THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ILLUSTRATED BOOK IN IRAN

It is well known that the tradition of the illustrated book flourished in Iran from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth, when the taste for illustrated books was transformed into one for illustrated folios suitable for collection in albums, but the reasons why the tradition developed at this particular time are still unclear. The florescence of manuscript production was undoubtedly part of the cultural revival that took place under the Ilkhanids, the Mongol dynasty that ruled Mesopotamia and Iran from 1258 to 1336, and their acquaintance with the Chinese tradition of the illustrated scroll led to the introduction of new stylistic and iconographic features to an already established tradition of illustrated books in the Islamic lands. The stylistic changes are familiar, but the evolving relationship between text and image has attracted less attention from scholars. Lisa Golombek made an early attempt to classify different types of illustrated manuscripts, and the subject of why the illustrated book became such an important aesthetic and cultural form in the Iranian world from the fourteenth century onward deserves discussion in a volume dedicated to Oleg Grabar, for he is a pioneer who broadened the field of Persian painting from the identification of individual paintings and hands to the study of the illustrated book as the work of art. By examining in chronological order the manuscripts that can be securely dated and attributed to metropolitan centers of the Ilkhanid realm, it becomes clear how the patronage, size, and function of illustrated books changed at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The tradition of illustrated books had flowered in the Arab world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, reaching its full glory in the second quarter of the thirteenth century at Baghdad. Texts illustrated are mainly scientific manuals, animal fables, and belles-lettres (Arab. adab). The illustrations generally fall into two categories, both derived from the classical tradition: full-page frontispieces showing the author and/or donor, and small, square, or rectangular paintings inserted in the text to illustrate what is described nearby. Only rarely, as in the two superb copies of al-Hariri's Maqāmāt done in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, S23; undated; page size: 25 x 19 cm.; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 5847, dated 634 [1237]; page size: 37 x 28 cm.), do the illustrations go beyond the literal requirements of the text and provide visual commentaries on it. In the incident from the tenth Maqāmāt in which Abu Zayd falsely accuses his son in front of the governor of Rahba, for example, the depiction in the Paris manuscript of the coy youth, the lecherous official, and the gibb scoundrel approaches satire. We have little information about the way these illustrated manuscripts were produced, but the fact that the same person, Yahya b. Mahmud al-Wasiti, wrote and illustrated the 1237 copy of the Maqāmāt suggests that there was little specialization in the way they were made. We are similarly uninformed about their patrons: some, such as the multi-volume Kitāb al-Aghānī (dispersed) with frontispieces showing an enthroned ruler whose sleeve bands are labeled Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ, may have been commissioned by local princes, while others, such as the numerous copies of the Maqāmāt, may have been made "on spec" for a bourgeois audience.

The same kinds of illustrated manuscripts were probably also produced in the Persian-speaking world, although on a more limited scale according to scattered textual references. In his history of the Seljuqs, Ruhāt al-sudūr wa qayāt al-surūr (Recreation of the Breast and Symbol of Joy) composed in 599 (1202), for example, the historian al-Ravandi mentions that in 1184–85 the Seljuq sultan Tughril II wanted the author's uncle to compose and transcribe an anthology of poems and that upon its completion Jamal, the painter of Isfahan, illuminated and illustrated the volume with portraits of the poets cited. Only one illustrated manuscript is known to have survived: a copy of Ayyuqi's romantic mathnawi, Warqa and Gulshah (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 841). It can be attributed to Konya ca. 1250 on the basis of the artist's name, for the sixty-first painting is signed by Abd al-Muʾmin b. Muhammad, the painter of Khoy, who is also mentioned in the endowment text of the Karatay madrasa in Konya (1251). The paintings are generally small blocks with several figures arranged symmetrically, and their style is similar to that of contemporary enam-
eled and luster ceramics. The presence of labels on the figures suggest that the actual audience was unfamiliar with the narrative tradition.

