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No. 29

SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY IN  
THE DELHI MUSEUM OF  
ARCHÆOLOGY

BY  
KHAN SAHIB MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN,  
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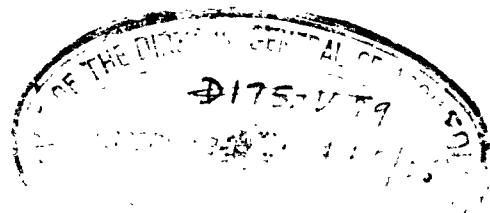
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## INTRODUCTION.

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The specimens of calligraphy described and illustrated hereafter are preserved in the Delhi Museum.<sup>1</sup> They include 20 manuscripts and 80 loose sheets mounted on cardboard and locally termed *waslīs*, which are in most cases beautifully illuminated. These manuscripts and *waslīs*, comprising the writings of not less than 100 calligraphists, represent seven different styles, viz. (1) *Kūfic*, (2) *Thulth*,<sup>2</sup> (3) *Naskh*, (4) *Nastāliq*, (5) *Shikasta*, (6) *Tughrā* and (7) *Khat-i-Ghubār*, which have been treated separately, with the specimens of each arranged in chronological sequence. An attempt has been made to supplement the description of each specimen with a biographical account of the calligraphist whose writing it represents. There are, however, certain calligraphists who are so far unknown, and specimens of their writing, to which no date could be assigned with certainty, have been dealt with at the end of the respective styles to which they belong. It will be seen from the biographical accounts of the calligraphists that most of them were attached to the courts of the Mughal emperors; but specimens of writing of the princes Dārā Shikoh and Shāh Shujā', and of Bahādur Shāh, the last Mughal emperor, are perhaps the most interesting, being a concrete proof of the fact that the Mughal princes were given a regular training in the art of calligraphy. Among the manuscripts, the *Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān deserves special attention, as it consists of a collection of numerous original compositions and extracts from standard Persian works transcribed by several calligraphists of the time. In order to make readers familiar with the various styles of writing reproduced here, there has been added a short discourse on the palæographic changes of the Arabic character and the development of Muslim calligraphy in India. This discourse does not pretend to embrace a thorough treatment of the subject, but presents only an outline of the Muslim palæography of India, explaining the forces which have influenced the development of the various styles.

I cannot conclude without expressing my gratitude to Maulvi Ashfaq Ali for his valuable assistance in gathering material for this memoir.

ZAFAR HASAN.

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<sup>1</sup> Nos. 4 and 7 are the private property of the author.

<sup>2</sup> There is no separate specimen of the *Thulth* style in the Delhi Museum collection; readers may refer to the gilded lines of the Qurān (illustration No. 3) which are written in that style.



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## SPECIMENS OF CALLIGRAPHY IN THE DELHI MUSEUM.

The origin of the Arabic writing is obscure. According to some authorities **Origin of the Arabic writing.** it was derived from the Nabataean script towards the beginning of the sixth century A.D.,<sup>1</sup> while others attribute its origin to the Syriac writing.<sup>2</sup> The dots and vowel marks were, undoubtedly, borrowed from the latter, and it is probably on this ground that it is supposed to have originated from that script.

There has been a common belief that the primitive form of the Arabic **Kufic character.** writing was *Kūfic*, and that *Naskh* was a subsequent development of the same.<sup>3</sup> But the fact is that both these scripts existed side by side as early as the beginning of Islām. The stiff angular shape of the *Kūfic* character prohibited its use for ordinary purposes of life, and it was consequently reserved for copies of the *Qurān* and inscriptions on stone and coins. In the beginning it was simple, but unrelated as it was to the needs of practical life, it was cultivated as an artificial script, and gradually assumed such a fantastic decorative shape that by the sixth century Hijra (twelfth century A.D.) it was difficult for common people to read it, and none except professional calligraphists were able to transcribe it. A reaction started against it, with the result that as early as the 7th century Hijra (13th century A.D.) it almost disappeared from the whole Muslim world. This explains the scarcity of *Kūfic* Qurāns and inscriptions in India, where the Muslim power was not consolidated until the beginning of that century. The few *Kūfic* inscriptions which are to be found on early Muhammadan buildings<sup>4</sup> in India are generally of a religious nature and mainly serve a decorative purpose. It may be remarked here that the name *Kūfic* has been derived from *Kūfa*, which is one of the oldest Muslim cities in Arabia.

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 381.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Dawlat-i-Arab* by Tal'at Bey, Anwār-i Aḥmadi Press, Allahabad, 1315, p. 58.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 56, see also *Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 99, and *Mirat-i-Ājtāb Numā* by Shāh Nawāz Khān (manuscript copy in the possession of the author) folios 132b-133a.

<sup>4</sup> The Qūwatu-l-Islām mosque (587 A.H. = 1191 A.D.) and the tombs of Sulṭān (d. 629 A.H. = 1231—32 A.D.) and the emperor Altamsh or Iltutmish (circa 633 A.H. = 1235 A.D.) at Delhi bear Qurānic inscriptions written in ornamental *Kūfic*, termed by Van Berchem "*Coufique fleuri*." The only *Kūfic* inscription of historical interest is on the west wall of the *Arhāi Din kā Jhonprā* mosque at Ajmer. It is dated 596 A.H. (1200 A.D.).

**Naskh  
character.**

*Naskh* is a round script distinct from *Kūfic*, which is angular. Originally it was used by the Arabs for ordinary purposes, but it developed side by side with the artificial *Kūfic* script until it reached the culminating point of its growth, and replaced the latter in the 6th century A.H. (12th century A.D.). The great attention paid by the Arabs to the development of their script gave rise to many styles, but these were only products of the ingenuity of various calligraphists and did not differ from the main script in any essential point. Abu-l-Fazl's description of the Arabic scripts *Thulth*, *Naskh*, *Tauqī'*, *Riqā'*, *Muḥaqqaq* and *Raiḥān*, which are stated by him to have been derived from the same origin,<sup>1</sup> clearly indicates that their variation from each other was merely conventional. He writes: "The *Suls* and the *Naskh* consist each of one-third curved lines, and two-thirds straight lines; the former (the *suls*) is *jalī*,<sup>2</sup> whilst the latter (the *naskh*) is *khafī*. The *Tauqī'* and *Riqā'* consist of three-fourths curved lines, and one-fourth straight lines; the former is *jalī*, the latter is *khafī*. The *Muḥaqqaq* and *Raiḥān* contain three-fourths straight lines; the former, as in the preceding, is *jalī*, and the *Raiḥān khafī*."<sup>3</sup>

**Nasta'liq  
character.**

In Persia the Arabic writing was subjected to a modification under the influence of the old *Pahlwī* writing of that country, and led to the development of a new script, the *Ta'liq*, in the 7th century A. H. (13th century A.D.). The latter did not remain long in use, having been replaced by *Nasta'liq* which evolved from *Naskh* and *Ta'liq* in the next century. *Nasta'liq* is a rounder script than *Naskh*, and this characteristic is particularly noticeable from the letters ending in curves, which are more circular in the one than in the other. Abu-l-Fazl writes: "It (*Nasta'liq* character) consists entirely of round lines. They say that Mīr 'Alī of Tabrīz, a contemporary of Tīmūr (1369-1404 A.D.), derived it from the *Naskh* and *Ta'liq*; but this can scarcely be correct, because there exist books in the *Nasta'liq* character, written before Tīmūr's time."<sup>4</sup> Owing to the artistic gifts of the Persians, *Nasta'liq* soon developed to a high state of perfection. But it was not until the advent of Mughal rule that its use prevailed in India,<sup>5</sup> having replaced as in Persia the *Naskh* character, which has since been reserved here almost exclusively for religious works.

**Shikasta script.**

*Shikasta* is only a variation of *Nasta'liq*. It is a cursive script, which is difficult to read owing to omission of dots and too much use of ligatures. The date of its evolution is unknown; presumably it arose a little later than *Naskh*.

<sup>1</sup> Abu-l-Fazl states that all these scripts including *Naskh* were derived from *Kūfic* by Ibn-i-Muqlah in the year 310 A.H. (922-23 A.D.). But the ancient papyri (*vide* Moritz's *Arabic Palæography* plates 100-106) lately discovered, have conclusively proved the fact that *Naskh* has been as old as *Kūfic*, having its origin independent of the other. Apparently the five remaining scripts of Abu-l-Fazl were derived from *Naskh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Jalī* (clear) is a term used by the copyists to express that letters are thick and written with a pen full of ink. *Khafī* (hidden) is the opposite.

<sup>3</sup> *Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Abu-l-Fazl remarks that, during the time of Akbar, *Nasta'liq* received a new impetus (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102).

The author of the *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*<sup>1</sup> (folio 11(a)) followed by the *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān* (pp. 105-6) states that it was invented during the reign of the emperor Jahāngīr (1605-27 A.D.) by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain, the son of Mirzā Shahrullāh, a Persian refugee in the court of the emperor Akbar. Abu-l-Faḥl makes no reference to *Shikasta*, and one is at first inclined to give credit to the above statement, believing that it had not come into existence before his time. This view, however, cannot be correct, as there exists in the Delhi Museum a *farmān* of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd, the grandfather of the emperor Bābar, which is dated as early as 868 A.H. (1464 A.D.) and is written in fine *Shikasta* character (see illustration No. 90). It is likely that the style was not known in India until Jahāngīr's time, and Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusain might have been responsible for introducing it here.

*Kūfic*, *Naskh*, *Nastaʿlīq* and *Shikasta* are the main styles of the Arabic character familiar to Indian Muslims, the first two being attributed to Arabic writing and the latter to Persian. The names of a large number of other scripts are also quoted, but they refer only to calligraphical systems, belonging otherwise to one or other of the above four main styles. As an instance it may be noticed that the specimens No. 103 and No. 104 are written strictly in the *Naskh* character, but the artificial arrangements of the script in them are termed *Tughrā* and *Ghubār* respectively. Other scripts

Calligraphy has been a favourite art of the Muslims, cultivated among them from a very early period on account of their great interest in the development of their script. It has played a very conspicuous part in the field of decoration. The reason for this is at once apparent when we remember that the representation of living things is forbidden by the Islamic religion, and the orthodox Muslim artists had therefore to confine the outlet of their artistry almost exclusively to calligraphy. Like other Muslim countries the art flourished in India from the earliest period of its conquest by Muhammadans, a fact to which testimony is borne by the beautiful inscriptions adorning their early buildings. It was not, however, until the Mughal period that the art of calligraphy attained the highest development in this country.<sup>2</sup> The patronage of the Mughal emperor induced many Persian calligraphists to immigrate to India, and under the influence of their foreign masters, Indians also (Muhammadans as well as Hindūs) were not slow to make themselves accomplished in it. Specimens of the writing of many Indian calligraphists are to be met with, which in excellence and beauty of style compete with the works of Persian experts. The interest of the Mughal emperors in calligraphy can be judged from the fact that it formed an important factor in the training of princes. 'Abdu-Rashīd Daīlmī is related to have been appointed tutor of Dārā Shikoh on his arrival from Persia, and the prince under his training became proficient in Muslim calligraphy.

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript in possession of the author. It is said to have been compiled by Nawab Zīāu-d-Dīn Khān of Loharū, but corresponds verbatim in many places to the other work on the same subject, the *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān* of Maulānā Ghulām Muḥammad Haft Qalamī of Delhi. The latter was edited with prefaces and notes by M. Hidāyat Ḥusain and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Abu-l-Faḥl says: "His Majesty shews much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful calligraphists" (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102).

the art.<sup>1</sup> Shāh Shujā' and Aurangzeb<sup>2</sup> also enjoyed a reputation for handwriting. The latter, it is known to history, used to copy the *Qurān* as a religious practice even when he occupied the throne and had much state business to attend to.<sup>3</sup> There are three specimens of the writing of the princes Dārā Shikoh and Shāh Shujā' in the Delhi Museum collection (*vide infra* Nos. 41-43) which can stand comparison with the works of the best calligraphists of the period.

The art of calligraphy has now been neglected in India, and it is dying out on account of the introduction of the printing press and the growing demand for English education. It is regrettable that it has failed to draw the attention of modern scholars, who have not endeavoured to make a systematic study of its development in this country and to place on record the names of the calligraphists who brought it to perfection. There are one or two small treatises on the subject, but they contain only biographical notices of calligraphists, in general, without any illustration of their writings, thus not enabling the reader to judge of their respective merits and to mark the development or decline of the art at different periods in India.

#### A SPECIMEN OF THE KŪFIC CHARACTER.

No. 1.—A leaf from a copy of the *Qurān* probably of the 3rd century A.H. (9th century A.D.). It contains verses 78-80 of the *Sūra IX* written on parchment with the characteristic that the consonants have no dots, while vowel marks are indicated by dots of red colour. The punctuation is marked by a rosette of gold colour which, however, does not occur after every verse. For similar specimens reference may be made to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (article on Arabia), plate IV, No. 2, and *Arabic Palæography* by B. Moritz, plates 37, 38, 40 and 42.

#### SPECIMENS OF THE NASKH CHARACTER.

No. 2.—An illuminated *waṣṭī* written by Yāqūt-al-Musta'ṣimī and dated 680 A.H. (1281-82 A.D.). Jalālu-d-Dīn, better known as Yāqūt-al-Musta'ṣimī, was the court calligraphist of al-Musta'ṣim Billāh, the last Abbasid Caliph of Baghdād. He achieved great fame for his skill in penmanship. A script called *Yāqūtī* derives its name from him, but this refers more to his style than to any innovation in the written character.<sup>4</sup> He has been acknowledged as one of the earliest masters of the art of calligraphy, and his style is much appreciated in India and Persia. He professed the Shī'a faith, for which reason he was imprisoned by the Caliph, but was released after three years. It is related that on the day when Baghdād was put to general massacre by

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkirah-i Khushnawisān*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthir-i Alamgiri* by Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1871), p. 532.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Aurangzeb* by Jadunath Sarkar, vol. I, pp. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 386.

