coins/c241?show=faq>
63. The ultimate goal of the rebels was to dispose of ‘Abd al-Malik, which they came close to achieving. Hawting, ‘Umayyads’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_COM\\_1287](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1287)
64. Hawting, ‘Umayyads’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., argues that following the defeat of Ibn al-Muhallab, ‘revenge for the Muhallabids was one of the slogans of the Yamani supporters of the movement which overthrew the Umayyad caliphate in 132/749–50.’
65. Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 61, 64–65.
66. Judd, following Dominique Sourdél, places his service as a judge in Basra during the time of ‘Abd al-Malik, from 694 to 97 CE but questions al-Nadr’s reappointment by Yazid II in 720 CE due to his participation in the anti-Umayyad rebellions, Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*, 122.
67. On his support of the Ash’ath and Muhallabids, see Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*, 176.
68. Reenen, ‘The Bilderverbot, a New Survey’, 45–46.
69. Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*, 136, 176–77.
70. Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*, 121–22, 178.
71. For a discussion regarding the hostility of Abbasid sources toward the Umayyads, see Crone and Hinds, *God’s Caliph*, 23; Judd, *Religious Scholars and the Umayyads*, 17–38.