

## Unfamiliar Writing Forms

### Instances of Various Scripts in Swiss Graphic Designers' Publications

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In 1967, the influential Basel designer and educator Emil Ruder published his only book: *Typography: A Manual of Design*.<sup>1</sup> It is a revised, fleshed-out version of the author's earlier *Typographische Monatsblätter (TM)* articles and the catalog of an exhibition of the same name, and it proposes a systematic approach to design practice and teaching. Owing to both its form and its content, it has been called the quintessence of Swiss graphic design,<sup>2</sup> and is sold and celebrated to this day.<sup>3</sup> Even though the publication firmly focuses on Latin script typography, a double-page spread in the second chapter entitled "Function and form" shows seven images of scripts from various cultures, places, and eras. Next to Hebrew, Devanagari, Runic, Sabaeen, and two Cuneiform inscriptions on the left, it features a large image of Arabic calligraphy

on the right.<sup>4</sup> [Fig. 55] An overview of Swiss designers' publications reveals that this is not an isolated case. While these books are rarely ever dedicated to the workings of any script other than the Latin, they repeatedly show images of various writing systems.<sup>5</sup> As most Western graphic designers, arguably, have little functional knowledge of further scripts, this focus on what is known and used in the authors' everyday work might not be too surprising. With the same thought in mind, however, the fact that examples of different scripts are commonly shown is all the more striking.

If these designers' publications are seen within the context of Modernism or modernity and viewed from a postcolonial perspective, these findings are not negligible. Ideas of Western modernity developed vis-à-vis the conception of a non-Western other, and often in diametrical opposition to it, as has been observed in Edward Said's highly influential *Orientalism* from 1978 and in his *Culture and Imperialism* from 1993, as well as in Stuart Hall's "The West and the Rest" from 1992, or Henrique Dussel's "Eurocentrism and Modernity" from 1993.<sup>6</sup> And those depictions, as the abovementioned scholars point out, are far from neutral. They generate "knowledge" about an "other" that is often proposed and received as scientific fact.<sup>7</sup> Embedded in a cultural, academic, or professional discourse, these assumptions then take on a life of their own, and can therefore hardly be separated from political and socio-economic realities and intentions.

As the approaches that Swiss graphic designers presented in their publications have spread alongside corporate culture worldwide,<sup>8</sup> and to this day still exert considerable influence on teaching and practice,<sup>9</sup> it seems appropriate to take a closer look at instances of various scripts in those books. By investigating a few selected examples, this article will discuss the portrayal of these “others,” the roles the portrayals play within the respective narratives, relations to common ideas and schools of thought, and problematic aspects such as claims of superiority or the misrepresentation and denigration of various writing systems.

#### Ruder’s defamiliarization and the dangers of ignorance

In Emil Ruder’s didactic book *Typography*, the inclusion of images of various writing systems as described above does not stay unaddressed. He notes the time and place of origin of his examples, and offers a brief statement on how they should be interpreted:

Unfamiliar writing forms hold an appeal for us even if we cannot read them; we enjoy them as formal patterns comparable to a work of art. If we could read them, we should automatically lose interest in them as form. On seeing Broadway lit up at night, Chesterton said: What an enchanted garden that

would be for anybody lucky enough not to be able to read it!<sup>10</sup>

By limiting an observer to strictly visual perception, he states, an indecipherable writing system would stimulate an appreciation of its inherent formal qualities.<sup>11</sup> But rather than explaining this phenomenon any further, Ruder simply leaves things there. Through the juxtaposition of several similarly materialized, but structurally and formally diverse scripts, he aims to kindle a comparison of letterforms and patterns, similarities and differences, both in the individual systems and across them, and in so doing wants to steer the reader towards a purely visual exploration of his own examples. While this invitation to adopt a strictly formal approach to signs takes up just a single spread, it embodies the core of Ruder’s message and method. In the book’s introduction, this staunch Modernist declares his discontent with the status quo of contemporary graphic design. Modernist typography appears to be omnipresent, he writes, but all too often it is seen as a strict set of rules, rather than an adaptive method for addressing ever-changing problems. As a result, it has grown rigid. To be truly modern, he says, typographers will have to keep finding new visual solutions for the task at hand.<sup>12</sup> In order to do so, they will need to wean themselves away from their habitual manner of seeing and doing. It is in this vein, thus Ruder, that the familiar Latin typography should be treated

like the examples of presumably unfamiliar scripts: purely as form.