Halākū Khān, Yāqūt took refuge on a *mīnār* and busied himself in the practice of calligraphy. He was soon joined by a friend who remarked, "What sort of man are you, that at such a critical time, when a general massacre is going on in the city, you are busy in the practice of writing?" Yāqūt in reply said, "How foolish you are not to understand that those who are destined to be killed - will be massacred." Yāqūt died at Baghdād in the year 697 A.H.<sup>1</sup> (1297-98 A.D.) at the advanced age of more than 120 years.<sup>2</sup>

No. 3.—A *Qurān* written in characters of a transition style between *Kūfic* and *Naskh*, and said to have belonged to the 8th century H. (14th century A.D.). This style (commonly known as *Khaṭ-i-Bihār*) is believed to have evolved at a very early period in India, and the fact that not a single specimen of it has been illustrated in Moritz's Arabic Palæography confirms the belief that it was not known in Arabia, Persia or Egypt. But it could not hold its ground against the *Naskh* which had already reached a high state of perfection in Persia, and which gradually came to prevail in India. The *Qurān* has a double page '*unwān*'<sup>3</sup> with three gilded lines at the top, centre and bottom written in the *Thulth* character. The word *Allāh* throughout the volume is also transcribed in gold, and so are the punctuation marks, which consist of ornamented circles and occur after every verse. The manuscript was acquired from a member of an old family of the town of Amroha, district Moradabad (U.P.), who trace their descent from Shāh Wilāyat, a well-known saint of the place. A story is related by tradition among the family that the manuscript was given in dowry by the emperor Fīroz Shāh (1351-1388 A.D.) to his daughter, who was married to a son of the saint. Sir Aurel Stein, a great authority on the antiquities of Central Asia, expresses his opinion that its paper is of Bukhārā manufacture, and undoubtedly as old as related by tradition.

No. 4.—A *Qurān* similar to the above in all its characteristics, except that it does not contain the three gilded lines on each page, and presumably of the same period. A few of its pages at the beginning and end are later additions written in a different hand, while some pages in the middle of the volume are illuminated with gold and colour. It belongs to the author but has been noticed here as another specimen of the *Qurāns* of this type which seem to have been once popular in India.

No. 5.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Muḥammad Afzal who calls himself "Dārā Shikohī"<sup>4</sup> (the servant or slave of Dārā Shikoh), and "al-Bukhārī" (the resident of Bukhārā). It was transcribed at Kābul in the year 1062 A.H. (1652 A.D.) when the prince was undertaking the siege of Qandahār.

No. 6.—A *Himāyal* (or small *Qurān*) with three double-page profusely ornamented '*unwāns*' and the interlineal spaces adorned throughout with gold.

<sup>1</sup> The author of *Tadhkirah-i-Khushnavīsān* (p. 24) places the death of Yāqūt in the year 698 A.H. (1298-99 A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> *Mīrat-i-Aftāb Numā* by Shāh Nawāz Khān (manuscript copy in the possession of the author), folios 134(a) and (b).

<sup>3</sup> Title-page or frontispiece of a book generally gilded and highly ornamented.

<sup>4</sup> Dārā Shikoh was the eldest son of Shāhjahān, for his account see No. 41.

It does not bear the date or the name of the scribe, but is traditionally related to have been written by Ḥaddād. It is a family relic of the present writer to whom it belongs, but has been noticed here since there is no specimen of Ḥaddād's writing in the Delhi Museum collection.

‘Abdu-l-Bāqī, better known as Ḥaddād, was invited from his native country Persia, by Aurangzeb towards the close of the reign of the emperor Shāhjahān (1628-58 A.D.). On his arrival in India he presented several of his writings including a *Qurān* on 30 leaves, to the royal inspection, and was given the title of “Yāqūt Raqam.”<sup>1</sup> The author of *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān* says that he saw a copy of the *Qurān* transcribed by Ḥaddād on 30 leaves, and adds that he was matchless in *Khat-i-Khafī* (thin writing), which in spite of its fineness had the characteristic of being so distinct as to be clearly readable by all, whether young or old.<sup>2</sup> The *Himāyal* under notice is an excellent specimen of *Khat-i-Khafī*. Ḥaddād returned to his native country, but he left many pupils who maintained his style very late in India.

No. 7.—An illuminated *waslī* written by ‘Alī Akbar, the son of ‘Abdul Bāqī Ḥaddād.

No. 8.—A *waslī* adorned with gold and written by ‘Alī Asghar, another son of ‘Abdu-l-Bāqī Ḥaddād.

No. 9.—A *Qurān* with a double-page *unwān* written by Muḥammad ‘Arif Yāqūt Raqam Khān and dated 1080 A.H. (1669-70 A.D.).

Muḥammad ‘Arif entitled Yāqūt Raqam Khān was a native of Hirāt and the best of the pupils of ‘Abdu-l-Bāqī Ḥaddād in India. He was instructor of the sons of the emperor Aurangzeb who learnt *Naskh* writing from him and *Nasta‘līq* from Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī Jawāhir Raqam (see No. 40). The author of *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān* (folio 4a) writes that he saw illuminated copies of the *Qurān* and *Panj Sūra*<sup>3</sup> transcribed excellently by the princes after Muḥammad ‘Arif's style. The title of Yāqūt Raqam Khān is said to have been conferred upon him by the emperor Shāh ‘Ālam Bahādur Shāh.<sup>4</sup>

No. 10.—A *waslī* written with red ink and sparingly adorned with gold. It was transcribed by ‘Ibādullah, sister's son and pupil of Muḥammad ‘Arif Yāqūt Raqam Khān.<sup>5</sup>

No. 11.—A *waslī* written by Qāzī ‘Iṣmatullah who was a pupil of Muḥammad ‘Arif Yāqūt Raqam Khān (see No. 9). The Qāzī achieved greater fame for his skill in calligraphy than his teacher and wrote both *Khafī* (thin) and *Jalī* (bold) with surpassing excellence. He died in 1186 A.H. (1772-73 A.D.).<sup>6</sup>

No. 12.—A *waslī* written by Faizullah, who was the elder brother of Qāzī ‘Iṣmatullah and a very good hand in *Naskh*.<sup>7</sup> The name of his teacher is

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 4(a).

<sup>3</sup> A collection of five *Sūras* of the *Qurān*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 126, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 127, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 4(a); *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*.

not known; possibly like his brother he was a pupil of Muḥammad ‘Ārif Yāqūt Raqam Khān.

No. 13.—A *waṣṣī* written by Sayyid Imām ‘Alī Rizvī who was one of the calligraphists in the service of the crown prince Mirzā Abū Zafar afterwards known as Bahādur Shāh II. He wrote after the style of Qāzī ‘Iṣmatullah<sup>1</sup> (see No. 11).

No. 14.—An illuminated *waṣṣī* written by Jalālu-d-Dīn Rizvī, the son of Sayyid Imām ‘Alī Rizvī. He followed the style of his father, like whom he was in the service of the crown prince Mirzā Abū Zafar.<sup>2</sup>

No. 15.—A *waṣṣī* partly in *Naskh* and partly in *Tughrā* written by Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughal emperor of Delhi (1837-57 A.D.). He was much interested in calligraphy and could write several scripts, but had special tact in *Naskh* which he wrote after the style of Qāzī ‘Iṣmatullah.<sup>3</sup> It is related that His Majesty had many pupils in calligraphy, each of whom, like his pupils in poetry and his disciples in *Sūfīsm*, received a monthly allowance of Rs. 3 from the royal court.

No. 16.—A *waṣṣī* adorned with gold and written by Muhammad Humāyūn, who is related to have been a prince of the royal Mughal family, living about the middle of the last century.

No. 17.—A prayer book with a double-page *‘unwān* and the interlineal spaces throughout adorned with gold. It was written by Āqā Mir Ḥusain of Shīrāz and is dated 1249 A.H. (1833-34 A.D.).

No. 18.—A *waṣṣī* written by ‘Abdu-r-Raḥmān.

No. 19.—A *waṣṣī* written by Asad ‘Alī.

No. 20.—A *waṣṣī* written by Shamsu-d-Dīn ‘Āṣī.

No. 21.—A book of prayers, entitled *Ṣaḥīfa-i Kāmīla*, with illuminated borders.

### SPECIMENS OF THE NASTA‘LĪQ CHARACTER.

No. 22.—A *waṣṣī* written by Mīr ‘Alī, possibly Mīr ‘Alī of Tabrīz, who was a contemporary of Amīr Tīmūr (1369-1404 A.D.). He was the most famous calligraphist, who added a great deal to the development of the *Nasta‘liq* style by laying down principles for it, and it is for this reason that he is given by some the credit of inventing that style.<sup>4</sup>

No. 23.—An illuminated *waṣṣī* written by Sultān ‘Alī. Several calligraphists of this name are known to have flourished in Persia, of whom Maulānā Sultān ‘Alī of Mashhad has been the most famous in India, and it is not improbable that this *waṣṣī* is his work. Abu-l-Fazl says that Sultān ‘Alī of Mashhad surpassed all calligraphists in *Nasta‘liq*. He imitated the writing of Maulānā Aẓhar, a pupil of Mīr ‘Alī (see No. 22), though he did not learn it from him personally. Six of his pupils are well-known, *viz.*, Sultān Muhammad

<sup>1</sup> *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 5(a); *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 4(b).

<sup>4</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 48-49; *Āin-i-Akbari*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 101.



Khandān, Sultān Muḥammad Nūr (see No. 24), Maulānā ‘Alāu-d-Dīn of Hirāt, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn of Nīshāpūr, Maulānā ‘Abdī of Nīshāpūr and Muḥammad Qāsīm Shādī Shāh, each of whom possessed some distinguishing qualities. Authorities differ about the date of his death, which took place according to some in 902 A.H. (1496-97 A.D.), while others place it in 910 A.H. (1504-5 A.D.) and in 919 A.H. (1513-14 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

No. 24.—An illuminated *waṣṭī* written by Sultān Muḥammad Nūr, who was one of the six prominent pupils of Maulānā Sultān ‘Alī of Mashhad.<sup>2</sup>

No. 25.—An illuminated *waṣṭī* written by Mīr ‘Alīu-l-Kātib, who was a Sayyid by caste and a native of Hirāt. He was an accomplished scholar and an excellent poet, but his greatest fame is due to his skill in penmanship. He gave a new impetus to the art of calligraphy on which subject he composed two books entitled “*Rasmu-l-Khaṭ*” and “*Khaṭ-u-Sawād*.” Abu-l-Faḥl makes the following remarks about him: “Besides these, there is a great number of other good calligraphists, who are famous for their skill in Nastā’līq as Maulānā Sultān ‘Alī of Qāyīn<sup>3</sup>; Maulānā Sultān ‘Alī of Mashhad<sup>4</sup>; Maulānā Hijrānī<sup>5</sup> and after them the illustrious Maulānā Mīr ‘Alī, the pupil, as it appears, of Maulānā Zainuddīn. He brought his art to perfection by imitating the writing of Sultān ‘Alī of Mashhad. The new method which he established is a proof of his genius; he has left many master-pieces. Some one asked him once what the difference was between his writing and that of the Maulānā.<sup>6</sup> He said, ‘I have brought his writing to perfection; but yet his method has a peculiar charm.’”<sup>7</sup> The emperor Jahāngīr is related to have possessed a very fine and authentic collection of the specimens of his writing. Mīr ‘Alīu-l-Kātib lived for some time in the court of ‘Abdullah Khān Uzbek as an instructor of his son Momin Khān, but as the climate of Bukhārā did not suit his health, he secured permission to leave it on pretence of going abroad to see the world. He died in the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.).<sup>8</sup>

No. 26.—*Tīmūr Nāmah*, or the history of Tīmūr, by Maulānā ‘Abdullah Hātīfī, with an illuminated heading and five miniatures in Persian style and dated 892 A.H. (1487 A.D.).

No. 27.—*Bostān* of Sa’dī with a double-page *unwān* and dated 944 A.H. (1537 A.D.). It bears at the end a seal impression of Rāi Kūnwar Sain,

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkirah-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 42-43; *Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, pp. 101-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Maulānā Sultān ‘Alī of Qāyīn was an instructor of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā’s children and died in 914 A.H. (1508-9 A.D.).

<sup>4</sup> See No. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Maulānā Hijrānī was a friend of Amīr ‘Alī Sher, the prime-minister of Sultān Ḥusain Mirzā. He died in 921 A.H. (1515-16 A.D.).

<sup>6</sup> Maulānā Sultān ‘Alī of Mashhad.

<sup>7</sup> *Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Tadhkirah-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 49-54. Some authorities place the death of ‘Alīu-l-Kātib in the year 951 A.H. (1544-45 A.D.) and 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) (see Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum by Charles Rieu, vol. II, p. 531).

who seems to have been the keeper of the wardrobe to Shāh 'Ālam II, with an endorsement that it was placed in the royal wardrobe.

No. 28.—*Dīwān-i Ḥāfiẓ* with an 'unwān written by 'Ināyatullah of Shīrāz and dated 985 A.H. (1577-78 A.D.). Like No. 27 it has also at the end a seal impression of Rāi Kūnwar Sain with the same endorsement.

No. 29.—*Shāh Nāmāh* of Firdausī written in four gold-ruled columns with a double-page 'unwān and numerous miniatures in Persian style. It does not bear the date of transcription, but on the flyleaf there are a few endorsements referring to its purchase dated as early as 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

No. 30.—An illuminated *waṣṣī* written by Shāh Mahmūd of Nishāpūr. He is mentioned by Abu-l-Faẓl among the calligraphists famous for their skill in *Nasta'īq*.<sup>1</sup>

No. 31.—A *waṣṣī* written by Muḥammad Ḥusain Zarrīn Qalam, a native of Kashmīr and the court calligraphist of the emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.). Abu-l-Faẓl (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, pp. 102-3) writes about him as follows: "The artist who, in the shadow of the throne of His Majesty, has become a master of calligraphy, is Muḥammad Ḥusain of Kashmīr. He has been honoured with the title of *Zarrīnqalam*, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Maulānā 'Abdu-l-'Azīz; his *Maddāt* and *Dawā'ir*<sup>2</sup> shew everywhere a proper portion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā Mīr 'Alī."<sup>3</sup>

No. 32.—A *waṣṣī* written by Muḥammad 'Alī, the son of Muḥammad Ḥusain Zarrīn Qalam. He wrote as excellently as his father, and had a special skill in *Khaṭ-i-Jalī*.<sup>4</sup>

No. 33.—An illuminated *waṣṣī* written by Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz, who was a famous calligraphist and teacher of the celebrated 'Imād.<sup>5</sup> (See No. 35.)

No. 34.—An illuminated *waṣṣī* written by Muḥammad Ḥusain, Al-Kātib who is probably the same as Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz.