The Mongol invasions apparently did not put an end to the style of painting that had flourished in Mesopotamia in the early thirteenth century, for perhaps the finest example of the Baghdad style is found in a manuscript of the Rasāʾil Ḥarrān al-Safā (The Epistles of the Sincere Brethren) copied in 1287 (Istanbul, Library of the Suleymaniye Mosque, Esad Efendi 3638). The manuscript contains a traditional, double-page frontispiece (fols. 3v–4r; written area 25 × 17 cm.; painted area 20 × 17 cm.) depicting the five authors seated in a brick arcade and surrounded by scribes, students, and servants. Traditional too is the symmetrical arrangement of the architectural setting and the rich patterning of drapery folds. The formal compositions are enlivened by the vigorous interaction of the figures which creates a sense of space and by the brilliant palette of blue, brown, black, and gold.10

In the last decade of the thirteenth century, Mesopotamian artists began to absorb Far Eastern elements, as can be seen in two Persian manuscripts which can also be attributed to Baghdad: a copy of ʿAta Malik Juvaynī's Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā (History of the World Conqueror) finished by Rashid al-Khwāfī in Dhu’l-Hijja 689 (December 1290) (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. pers. 205) and a copy of Saʿd al-Dīn Varamīnī’s Marsubān-nāma completed by al-Murtadī b. Abī Tahir b. Ahmad al-Kashī in the eastern district of Baghdad on 10 Ramadan 698 (19 May 1299) (Istanbul, Archaeology Museum Library 216).11 The illustrations to both manuscripts include new features of landscape such as Chinese-style clouds and grassy swathes and of figurative style such as looped coiffures and overlapped robes. Yet the illustrations are still traditional in terms of the relationship of image to text, as they are all essentially frontispieces. The double-page illustration in the Juvaynī manuscript (fols. 1v–2r) shows a squating groom leading a caparisoned horse on the right and a scribe seated beneath a tree taking dictation from a standing figure in a flowered coat on the left. The three illustrations in the Marsubān-nāma are variations on the author or donor portrait: the first (fol. 2r) shows the Prophet, to whom the work is dedicated, enthroned beneath two angels; the second (fol. 5r) shows the author describing his literary inspiration; and the third (fol. 7r) shows the patron who had commissioned the text in the early thirteenth century, enthroned and surrounded by courtiers. We do not know for whom these two manuscripts were made. The Marsubān-nāma may well have been made for the market, as the dedicatory rosette (fol. 1r) is still empty. The Juvaynī manuscript was copied within a decade of the death of the author, who was a historian and governor of Baghdad from 1259 to 1282, and the figures in the frontispiece represent contemporary people: the author, identified by a later hand as ʿAla al-Dīn Sahib Divān, and his Mongol overlord, either the Ilkhanid ruler Hulagu or his viceroy Amir Arghun.12

Given the Mongol habit of seasonal migration, it is no surprise that illustrated manuscripts were produced at the same time at another Ilkhanid capital, Maragha, as attested by a copy of Ibn Bakhtishu’s Manāṣīf al-Ḥawāyūn (Advantages of Animals) finished sometime between 1297 and 1300 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M500).13 The text describing the nature and habits of man, animals, birds, reptiles, insects, and aquatic animals is a scientific treatise like that of Dioscorides on plants, and the illustrations, like those in the contemporary manuscripts made at Baghdad, integrate new Far Eastern motifs into the traditional Mesopotamian style. What is significant about the manuscript for our purposes is that is shows the increasing interest in the production of luxury manuscripts on the part of the Ilkhanid court. According to the preface, Sultan Ghazan ordered the text translated from Arabic to Persian and entrusted the work to ʿAbd al-Hadi b. Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Ibrahim of Maragha. According to the ex-libris on folio 2r, this copy was written and illuminated for Shams al-Dīn b. Ziya al-Dīn al-Zashkī. He is otherwise unknown, but his titles suggest that he was a person of some importance, and the ex-libris shows that the manuscript was a specific commission.

