







EPIC  
TALES  
*from*  
ANCIENT  
INDIA

Note: need to add SDMA and Yale  
to title page

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### Director's Foreword

The San Diego Museum of Art is blessed to have one of the great collections of Indian painting, the bequest of one of the great connoisseurs of our time, Edwin Binney 3rd. This collection of over 1,400 paintings has, over the years, provided material for a number of exhibitions that have examined the subject of Indian painting from many different angles, as only a collection of this breadth and depth can do. Our latest exhibition, *Epic Tales from Ancient India*, aims to approach the topic from yet another perspective, by considering the paintings alongside the classics of literature that they illustrate. Indian paintings are usually admired as individual works of art, framed and hung on gallery walls, but, in fact, most come from books and were intended to accompany a text, as this exhibition so amply reminds us. By reuniting the paintings with their literary texts, this presentation lends even greater richness to our understanding of these important works of art.

We are pleased to have as our partners in this exhibition the Princeton University Art Museum and the Blanton Museum of Art, through whose participation we can share the Binney Collection with an even wider audience.

Roxana Velásquez  
Maruja Baldwin Executive Director



### Acknowledgments

On an institutional level, I would like to first thank Roxana Velásquez, Maruja Baldwin Executive Director, and Anita Feldman, Deputy Director for Curatorial Affairs and Education, who have taken a great interest in our Indian paintings collection and are always supportive of efforts to research and publicize this wonderful resource.

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*Marika Sardar*

Associate Curator of Southern Asian and Islamic Art

# The *Shahnama* in India

ALKA PATEL

THE *SHAHNAMA*, in its archetypal version of fifty-five thousand verses by the poet Abu al-Qasim Firdausi (d. 1012) of Tus, Khorasan (northeastern Iran), is often defined as the “Iranian national epic”; yet it deserves special mention in its South Asian iterations. The work’s cultural-geographical proscenium encompassed the Iranian world, from the western Caspian Sea to Sistan in southern Afghanistan, and from the Persian Gulf to the borders of Turkmenistan and India.

Firdausi’s monumental recension was likely the continuation of an earlier version, first initiated by the poet Abu Mansur Ahmad Daqiqi (d. ca. 976) in the mid-tenth century, at the court of Abu Mansur Muhammad ibn Abd al-Razzaq, the Samanid dynasty’s (ca. 820–1005) governor of Khorasan.<sup>1</sup> Ultimately, Firdausi’s famous *Shahnama* came to consist of two main parts of uneven size: the longer first part focused on the mythical hero Rustam, whose adventures included supernatural allies and villains, as well as very human, moral quandaries; and the second, a brief excursus on Alexander’s conquest of Iran, spelling the end of the Achaemenid dynasty (ca. 550–330 BC), and continuing with a quasi-historical treatment of the reigns of various rulers of the Parthian/Arsacid (ca. 250 BC–AD 225) and Sasanian (ca. AD 225–650) empires.

The *Shahnama*’s narratives, in oral circulation throughout the Iranian cultural sphere before the compilations initiated by Daqiqi and eventually completed by Firdausi, put the worlds of India and Iran in juxtaposition. For example, the well-known and frequently illustrated stories of Rustam bring the Indian world into the very center of the larger work as the hero’s maternal origins lay at Kabul, which was part of the eastern reaches

of India by the *Shahnama*’s own geographical reckoning.<sup>2</sup> As a literary-poetic work, the *Shahnama* in India not only forms a parallel to the development of India’s Persian poetry and literature, which though initially an outgrowth of Iranian trends, ultimately became an independent corpus;<sup>3</sup> Indian *Shahnama* production also highlights the political and cultural diversity throughout the subcontinent during premodern periods.