No. 35.—An illuminated *waṣṣī* written by 'Imād. Mīr 'Imād al-Ḥasanī, a native of Qazwīn, was the most celebrated Persian calligraphist of the Ṣafvī period. He led the simple life of a dervish at Iṣfahān and never cared for rank or wealth. A story is told that Shāh 'Abbās I of Persia once offered him 70 Tūmāns (a Persian gold coin) expressing a desire that he should transcribe a copy of the *Shāhnāmāh* for him. A year after, when an enquiry was made if the book was finished, he sent to the emperor the first 70 verses of the work with a message that the amount granted by His Majesty covered the wages for transcribing as many lines only. The emperor being displeased rejected the transcribed pages and made a demand for the return of the money. Mīr 'Imād forthwith cut asunder those lines and

<sup>1</sup> *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> By *Maddāt* (extensions) calligraphists mean letters like پ, ج and by *Dawā'ir* (curvatures) letters like و, ز

<sup>3</sup> For specimens of the writing of Mullā Mīr 'Alī, better known as 'Alī-l-Kātib, see No. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Tadhkirat-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102.

distributed them among 70 of his pupils, who readily contributed a Tūmān each, and provided the required money. The emperor, who had also entertained malice against the calligraphist on account of his *Sunnī* faith,<sup>1</sup> was greatly enraged, and addressing one of his officers named Manṣūr said, "Is there no one to kill this *Sunnī*?" Next morning when 'Imād was going for a bath to the *Ḥammām*, he was murdered by Manṣūr. It is said that he had been informed of the emperor's hostile intention, and in order to appease his wrath had composed and transcribed an apology, which he intended to submit personally after his bath. The apology is in verse and runs as follows:—

( ۱ ) يك يك هذرم بين رگنه ده ده بخش هر جرم كه رفت حسبه لله بخش  
( ۲ ) ار باد غضب آتش كين را مفرز ما را بسر خاك رسول الله بخش

*Translation.*

1. "Mark my virtues, one by one, and forgive my ten faults for each. Pardon for the sake of God all the crimes I have committed.

2. Do not inflame the fire of enmity with the breath of wrath, but forgive me for the sake of the tomb of the prophet."

'Imād was a pupil of Muhammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz,<sup>2</sup> and followed the style of 'Aliu-l-Kātib which he developed to perfection. The specimens of his writing were held in high estimation in India. The emperor Shāhjahān is related to have taken such a fancy for 'Imād's writing that at the beginning of his reign he used to bestow the rank of one hundred on any one who brought him a specimen of his work. Mīr 'Imād was murdered in the year 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

No. 36.—*Chihal Majlis*, a book on *Sūfīism*, by 'Alāu-d-Daulah Samnānī, with an illuminated heading and two miniatures. The manuscript is dated 1020 A.H. (1611-12 A.D.) and was transcribed at Agra by 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, entitled *Roshan Qalam* (bright pen). On the fly leaves at the beginning and end there are several seal marks and endorsements, the most important of the former being those of the emperors Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. One of the endorsements is by Shāhjahān, which is dated 8th of Jumāda II of the year 1037 A.H. (14th February 1628 A.D.) and refers to the receipt of the manuscript in the Imperial Library.

'Abdu-r-Raḥīm was a famous calligraphist of the court of Jahāngīr. He had also the title of '*Anbarīn Qalam* (Ambergris Pen) which seems to have been conferred upon him about the year 1022 A.H. (see No. 37).

No. 37.—An illuminated *waṣlī* dated 1022 A.H. (1613-14 A.D.) written by the same scribe, who assumes here the title of '*Anbarīn Qalam* (Ambergris pen) and also calls himself "Jahāngīr Shāhī" (the servant or slave of Jahāngīr).

<sup>1</sup> *Sunnī* is a sect of Muhammadans who believe the succession of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Uthmān and 'Alī to *Khilāfat* as just and lawful. It is distinguished from the *Shī'a* sect according to whose belief the first three califs were usurpers and 'Alī was the only one who had rightful claims to the *Khilāfat* after the demise of the prophet.

<sup>2</sup> *Āin-i-Akbarī*, English translation by Blochmann, vol. I, p. 102, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Tadhkirā-i-Khushnauīsān*, pp. 92-3; *Hālāt-i-Khushnauīsān*, folio 6(a).

No. 38.—An illuminated *waslī* written by 'Arab Shīrāzī. It is dated 1041 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.) and contains prayers for the king 'Abdullah, probably 'Abdullah Quṭb Shāh of Golkunda, who ruled 1020-1083 A.H. (1611-72 A.D.).

No. 39.—An illuminated *waslī* written by 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī, better known as Āqā. He was a sister's son and pupil of Mīr 'Imād (see No. 35), after whose murder he migrated to India during the reign of Shāhjahān and was taken into royal favour on account of his skill in penmanship. He was instructor of Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son and the crown prince of Shāhjahān. Zebu-n-Nisā, the talented daughter of the emperor Aurangzeb, is also related to have been one of his pupils. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd died at an advanced age in the year 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.) and was buried at Agra.<sup>1</sup>

No. 40.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 44b), a specimen of the writing of Sayyid 'Alī, Jawāhir Raqam. He was a native of Tabrīz but came to India during the reign of Shāhjahān, who conferred upon him the title of *Jawāhir Raqam* and appointed him instructor of the prince Aurangzeb. The latter during his reign made him instructor of his sons and Superintendent of the royal library. Jawāhir Raqam generally accompanied the royal retinue, and was with the emperor in the Deccan when he died of insanity in the year 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.). His corpse was brought to Delhi to be buried there. He wrote after the style of Mīr 'Imād (see No. 35) and showed great respect to 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī, there having been a close friendship between the two calligraphists.<sup>2</sup>

*Bayāz* means a note-book, and the volume under notice, which was compiled by Bakhtāwar Khān, contains a collection of numerous original compositions and extracts from standard Persian works transcribed by various well known calligraphists of his time. From the chronogram, contained in the *Bayāz* (see Nos. 46 and 48), it is inferred that it was compiled during the years 1082 A.H. (1671-72 A.D.) and 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.), but most of the passages bear dates which range between 1081 A.H. (1670-71 A.D.) and 1088 A.H. (1677-78 A.D.). It was, however, never finished, considerable space being left blank to be filled in, and on the folios 715b-718b is the chronology of Amīr Tīmūr and his descendants, continuing until the year 1119 A.H. (1707-8 A.D.). This was apparently inserted after the death of Bakhtāwar Khān which took place in 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.). The *Bayāz* is a very fine manuscript with gold border lines, some of its pages being gold-sprinkled and having illuminated headings.

Bakhtāwar Khān was a noble of the court of Aurangzeb. In the 10th year of the reign of that emperor he was promoted to the rank of one thousand, and in the 13th year was made Superintendent of eunuchs. He died on the 15th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal 1096 A.H. (19th February 1685 A.D.). The emperor had so much regard for him that he conducted personally his

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkirah-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 95-8; *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folios 6(a)-7(b).

<sup>2</sup> *Tadhkirah-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 56-58.

funeral prayer, and followed his bier for some paces.<sup>1</sup> He was the founder of a *sarāī* known after him in Delhi, and was the author of a historical work entitled *Mirat-i-Ālam*, the preface of which has been copied in the *Bayāz*.

No. 41.—An illuminated *waṣṭī* written by the prince Dārā Shikoh. It is dated 1041 A.H. (1631-32 A.D.) and is recorded to have been transcribed for the *Ṣadru-s-Ṣadūr* (Chief Judge) Mūsivī Khān.

Dārā Shikoh was the eldest son and crown prince of Shāhjahān. In the year 1658 the emperor suddenly fell ill, and his condition having become precarious, Dārā Shikoh began to contrive measures for securing an easy succession to the throne, which resulted in a civil war among the sons of Shāhjahān. Dārā Shikoh was defeated by Aurangzeb and obliged to fly for his life towards Sindh, where he was captured by the chief of that country and brought to the presence of Aurangzeb. He was then exposed through all the principal places of Delhi and put to death by the order of Aurangzeb in the year 1659. The unfortunate prince was a great patron of art and letters, having made special studies of the Hindū religion which he endeavoured to reconcile with Islām. He caused Persian translations to be made of several Hindū religious works, and was himself author of a few books on his favourite subject of *Ṣufīsm*. He also enjoyed great fame for penmanship, and is related to have been one of the best pupils of ‘Abdu-r-Raṣhīd Dailmī (see No. 39).

Mūsivī Khān was a Sayyid of Mashhad. He was admitted to the court during the reign of Jahāngīr and gradually rose to the rank of two thousand and the office of Chief Judge of the whole Mughal empire in India. Shāhjahān, on his accession, reinstated him in his post and in the 5th year of his reign promoted him to the rank of four thousand.<sup>2</sup> In the 16th year of the reign of that emperor he was discharged from his office on the ground that he did not execute his duties satisfactorily, and a year later died on the 18th of Ṣafar 1054 A.H. (26th April 1644 A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

No. 42.—A *waṣṭī* written by the prince Shāh Shujā‘, the son of Ṣāhib Qirān-i-Thānī (Shāhjahān), with a remark that it was an imitation of the writing of his teacher, Mīr ‘Alī. It was a practice with calligraphists to take a well known penman for a model and imitate his writing until their style was formed on his. The remark in the *waṣṭī* refers to this practice, and the prince calls Mīr ‘Alī, who is probably Mīr ‘Alī of Tabrīz (see No. 22), or Mīr ‘Alī-l-Kātīb (see No. 25), his teacher in the sense that he imitated his style.

Shāh Shujā‘ was the second son of Shāhjahān, appointed governor of Bengal by his father. He also took a prominent part in the civil war between his brothers during the serious illness of Shāhjahān, and marched twice from his

<sup>1</sup> *Maūthir-i-Ālamgīrī* by Muḥammad Sāqī Musta‘id Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871), p. 253; *Elliot's History of India*, vol. VII, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Bādshāh Nāmah* by ‘Abdul Ḥamīd Lahaurī (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867-68), vol. I, part , pp. 181, 408-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Maūthir-i-Umarū* by Samsāmu-d-Daulah Shāh Na wāz Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888-91), vol. III, pp. 441-2.

province to try his luck for the throne. Ultimately in the year 1659 he was defeated by Aurangzeb and obliged to seek refuge in Arakan, where, some two years afterwards, he was put in a boat with all his family and sunk in the river by the order of the Rāja of that country.

No. 43.—Another specimen of the writing of Shāh Shujā' beautifully illuminated and transcribed on the back of the picture of that prince.

No. 44.—A *waslī* written by Muhammad Muqīm, a famous calligraphist of Shāhjahān's period. He lived in the Kālī Masjid at Delhi and had many pupils in calligraphy. He followed the style of Mīr 'Imād<sup>1</sup> (see No. 35).

No. 45.—A *waslī* written by 'Abdullah, who is probably the same as Hāfiẓ 'Abdullah of Shāhjahān's period.<sup>2</sup>

No. 46.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 702a), a *Qaṭ'a* dated 1082 A.H. (1671-72 A.D.) and written by Muhammad Amīn of Mashhad. It contains a chronogram of the compilation of the *Bayāz* composed by Bakhtāwar Khān<sup>3</sup> himself.

No. 47.—A *waslī* written by Muhammad Bāqir, who was a court calligraphist of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.). His writing was much appreciated by the emperor.<sup>4</sup>

No. 48.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 565b), a *Qaṭ'a* written by Muhammad Ismā'il, 'Āqil, containing a chronogram which gives 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.) as the date of the compilation of the *Bayāz*. He is probably the same as Hājji Ismā'il who was one of the court calligraphists of Aurangzeb, wrote *farmāns* of that emperor, and had the title of *Roshan Raqam* conferred upon him in the year 1096 A.H.<sup>5</sup> (1685 A.D.).

No. 49.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 64b), a specimen of the writing of Sayyid Ahmad, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 50.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 422b), a specimen of the writing of Muhammad Na'im of Isfahān, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 51.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 532b), a specimen of the writing of Muhammad Ṣādiq, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 52.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 542a), a specimen of the writing of Mīr Habībullah, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 53.—A *waslī* dated 1099 A.H. (1687-88 A.D.) written by Mūl Rāj.

No. 54.—A *waslī* dated 1112 A.H. (1700-01 A.D.) adorned with gold and written by Hidāyatullah. Zarrīn Raqam, who was a pupil of Sayyid 'Alī, Jawāhir Raqam (see No. 40) and court calligraphist of the emperor Aurangzeb. He held the post of the Superintendent of the royal library, and was instructor of the prince Kām Bakhsh, the youngest son of Aurangzeb, and several other princes of the royal blood. He died in the year 1118 A.H. (1706-07 A.D.).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> For Bakhtāwar Khān and his *Bayāz*, see No. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri* by Muhammad Sāqi Musta'id Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1871), p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 58; *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 8(a).

No. 55.—A *waslī* written by Nūrullah. There have been two calligraphists of this name: one Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah (see No. 62) and the other Shaiḫ Nūrullah who was a pupil of ‘Abdu-r Raḥīm, Farmān Nawīs<sup>1</sup> (the scribe of *farmāns*), and lived during the time of Aurangzeb. The *waslī* under notice is probably the work of the latter.

No. 56.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Muḥammad Afzal who was a native of Lahore and lived during the time of Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48 A.D.). He so closely imitated the style of ‘Abdu-r-Rashīd, Āqā (see No. 39), that he was called Āqā II.<sup>2</sup>

No. 57.—Ten precepts of Aristotle dated 1138 A. H. (1725-26 A.D.) and written by Afzalu-l-Ḥusainī, who flourished during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and had been instructor of Mīr Mannū, the son of I‘timādu-d-Daulah Qamru-d-Dīn Khān, the prime-minister of that emperor.<sup>3</sup>

No. 58.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Muḥammad Mūsā, a native of Sarhind. He followed the style of Mīr ‘Imād (see No. 35) and was one of the court calligraphists of Muḥammad Shāh<sup>4</sup> (1719-48 A.D.).

No. 59.—An illuminated *waslī* dated 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) and written by Muḥammad ‘Āqil.

No. 60.—An illuminated *waslī* dated 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.) and written by Muḥammad ‘Alī, who was a court calligraphist of the emperor Shāh ‘Ālam II. (1759-1806 A.D.) and the instructor of his son, the prince Kām Bakḥsh. He was a fine calligraphist and wrote after the style of ‘Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī<sup>5</sup> (see No. 39).

No. 61.—A *waslī* dated 1202 A.H. (1787-88 A.D.) and written by Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad ‘Alī, the son of Zarrīn Raqam. We know of only one calligraphist who had the title of Zarrīn Raqam, *viz.*, Hidāyatullah, the court calligraphist of Aurangzeb (see No. 54). but he died as early as 1118 A.H. (1706-7 A.D.) and if the scribe of this *waslī* was his son, he must have written it at a very advanced age.

No. 62.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah who was an excellent calligraphist following the style of ‘Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī (see No. 39). He lived at Lucknow during the time of Nawāb Aṣafu-d-Daulah of Oudh<sup>6</sup> (1775-97 A.D.).

No. 63.—A *waslī* adorned with gold and written by Tajammul Ḥusain Khān, who lived at Lucknow and was a pupil of Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah.<sup>7</sup> Elliot (*History of India*, vol. VIII, p. 413) remarks that in 1244 A. H. (1828-29 A.D.) Tajammul Ḥusain completed *Jinānu-l-Firdaus*, a historical work written by

<sup>1</sup> *Taḥkīra-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 63; *Ḥilāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 8(a).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60. *Idem*, folio 8(b).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* *Idem*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61. *Idem*, folio 9(a).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5. *Idem*, folio 3(a).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Mirzā Muḥammad Yūsuf, an incomplete copy of which was found by him in the library of his patron Mr. Montague Turnbull of the Civil Service.