Many of the novel features of these three illustrated manuscripts done in the 1290s — new historical subjects, representations of contemporary figures, and patronage by important individuals associated with the Ilkhanid court — are further developed in a manuscript made in the following decade: a copy of al-Biruni’s Athar-i Basiqay (Chronology of Ancient Nations) penned by Ibn al-Kutbi in 1307–8 (Edinburgh, University Library, arab 161).14 The text, written some three centuries earlier, discusses various calendrical systems, and the twenty-four pictures illustrate some of the historical events that occurred in connection with these calendars. The first twenty-two illustrations are heavily dependent on the earlier Mesopotamian school. They (fig. 1) are small rectangular paintings with simple, symmetrical compositions. The haloed figures wear traditional turbans and robes which fall in stylized patterns. Only a few motifs such as the convoluted clouds and colored ground are new.
Quite different in subject and style are the last two illustrations which deal with Muslim festivals, “The Day of Cursing” and “The Investiture of Ali at Ghadir Khumm” (fols. 161r and 162r; fig. 2). The subjects chosen for illustration support the claims of Ali as successor to the Prophet Muhammad. These were not events of popular interest, but ones used by theologians as evidence of the Prophet’s designation of Ali as his rightful heir. The compositions emphasize the sectarian subject. In “The Day of Cursing” Husayn is nestled in the arms of his father Ali; in “The Investiture of Ali at Ghadir Khumm,” the Prophet reaches out and touches Ali on the shoulder. Soucek has pointed out that the literary tradition extolling Ali had existed for some time, but this was the first time that a Shi'ite point of view had been manifested pictorially.4

In addition to being larger and squarer in format than the first twenty-two paintings in the manuscript, these two paintings are different in style and iconography. They use a brighter palette. Swirling red and gold clouds are set against a dark blue sky to enhance the drama of the two scenes. Receding ground lines with grassy tufts create a sense of space, whereas in most of the other paintings, large figures are set against a backdrop on a flat baseline and overwhelm the limited landscape. In the last two paintings, the figures of the Prophet and his family dominate the compositions, and the direct glances among them unite the figures. Soucek’s careful
analysis has shown that iconographic details such as the cloak over the Prophet's head and the braided hair of the Prophet and his family also set these two illustrations apart from the others.

The differences in these two last paintings cannot simply be attributed to another hand who added them after the others were done, for the difference in format shows that when the manuscript was copied, the decision had already been taken to distinguish these two illustrations. One must therefore ask what made these two paintings so important for the scribe/illustrator and the patron and audience. The answer, I believe, is that they illustrate a subject of immediate contemporary interest. A few years before the manuscript was copied, the leading Shi'ite theologian of the day, Ibn Mutahhar al-Hilli, known as Allama-i Hilli (the sage of Hilla), had come from his native town in Iraq to the court of the Ilkhanid sultan Uljaytu. The scholar was the author of numerous treatises on all branches of Islamic learning, and his works on Shi'ism are regarded by Twelver Shi'ites as the most authentic exposition of dogma and practice. While at the Ilkhanid court, he engaged in debates with the leading Sunni theologians. The sultan, who had been baptised a Christian but converted to Sunni Islam, was apparently interested in such topics and often summoned the theologians for lively discussions after dinner. He even had a mobile madrasa which traveled with his camp so that he could keep up with theological debates while traveling. Allama-i Hilli was successful in presenting his point of view, for the sultan officially converted to Shi'ism in early 1310, two years after Ibn Kuth finished copying the al-Biruni manuscript. Illustrations of historical events were thus used to make polemic commentaries on current events.

The al-Biruni manuscript contains no indication of its place of production or its original owner, but the style of the paintings allows it to be firmly attributed to an Ilkhanid capital, and the first decade of the fourteenth century was exactly the time when the Ilkhanid court in Mesopotamia and Iran began to order large and lavishly illuminated manuscripts of the Qur'an whose size, format, and sheer splendor mark a turning point in manuscript production. Baghdad had been a center for the production of Qur'an manuscripts at the end of the thirteenth century, and the most famous scribe there, Yaqt al-Musta'simi (d. 1298), was often called the "cynosure of calligraphers." Despite the refinement of his hand and the desirability of his works, his Qur'an manuscripts are generally in one volume and of small format. The folios average 35 × 24 cm, and one copied in 1289 is even smaller (19 × 15 cm). In contrast, the imperial Qur'an manuscripts dating from the first two decades of the fourteenth century are thirty-volume sets of large format. The folios average 55 × 38 cm, and one made for Sultan Ulijaytu between 1306 and 1313 measures a whopping 72 × 50 cm. In addition to the expense in procuring such large sheets of paper, it must have required a great deal of time and money to pen the majestic muhaqqaq or rayhani script and to execute the fine illumination, much of it in gold.