The long-standing connections between the Indic and Iranian worlds were reinforced in the 1190s by the successful north Indian military campaigns of the Ghurids (ca. 1150–1215) from central Afghanistan, a dynasty with aspiringly Persianate cultural affiliations.<sup>4</sup> But while early thirteenth-century *Shahnama* manuscripts are known from Iran, in India the earliest surviving copies date to the fourteenth century, with apparently a real proliferation in the fifteenth. Additionally, in contrast to the frequent royal commissioning in Iran of illustrated *Shahnama* manuscripts at least from the Ilkhanid period (ca. 1250–1350)—often as the standard-bearers of imperial patronage and ideology<sup>5</sup>—the work did not command the same political, cultural, and linguistic importance throughout India.<sup>6</sup> The majority of surviving north Indian *Shahnama* manuscripts and folios are of nonimperial patronage (as in the manuscripts represented by cats. 86, 87, 90, and 91), although proportionally the Deccan may have produced more royally commissioned examples (as represented by cats. 84–85). Summaries of the monumental work, in Persian prose as well as prose-verse, appeared in India from the twelfth century onward, growing more abundant as of the fifteenth century, and being copied and printed in Urdu by the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khaleghi-Motlagh 2011 and 2014[not in Bib].

<sup>2</sup> Davis 2009, pp. xiv–xv.

<sup>3</sup> Alam 2003. Indeed, the region produced more Persian literature, prose, and poetry than Iran proper between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries. Cf. Casari 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Patel & Daryaei, forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> Rizvi 2012, p. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Sharma 2013, pp. 86–87; Truschke 2016, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> Khan 2012, p. 536.



The *Shahnama*'s stories certainly adduced new subjects for illustration within India's already dazzling variety of Sanskrit and vernacular epic and didactic narratives in prose and poetry. For example, by the fifteenth century we see the incorporation of recognizable *Shahnama* scenes into innovatively lavish border illuminations of some Jain manuscripts, whose style was otherwise very conservative and altering little over time (fig. 35). The works in question, made with an abundance of luxury materials, such as gold pigment, and generally of very high caliber, were not produced in royal ateliers, but rather patronized by extremely wealthy members of Jain merchant communities, demonstrating the widespread familiarity with some of the *Shahnama*'s more iconic scenes.<sup>8</sup> India's long-lived literary and poetic history across religious and secular ambits and in multiple languages, then, led to the absorption of the *Shahnama* as yet another grand epic cycle, transcending cultural boundaries in its universally appealing stories inspired by historical events, sociopolitical confrontations, and moral struggles.



FIG 35 Bahram and Azada (above), and a horseman taking a “Parthian shot” (below), *Shahnama* figures from the border of a *Kalpa-sutra-Kalakacaryakatha* folio. Gujarat, second half of the fifteenth century. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya

<sup>8</sup> Khandalavala & Chandra 1969, pp. 35–37; Verma 2002, pp. 160–61; and Doshi 2011, pp. 60–62.

84 and 85  
Folios from a *Shahnama*  
(Book of Kings)

Bijapur, ca. 1610  
Opaque watercolor, ink and  
gold on paper  
Folio  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{16}$  in. (20.4 ×  
12.2 cm); painting  $5\frac{1}{8} \times$   
 $2\frac{3}{32}$  in. (13 × 6.9 cm)  
Edwin Binney 3rd Collection,  
1990.437.2 and 1990.437.4  
Also illustrated 1990.437.1  
and 1990.437.3



AS NOTED PREVIOUSLY, the majority of *Shahnama* manuscripts from India emerged from popular workshops and were not produced for royal consumption. Among the few exceptions to this discernible pattern in the surviving evidence are the dispersed folios of this manuscript. Its well-calligraphed text and consistently high-quality illustrations, along with a profuse use of gold, strongly suggest royal patronage, probably at Bijapur during the reign of Ibrahim II Adil Shah (r. 1580–1627). While the full number of pages comprising the manuscript remains unknown, at least fifteen illustrations and several more text folios from it have been

identified in collections around the world, including four at The San Diego Museum of Art.<sup>1</sup>

The royal patronage of a *Shahnama* manuscript was at the same time “perfectly logical and quite unexpected” for the Bijapur sultanate.<sup>2</sup> Various Deccani polities had long cultivated cultural and commercial ties with the Safavid dynasty of Iran (1501–1732), primarily as a bulwark against the Mughal politico-military and cultural behemoth to their north. Thus the early modern courtly culture of Iran—including the prominent place of the *Shahnama* in both royal and popular imaginations—understandably infiltrated the cultural landscape of the

Deccan. However, Bijapur’s own staggering cultural production, especially during the reign of Ibrahim II, was further remarkable for its concentration on locally produced linguistic and visual forms, such as innovative usages specifically of Deccani Urdu and distinctive artistic styles.<sup>3</sup> The royal commissioning of a *Shahnama*, then, appears consonant with the overall Deccani milieu, yet also unusual upon contextualization within the Bijapuri context.