No. 64.—A *waslī* adorned with gold and written by Sarab Sukh Rāī, who was a native of Lucknow and pupil of Ḥāfiẓ Nūrullah.<sup>1</sup>

No. 65.—A *waslī* written by Muḥammad Bāqir, Zarrīn Qalam (gold pen). We know of two calligraphists of this name: one a court calligraphist of the emperor Aurangzeb (see No. 47), and the other a native of Lucknow, who was father of Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain ‘Aṭā Khān (see No. 66) and famous for *Tughrā* writing; but neither of them are related to have had the title of *Zarrīn Qalam*. It is not improbable that the latter had this title, like his son, who was called *Muraṣṣa’ Raqam*.<sup>2</sup>

No. 66.—A *waslī* dated 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.) and written by Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain ‘Aṭā Khān, who was the son of Muḥammad Bāqir *Tughrā* Nawīs (scribe of *Tughrā*) and had the title of *Muraṣṣa’ Raqam*. He flourished during the reign of *Shujā’u-d-Daulah*, the Nawāb of Oudh (1753-1775 A.D.), at whose orders he made an Urdū translation of *Chahār Darwīsh*, a book of fiction containing the story of four dervishes.<sup>3</sup>

No. 67.—A *waslī* dated 1202 and written by Abū Muḥammad Ismā‘il Sabz-wārī, who was a pupil of Muḥammad Ḥafīẓ Khān, a celebrated calligraphist of Muḥammad *Shāh*’s period. He died insane at Delhi.<sup>4</sup>

No. 68.—A *waslī* written by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, who was a court calligraphist of Akbar *Shāh* II (1806-37 A.D.) and instructor of his sons.<sup>5</sup>

No. 69.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Mirzā Muḥammad Sulaimān *Shikoh*. There have been two *Mughal* princes of this name: one the eldest son of Dārā *Shikoh*, the son of the emperor *Shāhjahān* (see No. 41), and the other the son of *Shāh* ‘Ālam II who died in 1838 A.D., and the *waslī* seems to be the work of the latter. The name of the prince is in different handwriting, probably transcribed by his teacher.

No. 70.—An illuminated *waslī* dated 1257 A.H. (1841-42 A.D.) and written by Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr Rizvī, better known as Mīr Panjah *Kash*. He followed the style of ‘Abdu-r-Rashīd Dailmī (see No. 39) and was the most famous calligraphist of the later period.<sup>6</sup> He is said to have met his death at the age of 91 defending his house at the storming of Delhi by the British in 1857.

No. 71.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Āghā Mirzā, who was the most proficient pupil of Mīr Panjah *Kash* and died in 1274 A.H. (1857-58 A.D.).

No. 72.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Bahādur *Shāh* II, the last *Mughal* emperor (see No. 15).

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkirah-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 61-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 111-2; *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 9(b).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 72-3; *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 9(a).



No. 73.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Ḥāfiẓ ‘Ibādullah. A calligraphist of this name was a pupil of Mir Panjah Kash and court calligraphist of Bahādur Shāh II, but it is not known whether he was a Ḥāfiẓ. He had the titles of *I’jāz Raqam* and *Zamarrud Raqam*, and after the mutiny of 1857 was employed by the Rāja of Patiala.

No. 74.—A *waslī* adorned with gold and dated 1272 A.H. (1855-56 A.D.). It was written by Imām Verdī, who was a native of Persia but lived in Lahore about the middle of the 19th century A.D.

No. 75.—*Manāhiju-l-‘Ibādānu-l-Mī‘ād* with an illuminated heading and the interlineal spaces adorned throughout with gold, transcribed by Abu-l-Baqā al-Mūsivī. It is a work on Muḥammadan religion composed by Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, better known as Sa‘īd of Farghāna.

No. 76.—*Qirānu-s-Sa‘dain* of Amīr Khusrāu with an illuminated ‘*unwān*, written on gold-sprinkled paper by Muḥammad Yūsuf. The colophon containing the date of transcription and the name of the scribe has been mischievously blotted out by somebody, making the former quite indistinct.

No. 77.—*Lailā Majnūn* of Maulānā ‘Abdullah Hātifi and *Yūsuf Zulaiḳhā* of Maulānā ‘Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī (the latter written on the margin), with two double-page ‘*unwāns*, gold border lines and headings, and sixteen miniatures in Persian style.

No. 78.—*Maḥnawī of Maulānā Rūm* written in four gold-ruled columns with a double-page ‘*unwān*. On the last page there is a seal impression of ‘Abdu-s-Salām, the *Munṣarim* (keeper of the wardrobe) of the emperor ‘Ālamgīr II, with an endorsement referring to the entry of the manuscript in the royal wardrobe.

No. 79.—*Dīwān of Mullā Shāh Badakhshī* with an illuminated heading written on gold-sprinkled paper in four ruled columns. Mullā Shāh was a native of Badakhshān and a disciple of Mīān Mīr, the well known saint of Shāhjahān’s period. Prince Dārā Shikoh highly respected him and visited him on his tour to Kashmīr, where Mullā Shāh had taken his residence after the demise of Mīān Mīr.<sup>1</sup>

No. 80.—A *waslī* written by Aḥmad.

No. 81.—A *waslī* written by Muḥammad Fāzil.

No. 82.—A *waslī* written by ‘Ubaidullah, Shīrīn Raqam.

No. 83.—A *waslī* written by Sayyid Ṣafdar ‘Alī.

No. 84.—An illuminated *waslī* written by *Nādiru-l-‘Aṣr* (best of the age) Ustād Ḥaidar ‘Alī.

No. 85.—A *waslī* written by Ḥāmid ‘Alī.

No. 86.—A *waslī* written by ‘Abdu-l-Ghafūr.

No. 87.—A *waslī* adorned with gold and written by ‘Abbās.

No. 88.—An illuminated *waslī* written by Aḥmad Rizā.

No. 89.—A *waslī* adorned with gold and written by Muḥammad Subhān.

<sup>1</sup> *Bādakhsh Nāmah* by ‘Abdu-l-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1867-68), vol. I, part II, p. 233; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale, pp. 278-9.

SPECIMENS OF THE SHIKASTA SCRIPT.

No. 90.—A *farmān* illuminated and mounted on a piece of cardboard like a *waslī*. It is dated 868 A.H. (1464 A.D.) and bears a seal impression of Sultān Abū Sa'īd, the son of Sultān Muḥammad, who issued it in favour of Sayyid Shādi and Sayyid Sharfu-l-Mulk, confirming them as trustees of a shrine. Sultān Abū Sa'īd, who was the grand-father of the emperor Bābar, reigned from 1452 to 1467 A.D.

No. 91.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 504b), a specimen of the writing of Darāyat Khān, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period (1658-1707 A.D.). His real name was 'Abdullah and *Darāyat Khān* was the title conferred upon him by the emperor Aurangzeb. His father, Muḥammad Ja'far, had the title of Kifāyat Khān and descended from Muḥammad Ḥusain, who is supposed to have introduced the *Shikasta* writing into India.<sup>1</sup>

No. 92.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 16a), a specimen of the writing of Muḥammad Sa'īd Anṣārī, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 93.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 77a), a specimen of the writing of Nawāb Ashraf Khān, who was a noble of the court of the emperors Shāh-jahān and Aurangzeb. His real name was Mir Muḥammad Ashraf, and the title of Ashraf Khān was conferred upon him by Aurangzeb in the 4th year of his reign. He died in the year 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

No. 94.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 84b), a specimen of the writing of Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad, a pupil of Nawāb Ashraf Khān, dated 1081 A.H. (1671-2 A.D.).

No. 95.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 290a), a specimen of the writing of Sayyid Aḥmad (see No. 49) who was a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 96.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 550a), a specimen of the writing of Muḥammad Na'im of Iṣfahān (see No. 50), a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period. It is dated 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.).

No. 97.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 182a), a specimen of the writing of Mirzā Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Fiṭrat, a calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 98.—*Bayāz* of Bakhtāwar Khān (folio 584a), a specimen of the writing of an unknown calligraphist of Aurangzeb's period.

No. 99.—A *waslī* dated 1131 A.H. (1718-19 A.D.), and written by Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ḥusainī.

No. 100.—A *waslī* dated the 20th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1738 A.D.), and written by Murīd Khān Ṭabā Ṭabāi. Murīd Khān, whose real name was Muḥammad Ṣādiq, was a Sayyid by caste and a noble in the court of the emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48 A.D.). He was a good calligraphist, perfect in *Shikasta* writing, which he learnt from Darāyat Khān<sup>3</sup> (see No. 91).

<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 105-6; *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 11(a).

<sup>2</sup> *Maāthiru-l-Umarā* by Ṣamṣāmu-d-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888-91), vol. I, pp. 272-4; *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, p. 107; *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 11(b).

No. 101.—A *waslī* dated the 27th year of the reign of Shāh ‘Ālam II (1785 A.D.), and written by Imāmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan. He was a pupil of Rāi Prem Nāth, who in his turn was a pupil of Murīd Khān Tabā Tabāī.<sup>1</sup>

No. 102.—A *waslī* dated 1223 A.H. (1808-9 A.D.) and written by Ḥayāt ‘Alī, who was a pupil of Rāi Prem Nāth.<sup>2</sup>

### A SPECIMEN OF THE TUGHRĀ SCRIPT.

No. 103.—A *waslī* written by Abū Zafar Sirāju-d-Dīn Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughal emperor of Delhi (see No. 15). It may be noted that *Tughrā* is not an independent script, but is the name given to an ornamental writing in which the letters are so interwoven as to assume a decorative shape difficult to read.

### A SPECIMEN OF THE GHUBĀR SCRIPT.

No. 104.—*Qurān* dated 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.) and written by Ibrāhīm of Astrābād. Like “*Tughrā*”, “*Ghubār*” also is not an independent script, but denotes thin writing (*Ghubār* literally meaning “dust”). The *Qurān* under notice is transcribed on a strip of paper 22' 4" in length by 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in width. It is written in very minute letters, and forms the ground which sets in relief the larger central script consisting of the attributes of God and certain pious ejaculations. A space of 3' 5" at the beginning is ornamented with gilded scroll work, and here the *Qurān* is written in the body of the larger letter of the central script. On the margin are given the names of *Sūras* with the number of verses they contain, as well as the number of *Juz* or parts into which the *Qurān* is divided.

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<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pp. 113 and 114; *Hālāt-i-Khushnawīsān*, folio 12(a) and (b).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

*Idem*, folio 12(b).



‘Āqil (See Muḥammad Ismā‘īl)	
‘Arab <u>Shīrāzī</u> . . . . .	29, 11
Arḥāī-din-kā- Jhonprā mosque at Ajmer . . . . .	29, 1 footnote 4
Asad ‘Alī . . . . .	29, 7
Āṣafu-d-Daulah, Nawāb of Oudh . . . . .	29, 15
Ashraf <u>Khān</u> , Nawāb . . . . .	29, 17
Aurangzeb, emperor . . . . .	29, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17
Azhar, Maulānā . . . . .	29, 7
Aābar, emperor . . . . .	29, 3, 17
Bahādur <u>Shāh</u> II . . . . .	29, 7, 8, 15, 16, 18
Bakhtāwar <u>Khān</u> . . . . .	29, 11, 13
Bayāz of Bakhtāwar <u>Khān</u> . . . . .	29, 11, 12, 13, 17
Berchem, Van . . . . .	29, 1 footnote 4
Bostān of S‘adī . . . . .	29, 8
<u>Chihal</u> Majlis . . . . .	29, 10
Dārā <u>Shikoh</u> . . . . .	29, 3, 4, 5 and footnote 4, 11, 12, 15, 16
Darāyat <u>Khān</u> . . . . .	29, 17
Diwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ . . . . .	29, 9
Diwān of Mullā <u>Shāh Badakhshī</u> . . . . .	29, 16
Faiẓullah . . . . .	29, 6
<i>Farmān</i> of Sultān Abū Sa‘id . . . . .	29, 3, 17
Fīroz <u>Shāh</u> , emperor . . . . .	29, 5
Ghulām Muḥammad, Maulānā, Haft Qalamī of Delhi . . . . .	29, 3 footnote 1
Ḥabībullah, Mīr . . . . .	29, 13
Ḥaddād (See ‘Abdu-l-Bāqī)	
Ḥaidar ‘Alī, Nādiru-l-‘Asr Ustād . . . . .	29, 16
Halākū <u>Khān</u> . . . . .	29, 5
Ḥāmid ‘Alī . . . . .	29, 16
Ḥayāt ‘Alī . . . . .	29, 18
Hidāyatullah, Zarrīn Raqam . . . . .	29, 13, 14
Hijrānī, Maulānā . . . . .	29, 8
<i>Himāyal</i> . . . . .	29, 5, 6
‘Ibādullah . . . . .	29, 6
‘Ibādullah, Ḥāfiẓ, I‘jāz Raqam also called Zamarrud Raqam . . . . .	29, 16
Ibn-i-Muqlah . . . . .	29, 2 footnote 1
Ibrāhīm, Ḥāfiẓ . . . . .	29, 15
Ibrāhīm of Astrābād . . . . .	29, 18
I‘jāz Raqam (See ‘Ibādullah, Ḥāfiẓ)	
Imād-al-Ḥasanī, Mīr . . . . .	29, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14
Imām ‘Alī Rizvī, Sayyid . . . . .	29, 7
Imāmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan . . . . .	29, 18
Imām Verdi . . . . .	29, 16
‘Ināyatullah of <u>Shīrāz</u> . . . . .	29, 9
Ismā‘īl, Ḥājji (See Muḥammad Ismā‘īl)	
‘Ismatullah, Qāzī . . . . .	29, 6, 7
Jahāngīr, emperor . . . . .	29, 3, 8, 10, 12
Jalālu-d-Dīn (See Yāqūt-al-Musta‘ṣimī)	
Jalālu-d-Dīn Rizvī . . . . .	29, 7