These fine Qur'an manuscripts were commissioned by the Ilkhanid sultans or their viziers and often endowed to the patron's funerary complex. Named sites of production include Baghdad, Mosul, Tabriz, and Hamadan. The only Ilkhanid scriptorium known to us in detail, however, is that founded by the vizier Rashid al-Din. According to the endowment deed for his quarter outside of Tabriz, the Rabii-i Rashidi, various manuscripts in both Arabic and Persian were to be transcribed yearly. They were to be done in neat script on good Baghdad paper, carefully collated with the original that was kept in the library at the Rabii-i Rashidi, and bound in leather. The finished volumes were to be displayed in the qibla iwan of the mosque, registered at the judiciary in Tabriz, and distributed throughout the Ilkhanid realms. Some of the manuscripts were produced at the Rabii-i Rashidi itself, for slaves were assigned to calligraphy, painting, and gilding. Other copies must have been produced elsewhere, for the Bagdadi biographer Ibn al-Fuwati (d. 1325) records meeting a master painter and illuminator working on a book of Rashid al-Din's while in the sultan's camp in Arran. The endowment stipulates for the annual copying of several types of texts, and surviving manuscripts which can be attributed to the scriptorium include a compendium of tracts entitled Majmu'a al-Rashidiyya copied by Muhammad b. al-'Afif al-Kashi and illuminated by Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Muhammad al-Amin al-Baghdadi in 1310 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 2324), a volume from a Qur'an dated Safar 715/April 1315, and fragmentary copies of the vizier's history, the 'Jami' al-Tavarih (Compendium of Histories), in both Persian (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1653 and 1654) and Arabic (Edinburgh, University Library, ms. Arab 29, and London, Nour Collection, ex-Royal Asiatic Society).

The vizier, who was executed in 1318, epitomizes the Ilkhanid interest in writing history. Although the Islamic world had a long tradition of history writing, David Morgan has shown that three things happened to historical writing in the Mongol period: it proliferated, it was writ-
ten in Persian instead of Arabic, and it covered a wider scope. Changes in attitude were necessary not only because of the devastations caused by the Mongol conquests, but also because for the first time in six centuries Persia was ruled by non-Muslims, a contradiction to the Muslim view of the irreversible march of divinely determined history. Morgan illustrated his argument by comparing three historians who coped with the Mongol phenomenon in different ways: Juzjani (1193–after 1265), who experienced the Mongol devastations and fled to the Delhi Sultanate, where he recounted all their atrocities but also credited their virtues; Juvayni (1226–83), who was in service to the Mongols and gave a more flattering picture, justifying the Mongols as instruments of God’s judgment on His sinful people; and Rashid al-Din (1247–1318), the principal statesman of Mongol Persia who had the benefit of a wider perspective and presented an official justification for the Mongol role in history.28

Morgan based his conclusions on the texts that these three wrote, but a look at their illustrations also shows how the view of history evolved in the Mongol period. No copy of Juzjani’s major work, Tabaqat-i Naṣrī, survives from the period, and the sole contemporary copy of Juvayni’s Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha only has an illustrated frontispiece, but the works of Morgan’s third historian, Rashid al-Din’s Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh, show the full effect of how historical manuscripts were used for polemic purposes.

All the copies of Rashid al-Din’s Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh are large-format manuscripts (typical written area 36 × 25 cm.) with numerous illustrations that are either large squares or more often rectangles occupying the full width of the written space. In comparison to the 1307 al-Biruni, these manuscripts are substantially bigger with more and larger illustrations arranged in specific cycles.29 The style of the paintings also differs from that in other manuscripts of the period, for the illustrations are line drawings enlivened with colored washes, a technique derived from Chinese scrolls. This distinct style inspired at least one provincial copy, an anthology of poems copied by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Qalawi al-Kashi in 1314–15 (London, India Office Library, ms. 132).30