The artists charged with illustrating this *Shahnama* not only executed their task with technical proficiency, they also exercised an assimilative creativity. The folio



illustrating Rostam's first trial (one of seven in total during his foray into Mazanderan on behalf of King Kay Kavus) serves as a suitable example. In the text, rather than Rostam himself being the protagonist of this episode, it was his trusted steed Rakhsh who combated the lion while his master slept, demonstrating Rakhsh's fearless loyalty to Rostam as well as their oneness in intent and action. As is to be expected in a royal commission, the stylistic execution is of high quality, with the main action in the center subtly framed by the surreal lilac of the rocky crags and the electric outlines of the trees, which seemingly lean inward to witness the



mortal combat. More significantly, while other known depictions of this episode virtually always show the hero Rostam asleep as Rakhsh successfully fends off the enemy, here we see Rostam alert and observing the conflict, even making an encouraging gesture toward Rakhsh with his extended and open right hand. The artists of Bijapur independently devised the most effective visual communication of the scene, truly incorporating the *Shahnama* into their iconographic repository.

Another painting from the same manuscript shows Garsivaz, Manizha's father, arresting her suitor Bizhan after he entered Manizha's apartments. The other folios

from the manuscript included here are text pages relating to the Iranian heroes Gudarz and Tus asking the fickle king Kay Kavus about the enthronement of his son Kay Khusrau, and Rostam counseling Kay Khusrau on confronting the Turanian king Afrasiyab's forces.

—AP

<sup>1</sup> Weinstein forthcoming. For north Indian *Shahnama* folios likely of imperial patronage, see Sharma 2013, pp. 87–98.

<sup>2</sup> Weinstein forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> Hutton 2006, 4ff.; and Weinstein forthcoming.

Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)  
 Northern India, ca. 1620  
 Opaque watercolor on paper  
 Folio  $7\frac{3}{32} \times 7\frac{7}{32}$  in. (18 × 18.3 cm); painting  $6\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{23}{32}$  in. (17 × 14.5 cm)  
 Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, 1990.33<sup>2</sup>

ALONG WITH BATTLE SCENES (cat. 91), *Shahnama* manuscripts include a great abundance of enthronement and court scenes. Usually, each king whose reign is described in the epic was shown on the throne or holding court, sometimes more than once. Such scenes begin with the legendary Kayumars, “the first man to seek the crown of world sovereignty,”<sup>1</sup> through the last Sasanian monarchs ending with Yazdegird III (r. 632–51). With the exception of the mythical demon king Zahhak, whose distinctive iconography included snakes radiating from both shoulders, the royal scene in this folio could depict any of the kings in the *Shahnama*. But given the similarity in the appearance of the royal figure in this painting and that in another page from the same manuscript (cat. 87)—both wear a deep blue robe with golden flower brocade and red leggings—the ruler here is probably Kavus, who ultimately sent the hero Rustam into the fateful battle with his son Sohrab.

Based on the artist’s use of an unusual “sub-Imperial yellow,” not as vivid or saturated as the punctuating yellow found in royally patronized manuscripts, it

is reasonable to assume that the *Shahnama* to which it belonged was made for a prominent individual rather than a princely patron. The use of expensive silver pigment, which has oxidized over time and gives the faces their darkened complexion,<sup>2</sup> narrows the consumer base to that of low-ranking nobles, wealthy merchants, or others with a similar economic reach. Lesser artists, who were nonetheless trained in the imperial tradition, are known to have worked independently or on an itinerant basis, supplying the demand for illustrated books collected by consumers not always able to keep up with imperial tastes. This manuscript was probably produced in one of the many nonroyal workshops operating in northern India. Newly recruited courtiers of Turkic, Persian, or Central Asian origins were settled along the imperial Mughal corridor running northward from Agra to Lahore. Unsurprisingly, for the Persian and Central Asian courtiers the most favored subjects were the classics of Persian literature and poetry, in particular the *Shahnama*.<sup>3</sup> —AP

1 Firdausi (trans. Davis) 2006, 1. See also <http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk/new/jnama/index/>.