Jawāhir Raqam (See Sayyid 'Alī)	
Kām Bak <del>h</del> sh, son of Aurangzeb . . . . .	29, 13
Kām Bak <del>h</del> sh, son of Shāh Ālam II . . . . .	29, 14
Kifāyat Khān . . . . .	29, 17
Kunwar Sain, Rāi . . . . .	29, 8, 9
Lailā Majnūn of Hātifi . . . . .	29, 16
Manāhijul-'Ibādānu-l-Mi'ād . . . . .	29, 16
Manşūr . . . . .	29, 10
Mathnawī of Maulānā Rūm . . . . .	29, 16
Miān Mir . . . . .	29, 16
Mir 'Alī of Tabrīz . . . . .	29, 2, 7, 8, 12
Mir Mannū . . . . .	29, 14
Mir Panjah Kash . . . . .	29, 15, 16
Momin Khān . . . . .	29, 8
Muḥammad Afzal Bukhārī . . . . .	29, 5
Muḥammad Afzal, Āqā II, of Lahore . . . . .	29, 14
Muḥammad 'Alī . . . . .	29, 9, 14
Muḥammad 'Alī Hāfiz . . . . .	29, 14
Muḥammad Amīn of Mashhad . . . . .	29, 13
Muḥammad Amīr Rizvī, Sayyid (Mir Panjah Kash) . . . . .	29, 15, 16
Muḥammad 'Āqil . . . . .	29, 14
Muḥammad 'Ārif, Yāqūt Raqam Khān . . . . .	29, 6, 7
Muḥammad Ashraf, Mir (See Ashraf Khān, Nawāb)	
Muḥammad Bāqir . . . . .	29, 13
Muḥammad Bāqir, Zarrīn Qalam, Tuḡhrā Nawīs . . . . .	29, 15
Muḥammad Fāzil . . . . .	29, 16
Muḥammad Hafīz Khān . . . . .	29, 15
Muḥammad Humāyūn . . . . .	29, 7
Muḥammad Ḥusain . . . . .	29, 17
Muḥammad Ḥusain al Kātib (See Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz)	
Muḥammad Ḥusain, 'Atā Khān, Mir, Muraşsa' Raqam . . . . .	29, 15
Muḥammad Ḥusain, Mirzā . . . . .	29, 3
Muḥammad Ḥusain of Tabrīz . . . . .	29, 9, 10
Muḥammad Ḥusain, Zarrīn Qalam of Kashmīr . . . . .	29, 9
Muḥammad Ismā'īl, 'Āqil, Roshan Raqam . . . . .	29, 13
Muḥammad Ja'far (See Kifāyat Khān)	
Muḥammad Muqīm . . . . .	29, 13
Muḥammad Mūsā . . . . .	29, 14
Muḥammad Na'im of Işfahān . . . . .	29, 13, 17
Muḥammad Qāsīm Shādī Shāh . . . . .	29, 8
Muḥammad Şādiq (See Murid Khān Tabā Tabāi)	
Muḥammad Sa'id Anşirī . . . . .	29, 17
Muḥammad Shāh, emperor . . . . .	29, 14, 15, 17
Muḥammad Subhān . . . . .	29, 16
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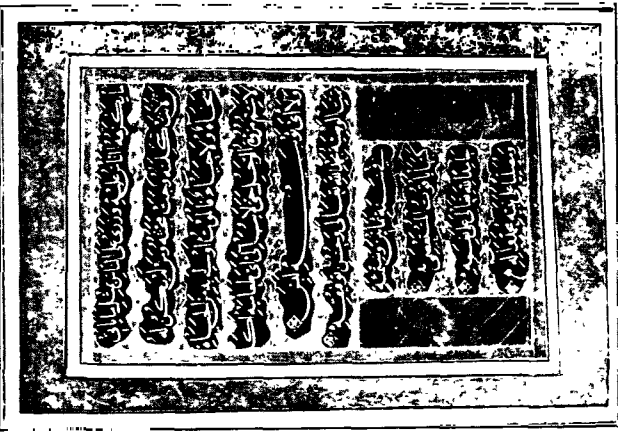
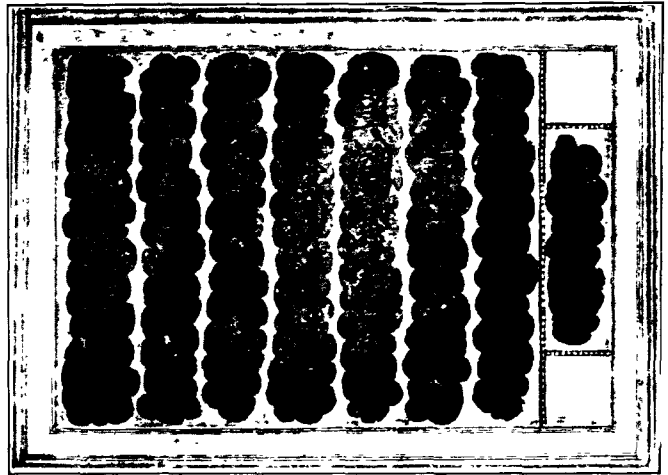
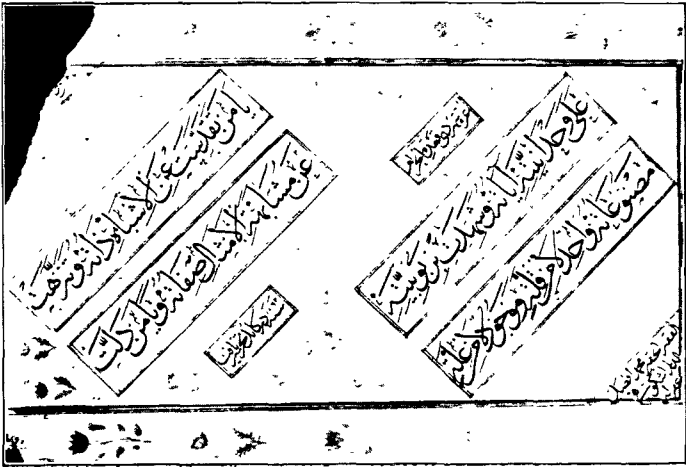
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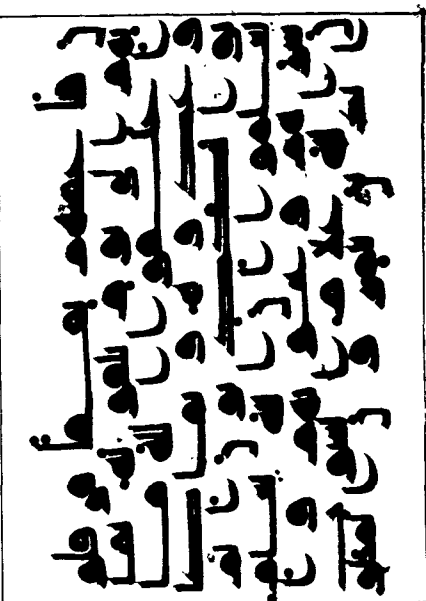
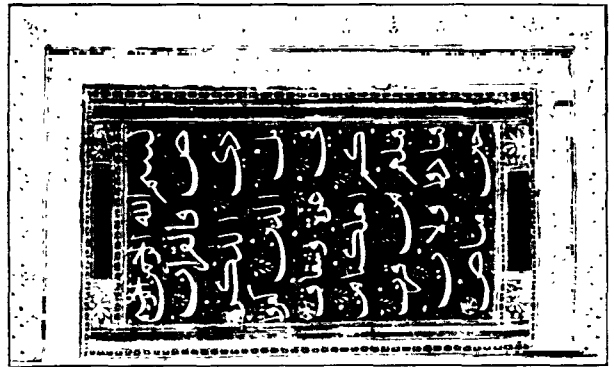
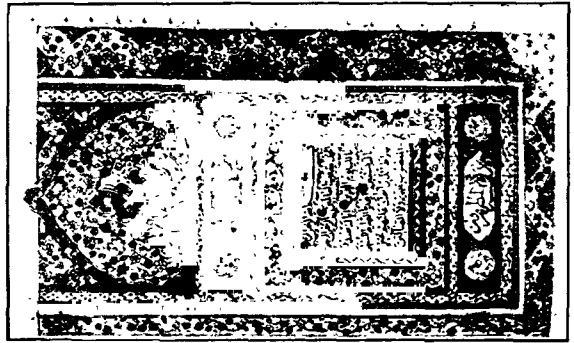
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③ Nasta'liq

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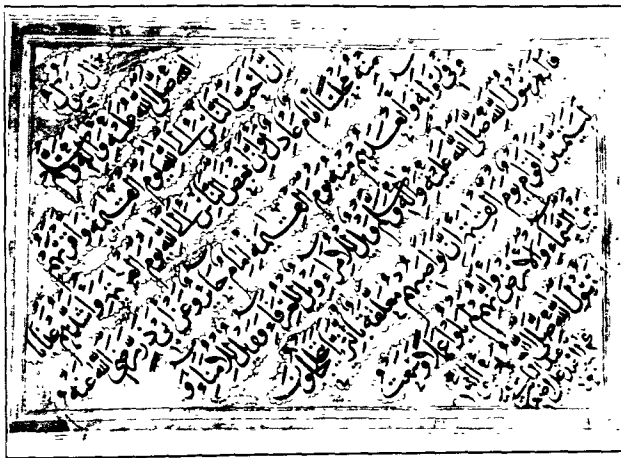
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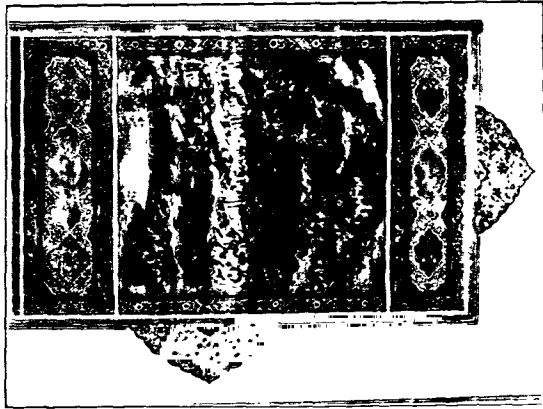


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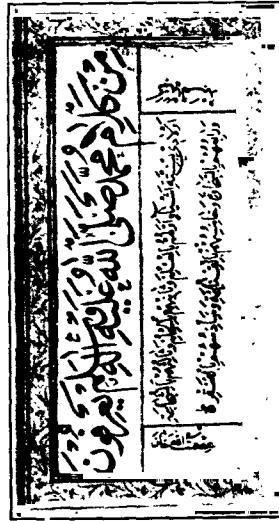
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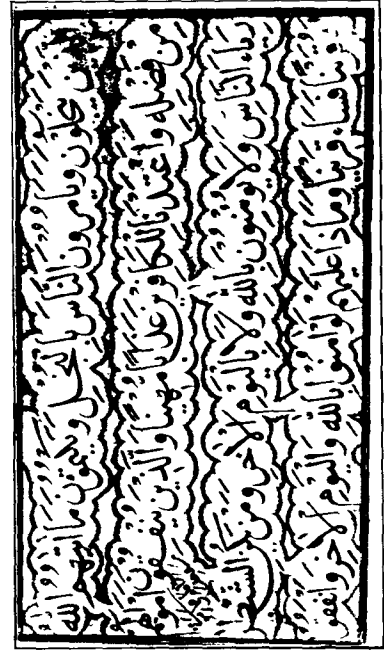
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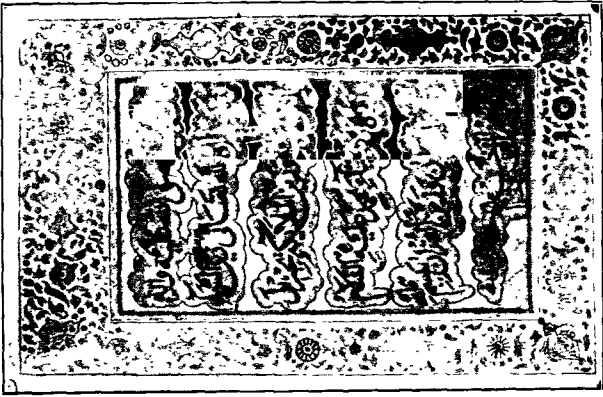


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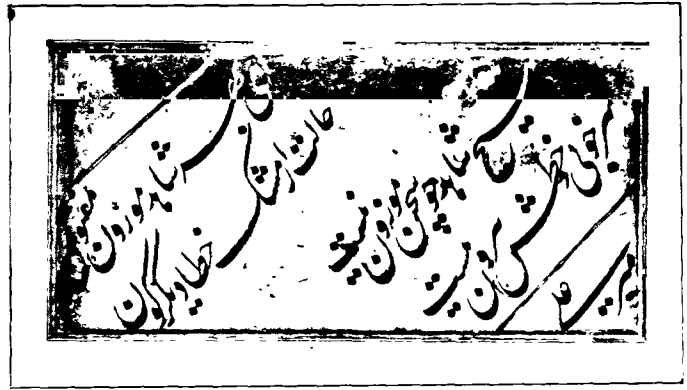


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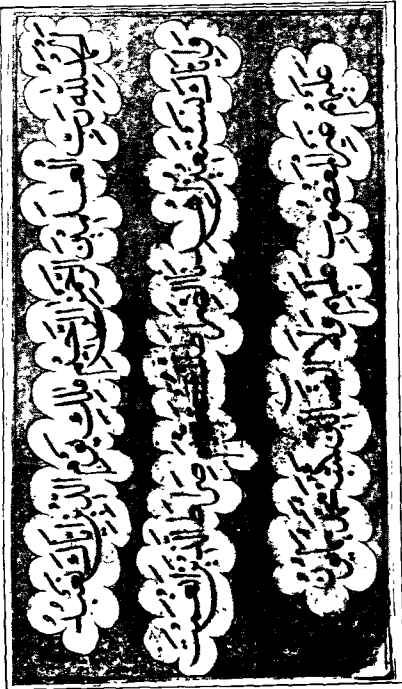




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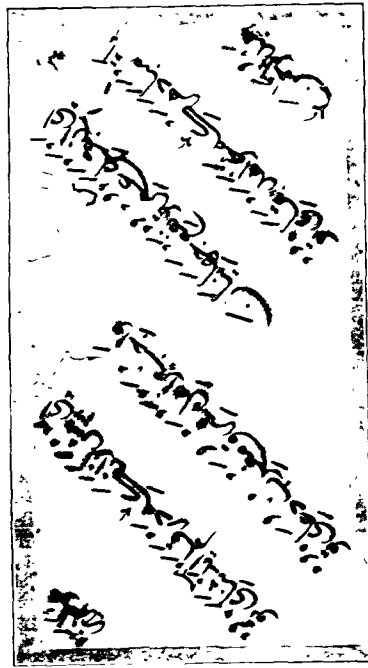


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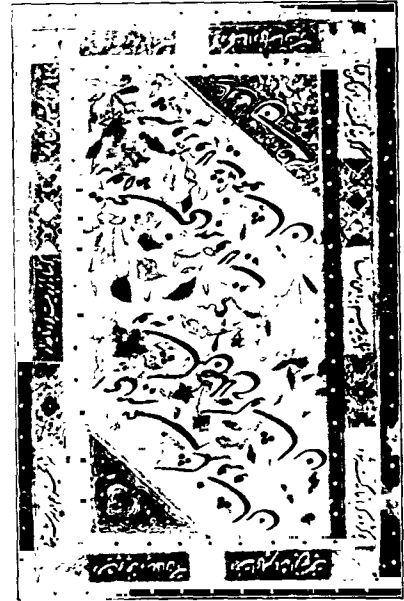