Although he supported his thesis with a quotation from G.K. Chesterton, Ruder omitted to mention that the same book by Chesterton also explicitly warned about superficially judging cultural artifacts. Without a functional knowledge of a system, writes Chesterton, signs could easily be misinterpreted as something known to the observer. He goes on to exemplify this with seemingly similar characters from the Greek and Latin alphabets. While Ruder refrains from claiming anything about the inscriptions that he shows, his method indeed has implications for approaches to other writing systems. After establishing the primacy of the visual, he explains that, in typography, form cannot be separated from the means and processes of production. In order to fully uncover the craft's visual potential, designers need to embrace its technological constraints.<sup>13</sup>

It is the intention of this book to bring home to the typographer that perhaps it is precisely the restriction of the means at his disposal and the practical aims he has to fulfill that make the charm of his craft. It is hoped that the book will elicit those strict and inherent laws of the craft of typography which wields such influence in determining the visual aspect of our world today.<sup>14</sup>

In the course of his book, Ruder offers a set of parameters—largely based on the physical characteristics of wood and metal type—along which visual explorations should be oriented. [Fig. 56] Even though he briefly acknowledges that the dissemination of phototypesetting technology at this time relieved typography of many of its previous restrictions,<sup>15</sup> he does not further explore its use. Despite proclaiming the primacy of the paradigm of “being in time,” he asks his readers instead to submit to the constraints of a moribund technology.

This resistance cannot be explained only by habits acquired through many years of experience as a craftsman in a specific environment; it should also be seen as being in line with a long-standing Western bias. Since the early days of printing with movable type, this technology had been lauded as the key to scientific progress, to modernity. While this view first developed around the early printing trade, it was soon echoed in literature and historiography.<sup>16</sup> When Ruder wrote *Typography*, the centrality of the letterpress was still very much reflected in influential theories on printing, media, and history, such as in Marshall McLuhan's highly influential *The Gutenberg Galaxy*.<sup>17</sup> The formally non-restrictive technology of lithography, however, did not properly fit these neat narratives and was long treated as printing history's stepchild,<sup>18</sup> even after it had become the most widely used process with the advent of phototypesetting and offset printing. But whereas the



Fig. 55

Fig. 56



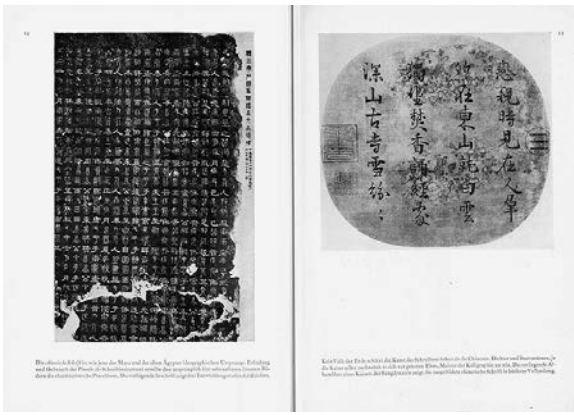


Fig. 57

Fig. 55  
Juxtaposition of various scripts in Ruder's *Typography*.

Fig. 56  
A perfect illustration of Ruder's understanding of the innate material restrictions of typography.

Fig. 57  
Examples of the Chinese script, one of Tschichold's new favorite topics, used as a "pre-history" for his subsequent history of the Latin script.