By the second decade of the fourteenth century, then, the stage was set in Iran for the florescence of a tradition of illustrated manuscripts. Patrons included the highest-ranking members of the Ilkhanid court who commissioned manuscripts and personally oversaw their production. The manuscripts they ordered were significantly bigger, making larger and more elaborate illustrations possible. These paintings were executed in a new style which incorporated Far Eastern motifs and even techniques and, more important, the subjects for illustration were deliberately chosen because of their parallels in Ilkhanid life. The paintings were not only narrative, but commentaries on contemporary events. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, patrons had ordered luxury ceramics and metalwares with specific scenes;31 in the fourteenth century they turned to books and ordered illustrated histories whose paintings could be used to justify their own positions. Illustrated books had become didactic works of art.

The step that remained was to extend this rhetorical use of illustrated manuscripts from histories to epics. The major surviving manuscript of the following generation is a monumental two-volume copy of the Shāhānāma (some 300 folios; written surface 41 × 29 cm.), probably done for Rashid al-Din’s son Ghiyath al-Din in 1335–36.32 It shows the adaptation of a standard metropolitan style to specific ideological and private purposes, and many of its illustrations can be interpreted as reflections of contemporary events. Certain cycles were singled out for illustration. The Alexander sequence, for example, has seventeen illustrations in fifteen folios. As a cycle which underscores the right of foreigners to rule Iran, it would have had great resonance with the Mongols. Other scenes such as the “Enthronement of Zav” (fig. 3), whose five-month reign is totally insignificant in the text, may well have had special meaning to the Ilkhanid audience. One of the more elaborate enthronement scenes in the manuscript, its shows the king, a descendant of Faridun, seated on his throne with his minister Zal at his side. Surely the painting is a pictorial allusion to the important role played by such Persian viziers as Ghiyath al-Din in raising Ilkhanid claimants to the throne. The white-bearded Zal, who is also depicted in another painting illustrating a minor episode in the text, “The Mubids interrogating Zal” (fig. 4), may even represent the Ilkhanid patron.

According to the oft-quoted statement by the Safavid chronicler Dust Muhammad, the reign of Abu Saʿīd (1317–35) was the moment when portraiture was introduced into Persian painting and “Master Ahmad Musa lifted the veil from the face of depiction, and the [style of] depiction that is now [i.e., in the mid-sixteenth century] current was invented by him.”33 The statement is part of Dust Muhammad’s preface outlining the development of calligraphy and painting for an album of calligraphic specimens and paintings which he prepared for the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza in 1544 (Istanbul,
Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1654). The author was a scribe in the royal workshop of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp, and the workshop’s major project in the early sixteenth century had been the preparation of a monumental Shāhnāma manuscript for the Safavid monarch. The manuscript contains 258 large paintings, many of them almost full page, including two added on heavier, creamier paper. One of the two additions, “The Story of Haftvad and the Worm” (fol. 521v), is inscribed in the margin below “Painted by Dust Muhammad,” and S. C. Welch has attributed the work to ca. 1540. Hence it is no surprise that some four years later, the calligrapher and painter referred back to the early fourteenth century when the tradition of royal Shāhnāma manuscripts used for personal purposes seems to have been inaugurated.

This tradition is clearly perpetuated in the finest manuscripts produced in the fifteenth century. The Shāhnāma copied at Herat in 1430 (Tehran, Gulistan Palace Library, no. 61) for the Timurid prince Baysungur b. Shahrukh, probably the greatest Iranian bibliophile, contains only twenty-one paintings, including a double-page frontispiece. The paintings do not illustrate scenes common in other fifteenth-century manuscripts, such as “Bahram Gur and Azada” or “Kay Khusraw in a Snowstorm,” but show unusual events which can be related to the life of the patron. The frontispiece, for example, does not depict a king enthroned, but a prince hunting with musicians, and the bearded figure is probably a portrait of Baysungur himself. Other unusual scenes emphasize a youth’s princely role and his claim to legitimacy: the episode in which Prince Luhrasp hears of the disappearance of his father Kay Khusraw is found in only one other fifteenth-century manuscript, and that where the young Bahram Gur is consigned to the tutor Munzir is unique. The Zafarnāma (Book of Victory) commissioned by the Timurid sultan Husayn Bayqara in 1467–68 (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, John Work Garrett Collection) is a small manuscript (24 × 15cm.) with only six double-page illustrations, but its elegant script, finely
burnished paper, and dramatic images attest to its imperial patronage, and Eleanor Sims has argued that its paintings illustrating heroic episodes in the life of Timur and his son 'Umar Shaykh were chosen to underscore the patron’s connection to the Timurid line and to justify his assumption of power.  