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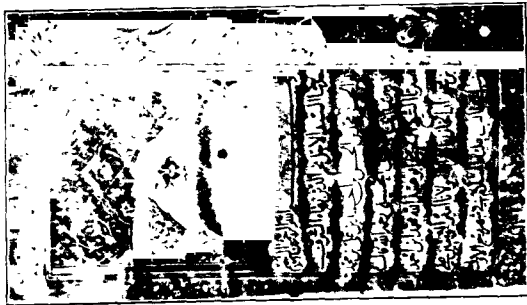


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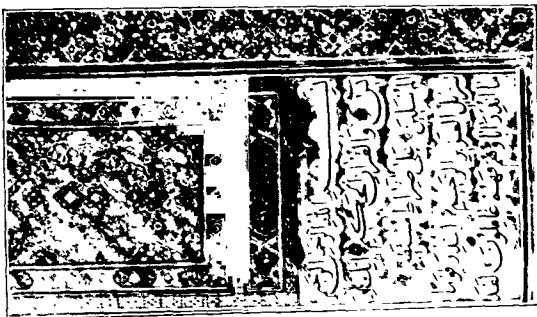


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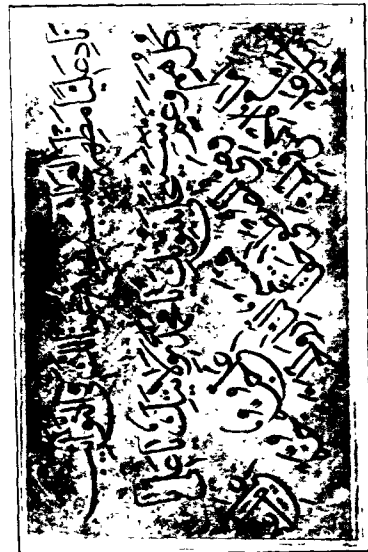
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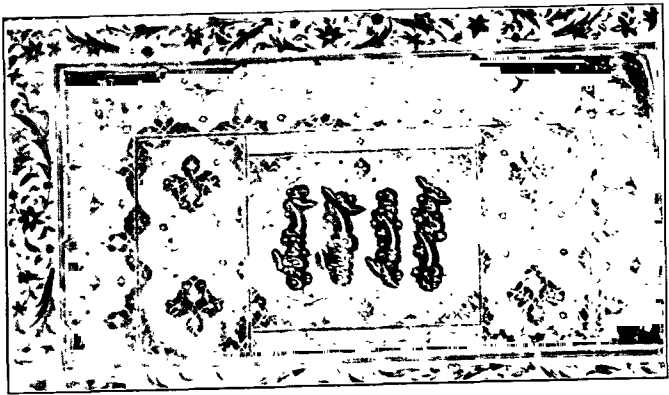




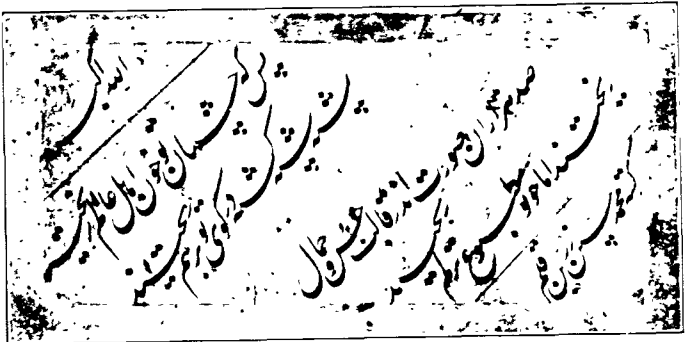
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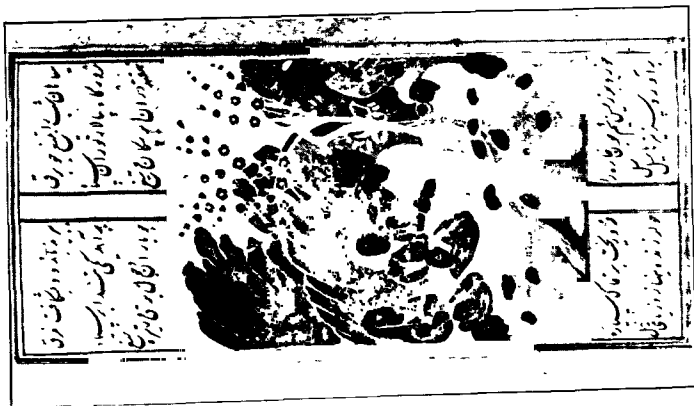
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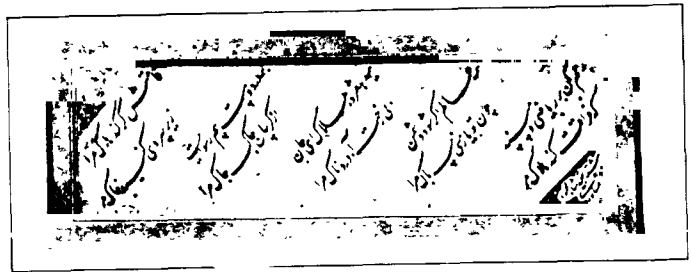
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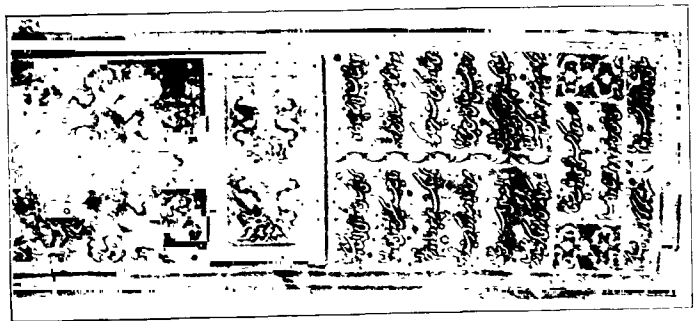
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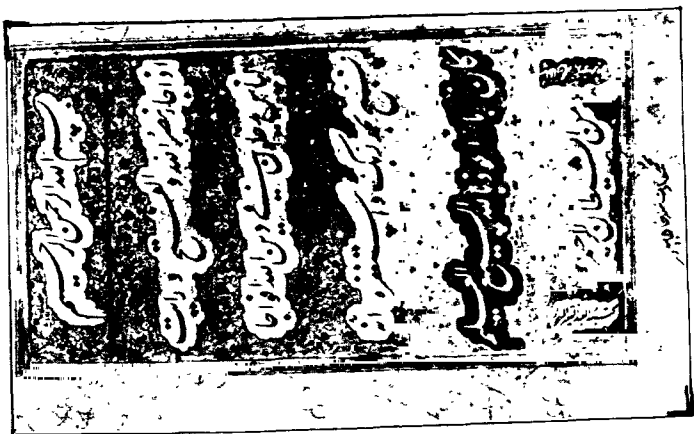
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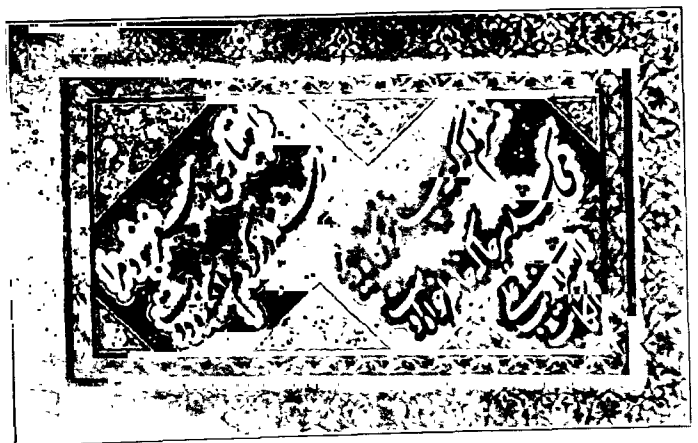


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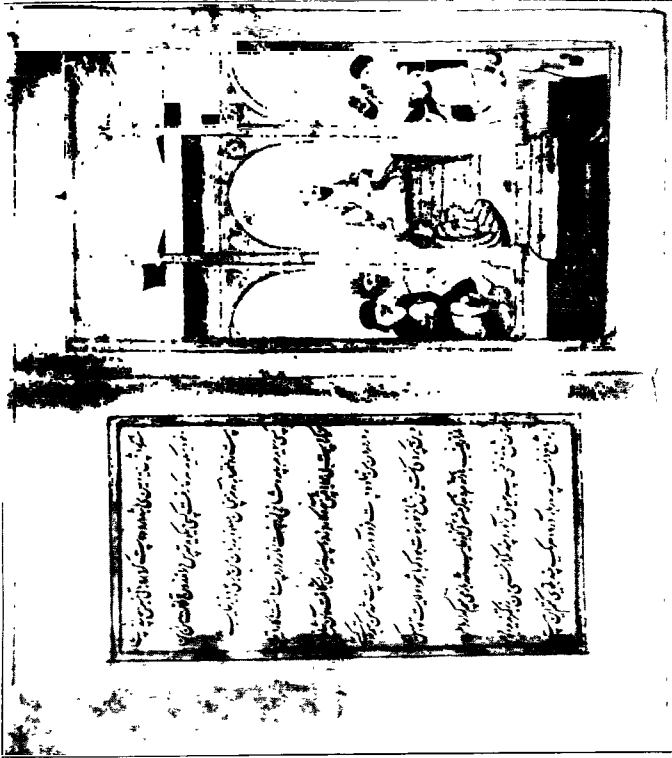
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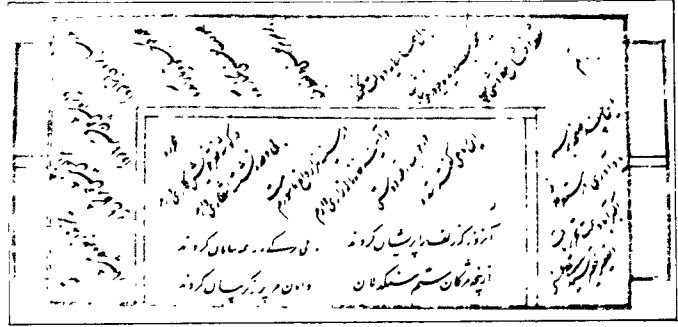
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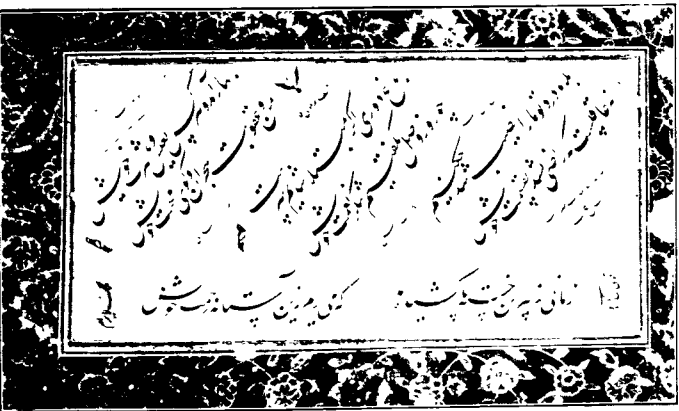
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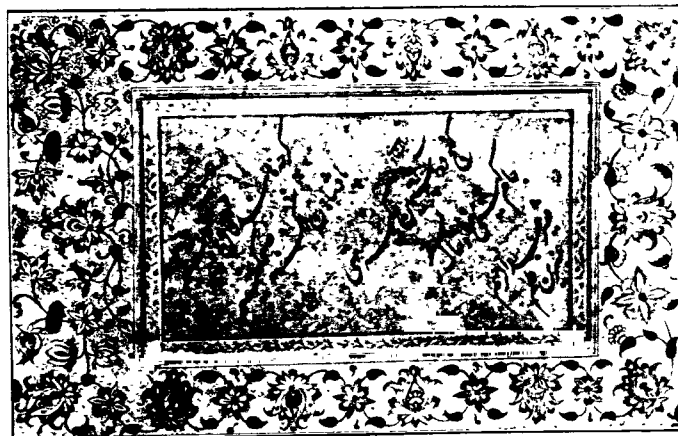
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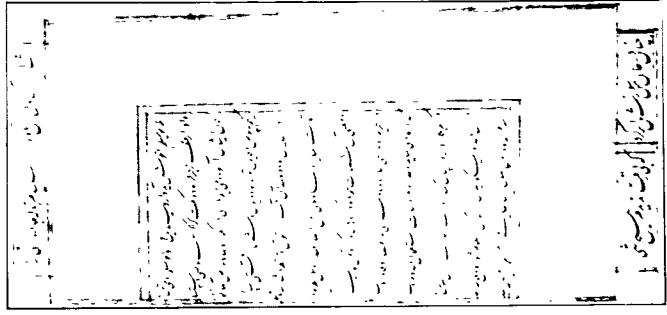