2 Binney 1973, pp. 57, 58, 64. [This darkening might also be a result of an element in the white pigment-Ed.]

3 Seyller 1999, pp. 32–33.



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### Kavus receives Rustam

Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)  
Northern India, ca. 1620  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Folio  $7\frac{7}{32} \times 7\frac{7}{32}$  in. (18.5 × 18.3 cm); painting  $6\frac{25}{32} \times 6\frac{1}{32}$  in. (17.2 × 15.3 cm)  
Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, 1990-331

THE SIMILARITIES in dimensions, coloration, and figural renderings between this folio and *Kavus Holds Court* (cat. 86) indicate that they not only belonged to the same *Shahnama* manuscript, but they also followed each other in close sequence. Surrounded by nobles and retainers, the legendary Rustam rides toward a king standing before his throne, seemingly impatient to see him with hand outstretched as if in welcome. The larger-than-life Rustam is immediately recognizable with his headdress made out of a snow leopard's skin. His disproportionately large body, dwarfing his faithful stallion Rakhsh, has been described as "a convention of certain fifteenth-century provincial Persian schools."<sup>1</sup> But it could also be a purposeful artistic expression: Rustam's tremendous strength and military ability, along with the tragedies he faced and the moral questioning he voiced, were the driving narrative forces of the earlier, mythical part of Firdausi's *Shahnama*, to be contrasted with the historically based verses of the epic's subsequent section.

The verses in ruled columns at the bottom of this folio identify the episode to which both pages belonged

and also reveal something of the manuscript's overall mode of production. The verses describe Sohrab, Rustam's son, asking the informant Hajir about the scions of the Iranian army; Sohrab especially inquired after his father, whom he had never met and whom he sought to identify before the impending battle. The illustration, however, depicts a prior moment in the narrative: Rustam approaches a king, Kavus in this episode, who recalled the hero from Zabulistan to defend Iran against enemy forces from Turan. The dissonance between image and text indicates that the verses were written onto the folios either before or after the artist(s) added the illustrations. Moreover, the artists had only a general idea of the overall episode rather than the specific incident therein, being either too hurried or unable to read the text. The scene of Kavus enthroned (cat. 86) likely preceded the arrival of Rustam at his court shown here, in turn just prior to the fateful and tragic battle when Rustam unwittingly killed Sohrab, discovering his son's identity only after the deed was done. —AP

<sup>1</sup> Binney 1973, p. 64.



بانی دولت است و ستم است و کینه  
و انداخته بود در میان  
الی و ستم است و کینه  
اکویش و زین است

## Isfandiyar attacks the dragon

Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)

Deccan (?), ca. 1760

Opaque watercolor on paper  
Folio 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 7 $\frac{29}{32}$  in. (33.1 × 20.1 cm)

Edwin Binney 3rd Collection,  
1990.543

THE CHARACTER OF ISFANDIYAR figured in both the courtly and religious narrative traditions of pre-Islamic Iran. He was mentioned in pre-Zoroastrian Saka epics as a moral and gallant hero. After the increasing conversion of Saka peoples to the teachings of Zoroaster, Isfandiyar also appeared as a brave champion of Zoroastrianism in religious sources, which were primarily oral until the first written recension of the *Avesta* in the fourth century AD.<sup>1</sup> Given the variety of Firdausi's oral and written inspirations,<sup>2</sup> it is not surprising that Isfandiyar was eventually incorporated into his *Shahnama*. In placing the Isfandiyar cycle shortly before the legendary Rustam's death through treachery, Firdausi seemed to recapitulate the principal hero's life of adventure, loyalty, moral rectitude, and ultimate tragedy. Thus, Isfandiyar's exploits, particularly those mirroring Rustam's own, were popular subjects for illustration.<sup>3</sup>