Bausani found that one of the characteristic features of traditional Iranian thought was its "mythification of the past," and this is exactly how courtly patrons began to use luxury copies of illustrated manuscripts at the beginning of the fourteenth century. They used histories and epics to legitimize their own rule, and they selected events for illustration which had parallels in their own lives. Illustrations, which had served to clarify the text or reiterate pictorially what was described in the text, took on contemporary meanings, and, just as wall paintings and reliefs had done in pre-Islamic times, they could be used to justify and comment upon contemporary events.

NOTES


2. I am deliberately excluding manuscripts executed in a provincial style, such as the ones associated with the Injus, for they pose different, if related, problems. This methodology also excludes the group of "small" Shahnama manuscripts whose date and localization are so controversial, but if the proposed hypothesis about the evolving function of illustrated manuscripts is accepted, then in turn it can shed light on the possible date for these manuscripts.


12. The manuscript contains 86 folios (34 × 24 cm) with 94 paintings. The colophon is damaged, and the only the final ی of the unit digit is preserved before the six hundred and ninety. The year 698 can be eliminated, as the preface mentions Sultan Ghazan who did not ascend the throne until the last month of that year, so the possibilities are 697 or 699 (1297 or 1300).


17. The problem of dating the illustrations in a manuscript is a knotty one. According to the usual scenario, the scribe would finish writing the manuscript (in this case in 707 [1307–8]), leaving space for the illustrations, but the amount of time that he or the artist needed to finish the (in this case twenty-four) paintings is unknown.


19. See, for example, three manuscripts produced in 1282 (Oman, Collection of the Sultan), 1286–87 (Tehran, Iran Bastan Museum, 4277), and 1287 (Masjed, Imam Riza Shrine Library, 120), published respectively in James, *Qur’ans of the Manulks*, no. 36; and Martin Lings and Yasir Hamid Safadi, *The Qur’an* (London, 1976), nos. 57 and 58.


22. Ibid., no. 40.


25. James, *Qur’ans of the Manulks*, no. 46; 52 × 37 cm.


29. See my forthcoming monograph on the fragment of the Jamiʿ al-Tawārīkh now in the Nour Collection, London.

30. Basil Robinson, Persian Paintings in the India Office Library (London, 1976), nos. 1–53, pp.3–10, comments on the modest style of the 53 paintings of the manuscript (112 folios; written surface 36 x 26 cm.). The paintings are also extremely traditional in subject: 49 are author portraits depicting a poet presenting a Mongol prince with a scroll of verse (misunderstood as a long sock or twisted cloth); two others (nos. 10 and 40) expand the composition to six poets. Only two have somewhat more innovative compositions: no. 1, “Sultan Sanjar and the poet Muʿizzī viewing the moon” (fol. 1b), adds a small landscape, and no. 20, “The amorous poet” (fol. 45b), adds a modest architectural setting.

31. Jonathan Bloom is working on this subject with regard to the large luster-painted plate ordered by a margrave in 1210 (Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 41.11).


35. For the impact that the Demotte Shahnama had on Safavid painting, see Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, “Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Legacy of the Great Mongol Shahnama,” Islamic Art (forthcoming).

36. All the paintings from the manuscript (38 x 26 cm.) are reproduced in Basil Gray, An Album of Miniatures and Illuminations from the Baysonghor Manuscip of the Shahnameh of Ferdowsi — Preserved in the Imperial Library, Tehran (Teheran, 1971).

37. The best study of Baysunghur and his patronage is Thomas Lenz, “Painting at Herat under Baysunghur ibn Shahrukh,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985, who delineates the role the patron played in the production of luxury manuscripts.