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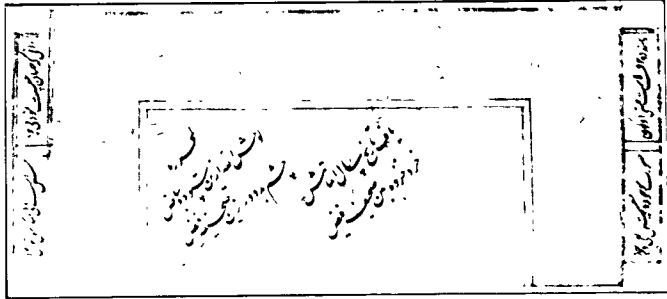
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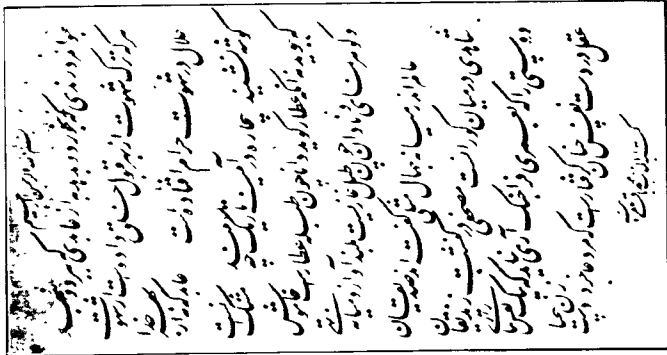
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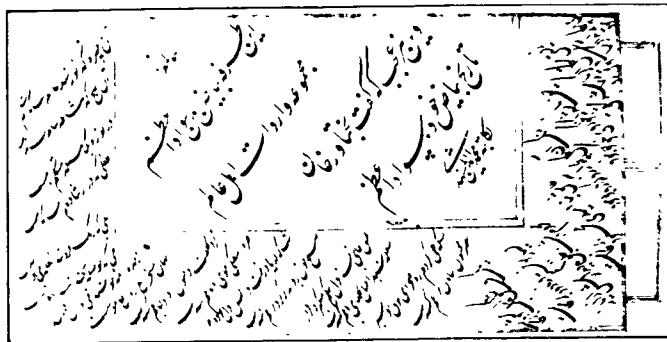
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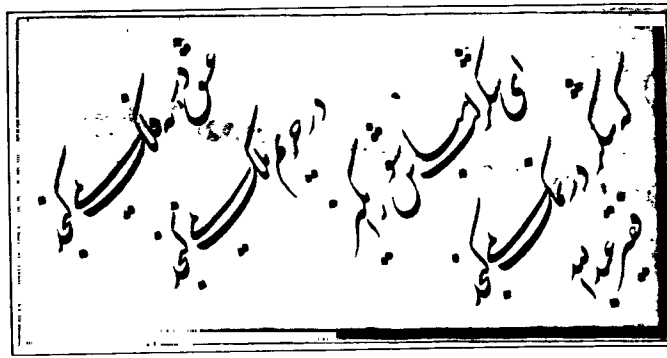
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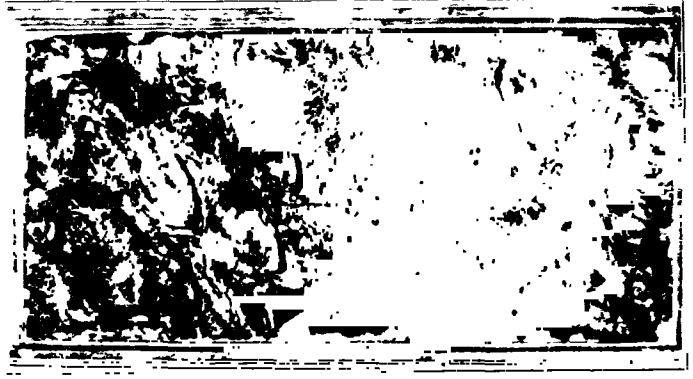


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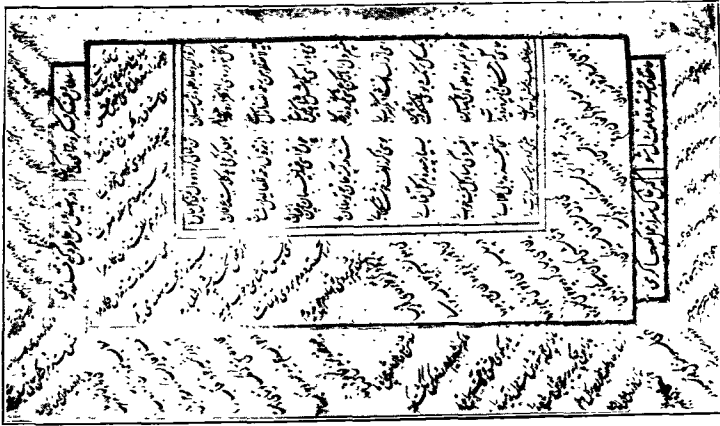




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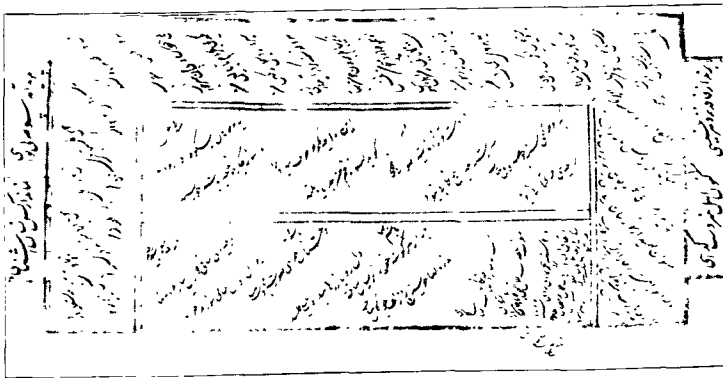
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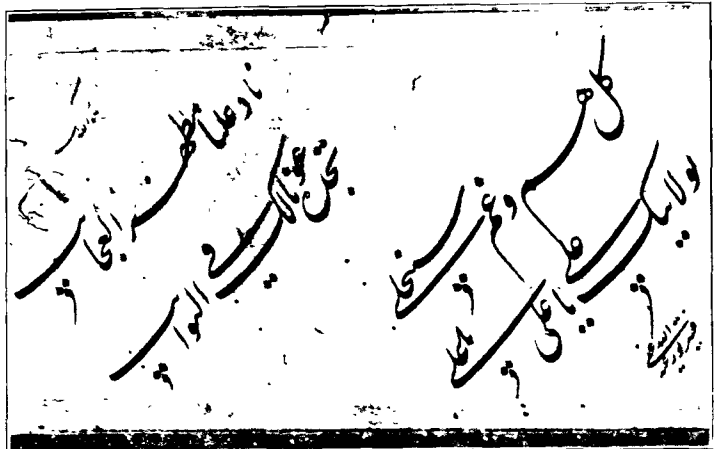
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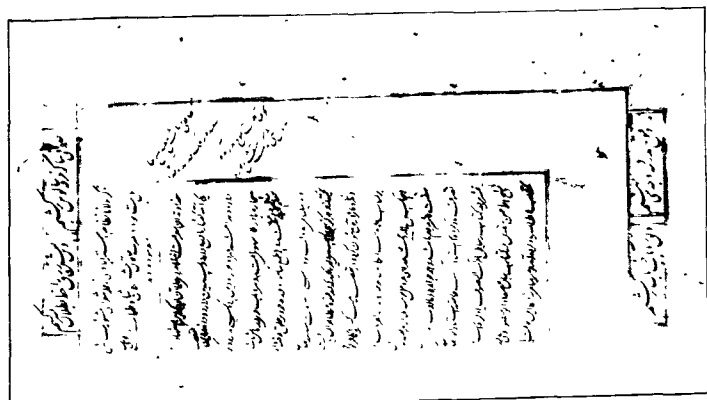
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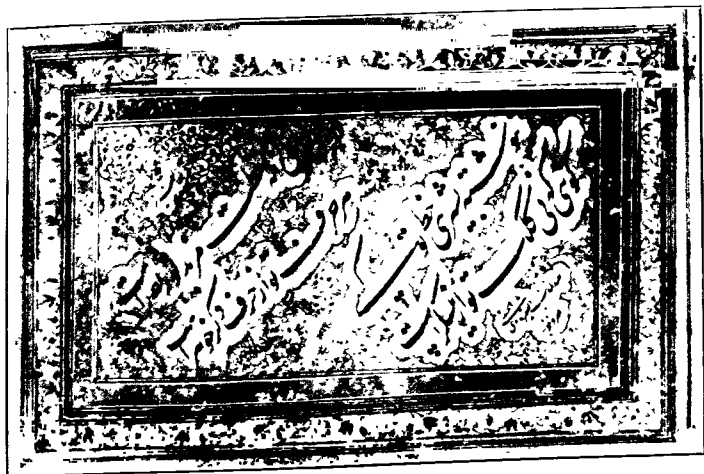
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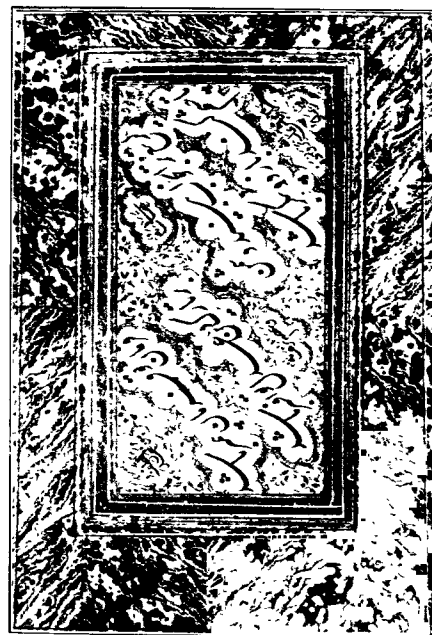
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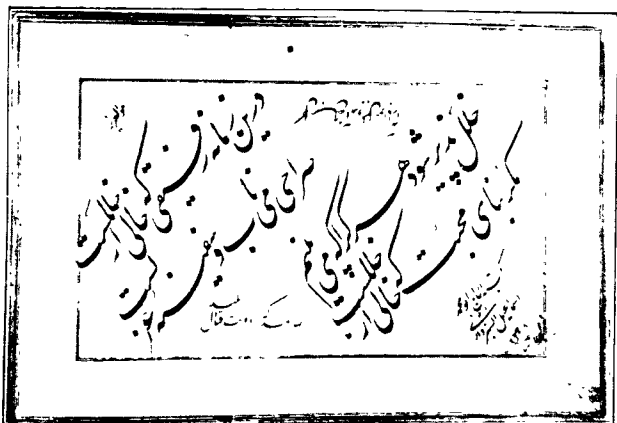
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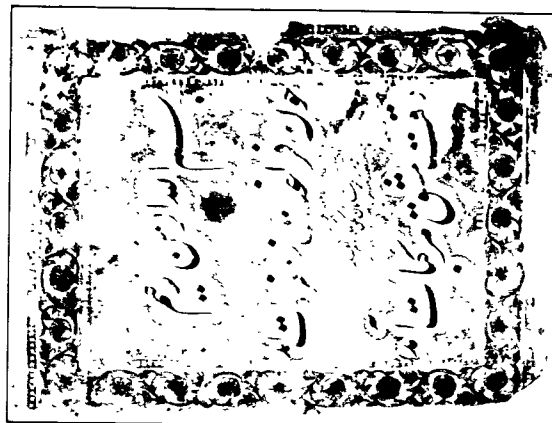
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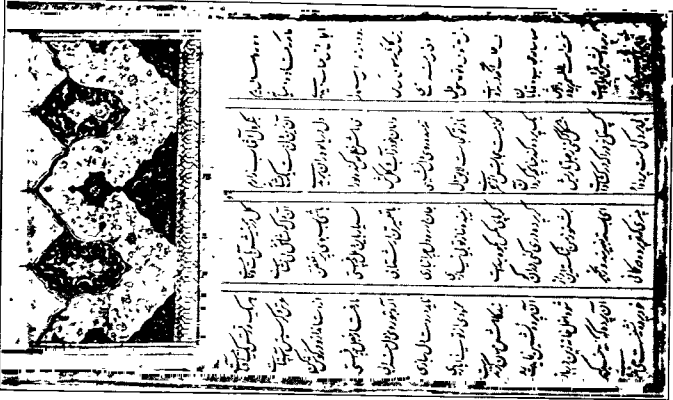
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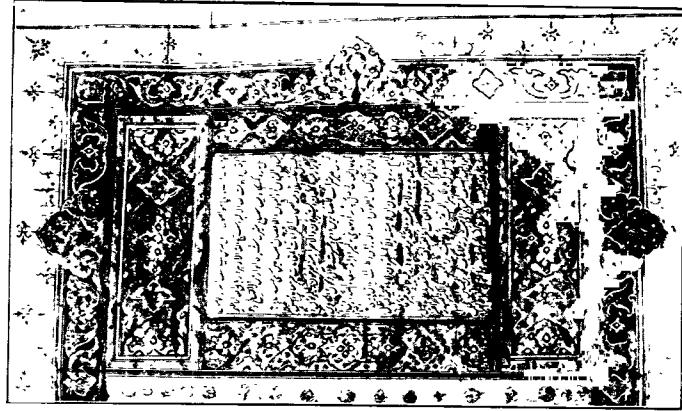
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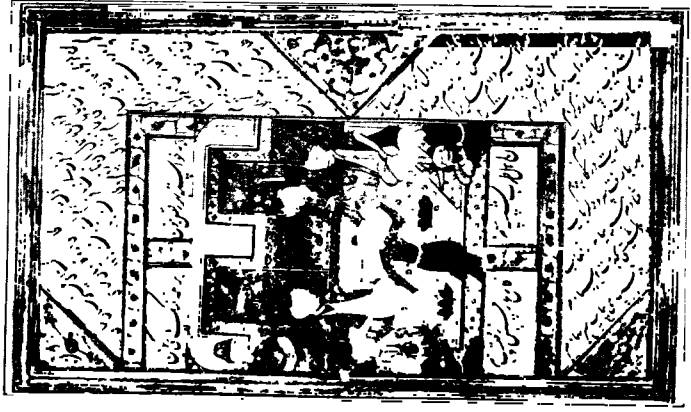
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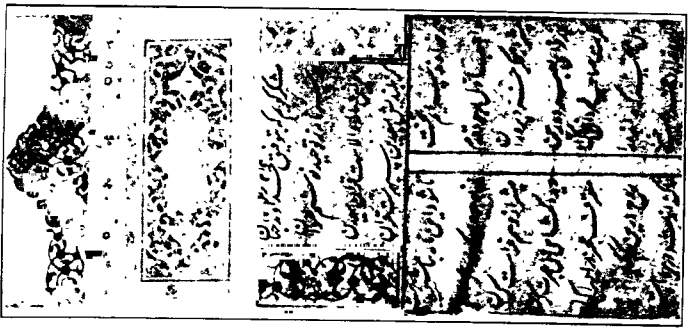
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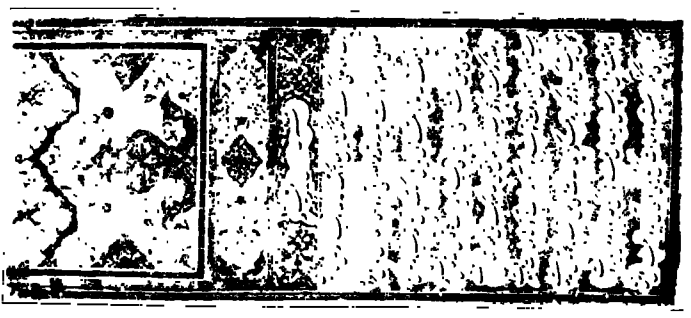
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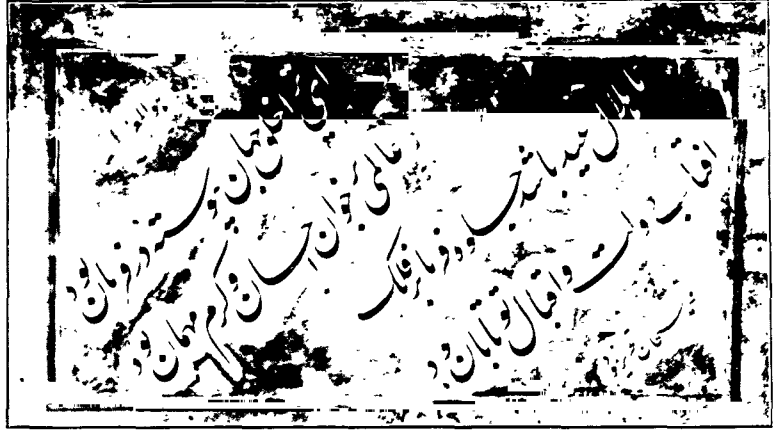
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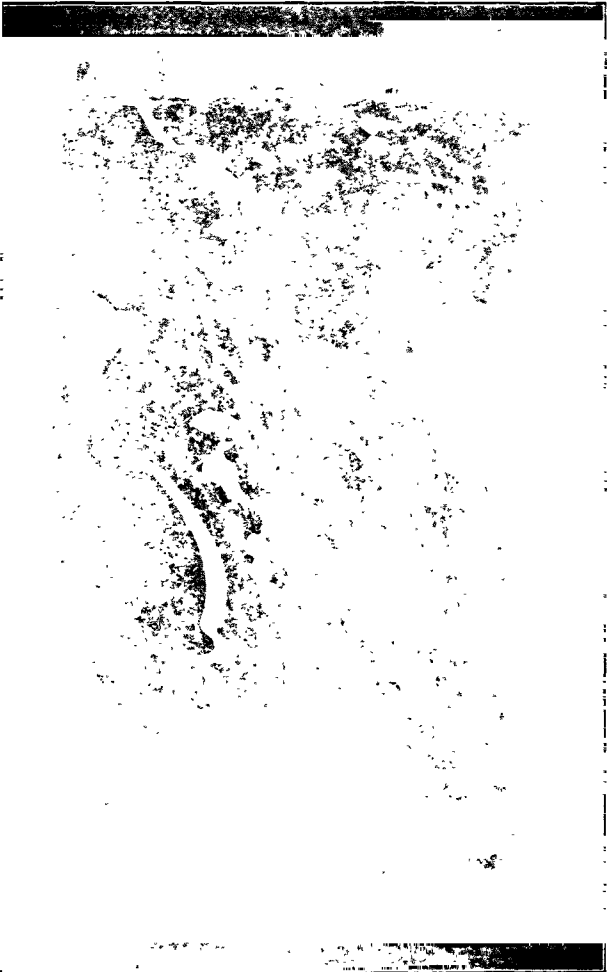
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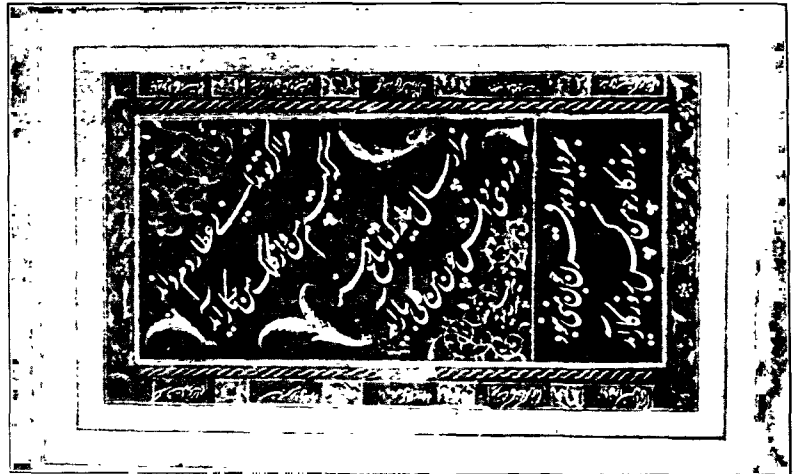
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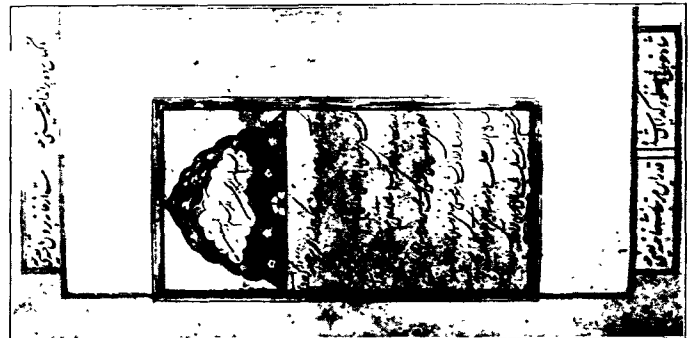
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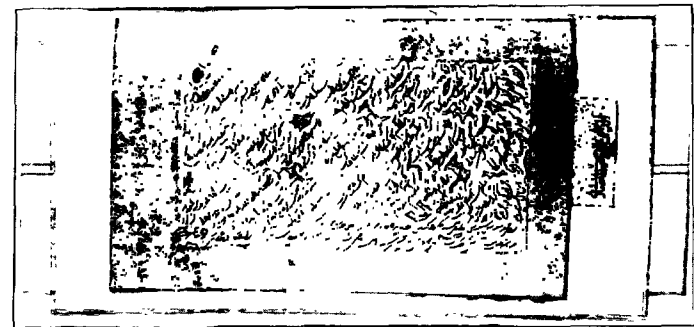
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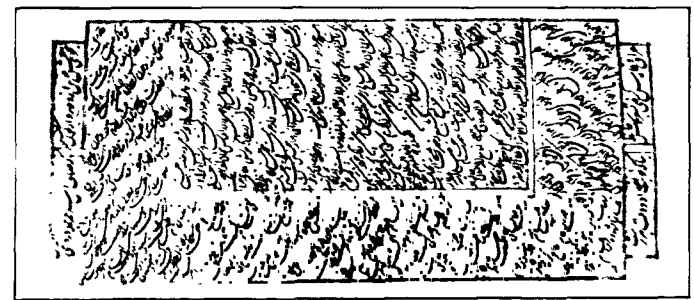
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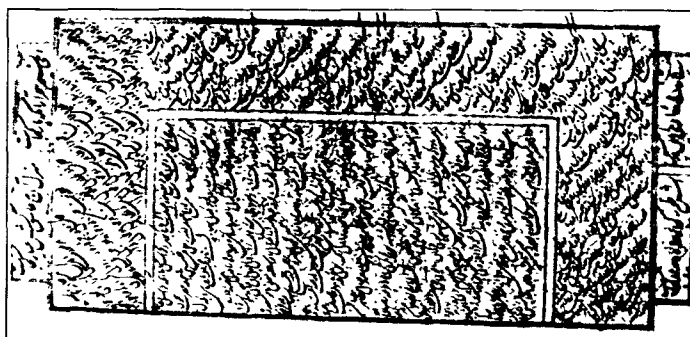
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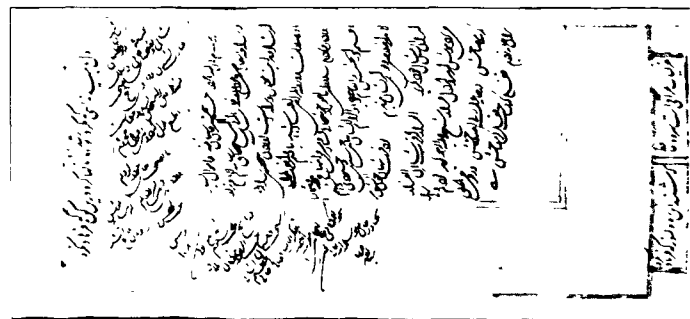
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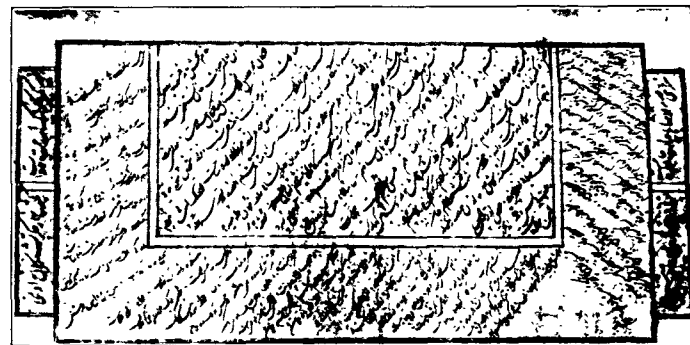
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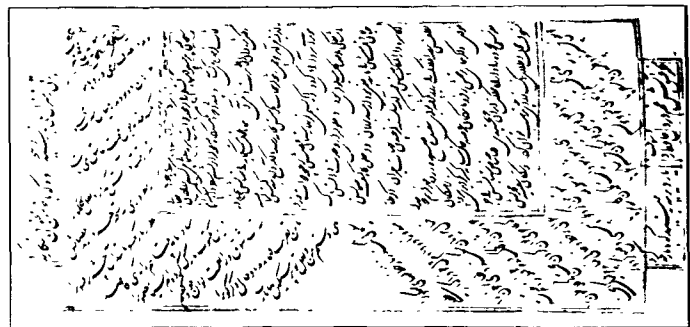
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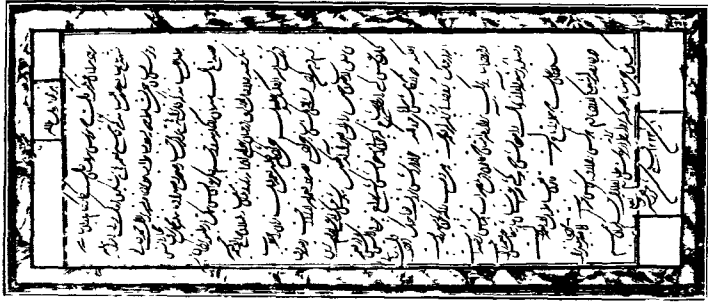