Forming a parallel to the seven tests of Rustam on his way to Mazanderan (e.g., cat. 87), this folio depicts the third of seven challenges Isfandiyar faced en route to rescuing his sisters from the clutches of Arjasp, the Turanian king holding them captive in the brass fortress of Balkh. The artist has chosen as his subject the climactic moment of the confrontation, just after the dragon devoured Isfandiyar's horses but on the verge of being pierced to death by the hero's sword. Several omissions of narrative detail and differences with other renditions of the scene, however, indicate an artist unfamiliar with the story: Not only is Isfandiyar's charioteer's box lacking the spiked and protective cladding described by Firdausi; the dragon's wormlike, accordion body differs from virtually all other depictions wherein the formidable dragon is generally slender, agile, and sinuously serpentine. The multiple horizontal bands forming the landscape, the spatial recession indicated by the smaller procession of figures in the background, and the vivid green of the plain and foliage emerge from the late Mughal painting practices of the Deccan. —AP



<sup>1</sup> Yarshater 1998.

<sup>2</sup> While some scholars believe Firdausi relied strictly on written sources for the *Shahnama*, Davis (2006, p. xix) and a few others hold that the poet drew from works in both oral and written circulation.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk/new/jnama/index/depiction/memohl:-77230550>



Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)  
Northern India, ca. 1595  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Folio  $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5$  in. (21.9 × 12.7 cm); painting  $6\frac{23}{32} \times 3\frac{3}{32}$  in. (17.1 × 8.3 cm)  
Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, 1990.300

THIS FOLIO BELONGED to the *Shahnama*'s historically based second section detailing the Parthian/Arsacid and Sasanian dynasties. Firdausi described the reigns of all the Sasanian emperors, each varying in length according to the number and significance of the events associated with them. This page's centered red title (*anwan*), partially erased by moisture or other damage, interrupts the vertically ruled columns of verses in noting the coming of the Iranians to Bahrām, the son of Emperor Yazdegird I (r. 399–420), the fourteenth ruler of the Sasanian dynasty. The emperor is shown here as a young man seven years into his reign (Bahrām was born on the spring equinox of the eighth year), “during which time the country's priests lived in fear and torment because of Yazdegird's cruelty.”<sup>1</sup>

The illustration probably depicts the arrival at Yazdegird's court of Iranian scholars. According to Firdausi, the emperor summoned many learned men from around the world to serve as potential tutors to his recently born son. Yazdegird ultimately entrusted Bahrām's upbringing not to Iranians but to Arabs, who transported the infant to the Yemen for his tutelage, returning him to his father's court as an accomplished youth. The text on the reverse of the folio continues with the reign of Yazdegird I, known as the Unjust or the Sinner, owing to his supposedly tyrannical rule. However, the prejudice of Sasanian nobles eager to erode imperial authority, and of Zoroastrian priests threatened by Yazdegird's protection of the empire's Christians, may have skewed textual sources into misrepresenting his reign.<sup>2</sup> These would have been among the sources consulted by Firdausi, eventually serving to perpetuate the image of Yazdegird I as a despot.

The folio exemplifies many aspects of nonroyal production. The page format of vertically ruled columns of text with a small inset illustration—originating in Ilkhanid Iran—was passé by the later years of the sixteenth century. Instead, imperial manuscripts of historical and literary texts alike had numerous lavish, often full-page illustrations, and even oversize pictures, in epics, such as the famed *Hamzanama* (1570s–90s). —AP

<sup>1</sup> Firdausi (trans. Davis) 2006, p. 600.

<sup>2</sup> Shahbazi 2003.



Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)  
Northern India, ca. 1620  
Opaque watercolor on paper  
Folio  $9\frac{1}{32} \times 6\frac{3}{16}$  in. (23.7 × 16 cm); painting  $8\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$  in. (20.8 × 11.9 cm)  
Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, 1990.340

**KHUSRAU I NUSHIRWAN'S** reign (531–79) is among the most celebrated of the Sasanian dynasty. During the early years of his rule, he instituted important tax and land reforms and successfully confronted Byzantine forces in the empire's western territories. On the eastern borders, the emperor held the Hephthalites at bay thanks to an effective but short-lived alliance with the Turks, a Ural-Altai steppe people conflated with the Chinese in the *Shahnama's* ethnic and geographical understanding. The emperor's long reign is known for cultural achievements, such as the construction of the Arch of Khusrau, part of the magnificent palace at the Sasanian winter capital of Ctesiphon near Baghdad (Iraq), and remembered in the popular imagination for the importation of chess (*shatranj* in Persian) from India to Iran.<sup>1</sup>

This folio depicts a singular episode from Nushirwan's reign, as recounted by Firdausi: the king's dream of a pleasure-filled evening beneath a majestic cypress was interrupted by the appearance of a sharp-tusked boar, who asked to drink from his goblet. Only Bozormehr, a young man in Marv (Turkmenistan) studying the Zand *Avesta*, could interpret Nushirwan's enigmatic dream as a warning that another male had gained entry to the king's harem. This scene shows the discovery of the interloper and his female accomplice, both of whom would be hanged upside down in the harem as punishment. Some known depictions of this episode— primarily from Safavid Iran— also focus on the moment of discovery, as here, while others show the criminals already hanging by their heels in the harem.

Although the painting evinces recognizable characteristics of nonroyal production, such as the divided landscape and scattering of flowering plants, it follows imperial trends in its combination of figural types from both the Persianate and Indic pictorial traditions.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that the king and his courtiers are Persianate figures, clearly distinguished from the more Indian harem women and the dark-skinned intruder—a pictorial device surely appealing to the Persian nobles in India, who would have been the principal consumers of such a manuscript. —AP



<sup>1</sup> Shahbazi 2005 and Kröger 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Binney 1973, pp. 62–63.

Folio from a *Shahnama* (Book of Kings)  
 Dated 1017 AH/1608 CE  
 Opaque watercolor on paper  
 Folio  $9\frac{7}{32} \times 5\frac{23}{32}$  in. (23.4 × 14.5 cm); painting  $8\frac{7}{32} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$  in. (20.4 × 11.9 cm)  
 Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, 1990.322

BATTLE SCENES ABOUND in the *Shahnama*, but the red title (*anwan*) and text on the reverse of this folio help identify it as the confrontation between the talented and resourceful military commander Bahram Chobin and the Sasanian emperor Khusrau II Parviz (r. 590–628), considered “the last great king of the Sasanian dynasty.”<sup>1</sup> It is further identifiable as the second combat between them: while the first ended with the supernatural rescue of Khusrau by the angel Soroush, the second was an actual battle between the two leaders and their forces, as shown here. This passage in the text embodies a trait at which Firdausi excelled: evoking sympathy for each character’s checkered past, and thereby revealing the deep and real ambiguity between good and evil. In a visual parallel, the painting shows the two protagonists on a nearly equal scale and at a moment in the battle when the outcome was uncertain. Khusrau ultimately emerged victorious, and Bahram Chobin fled across the Oxus to take refuge with the Khaqan of the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

This folio and the one depicting Nushirwan and the criminals (cat. 90) belonged to a *Shahnama* “of high artistic merit”<sup>3</sup> produced in a nonroyal workshop. Another folio attributed to the same manuscript, now at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.71.49.3), was from the epic’s preceding Rostam cycle, depicting the hero’s seventh and final trial in Mazanderan against the formidable demon known as the White Div.<sup>4</sup> Throughout the three known folios of the work, the artists demonstrate a certain *horror vacui*, filling the picture planes with superimposed layers of unrelenting action. The battles, whether mythical or historical, received explicit treatment, complete with decapitated heads, severed limbs, and gushing blood. But unlike the dynamically unpredictable and meticulously drafted compositions of battle scenes in imperial manuscripts, here landscapes are formulaically divided into horizontal bands of color, and the figures have received uneven attention. —AP

<sup>1</sup> Howard-Johnston 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Shahbazi 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Binney 1973, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> See Pal 1993, pp. 188–89, 292. The colophon of the manuscript has yet to be located.