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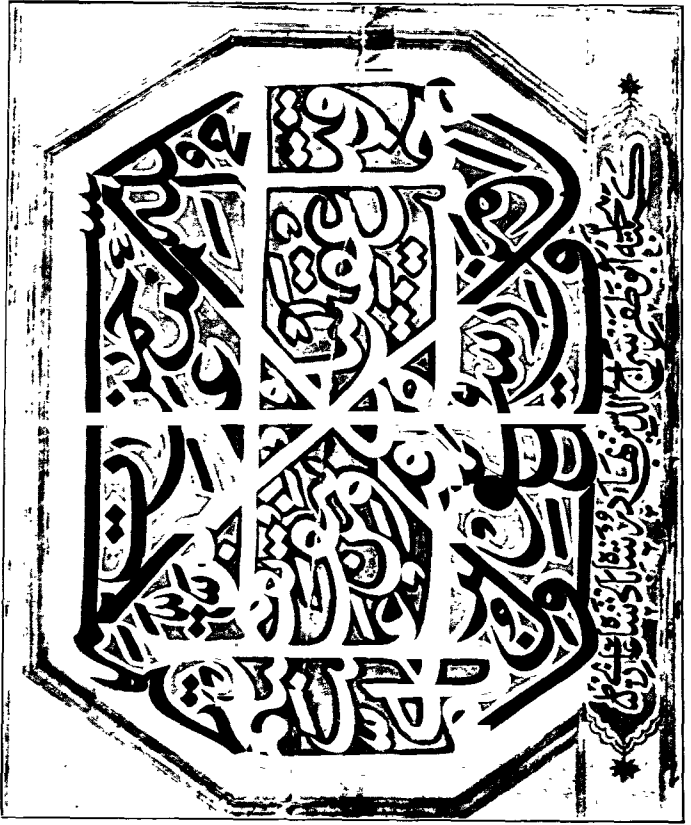




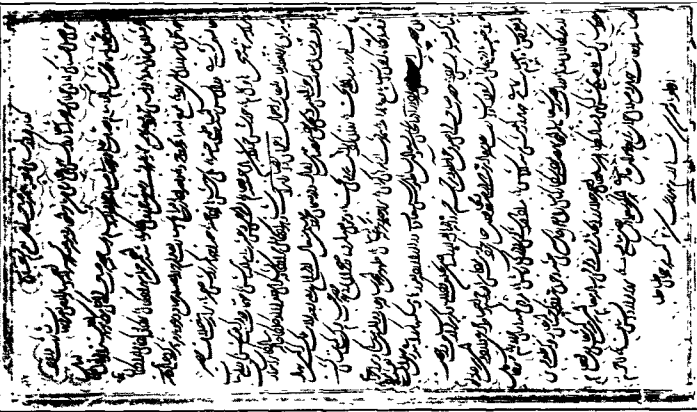
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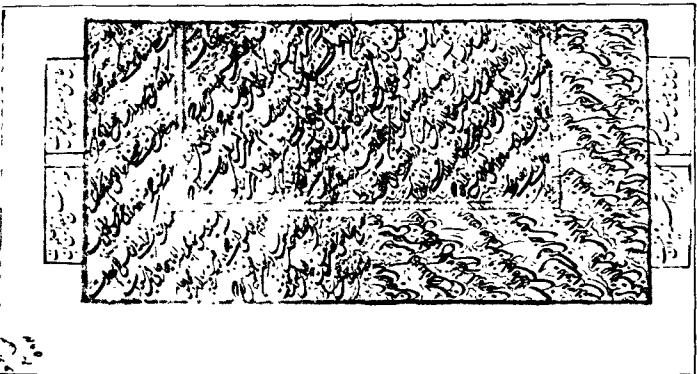
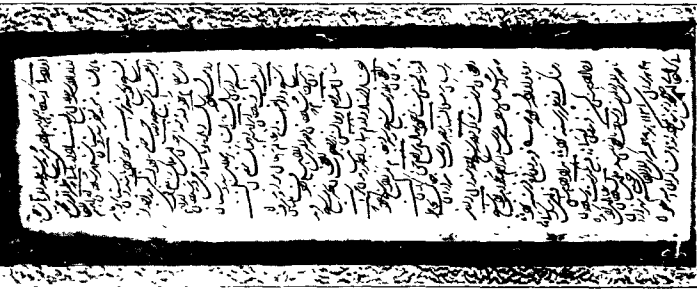
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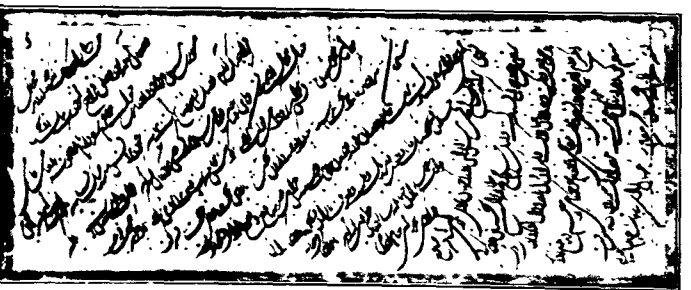
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