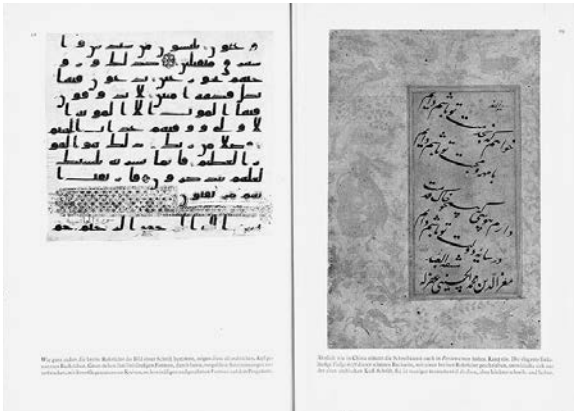


Fig. 58

Fig. 58  
Examples of Arabic and Persian writing, used as a "pre-history" for Tschichold's subsequent history of the Latin script.

Fig. 59  
An example of Arabic writing in Kufic style and corresponding texts from Tschichold's *Geschichte der Schrift in Bildern*, used as a basis for a newspaper advertisement for pens; see Fig. 58.

Fig. 60  
An example of the Mayan writing system and corresponding texts from Tschichold's *Geschichte der Schrift in Bildern*, used as a basis for a newspaper advertisement for pens.

Fig. 59

Fig. 60

typographer’s outdated “universal rules” in this new environment were still acceptable for the Latin script—which had developed in close relation with the letterpress for five centuries—it was exactly the elimination of these restrictions that were so promising for the representation of other widely used scripts such as Arabic or Devanagari. With photocomposition, mechanical setting also now allowed for their more faithful rendition.<sup>19</sup>

While Ruder refrained from any bold claims about the various examples of scripts that he shows, it is the Eurocentric foundations of his approach and its biases, as well as his strictly visual approach to typography and letterforms, that have implications on attitudes towards writing systems other than the Latin.<sup>20</sup> Many works by his peers display the traces of similar ideas, though often without his carefulness or reservations.

Tschichold’s temporalization and the persistence of backwardness

In his classic manual *Die neue Typographie* from 1928,<sup>21</sup> the young Jan Tschichold wrote of the dawn of a new era. After the turmoil of World War I, the new era was “supranational” and marked by a sense of collectivity. The ultimate goal now, thus Tschichold, was the well-being of humanity as a whole. In this vein, and like many of his contemporaries, he called for the adoption

of a universal script that was stripped of everything “particularistic” or “national”:

The emphatically national, exclusivist character of *fraktur*—but also of the equivalent national scripts of other peoples, for example of the Russians or the Chinese—contradicts present-day transnational bonds between people and will bring about the inevitable elimination of those scripts. To keep to this script is a step backwards. Latin script is the international script of the future. (Der betont nationale, partikularistische Charakter der *Fraktur*, aber auch der entsprechenden Nationalschriften anderer Völker, zum Beispiel des Russischen oder Chinesischen, widerspricht den heutigen übernationalen Bindungen der Völker und zwingt zu ihrer unabwendbaren Beseitigung. An ihr festzuhalten ist Rückschritt. Die lateinische Schrift ist die internationale Schrift der Zukunft.)<sup>22</sup>

Tschichold’s demands were clearly a reaction to the challenges of contemporary politics and to the ethno-nationalist rhetoric surrounding blackletter type and related forms of handwriting in German-speaking areas at the time. He adopted a common position that saw Roman letterforms as anti-nationalist, enlightened, scientific, fundamentally neutral, and progressive.<sup>23</sup>

Even though Tschichold’s position was solely based on Central and Western

European typographic and cultural history and experience, he did not hesitate to extrapolate this position to encompass the world. Based on the idea of linear progress, of a single and inevitable line of development combining technological, cultural, and moral aspects, he characterized all other scripts as backward, and called for their abolition. With just a few words, and with a claim that such a step would be to the benefit of all of humanity, he removed the right to exist from many different writing cultures. Tschichold's arguments exemplify how the conception of progress allows an elite to progressively assign itself educational and leadership tasks. This is generally undertaken by those who conceive themselves as superior to others, who either perceive themselves to be ahead, or feel compelled to catch up with others in order to overtake them.<sup>24</sup> And it also shows that such a narrative can be effective on several levels—from a local or small-scale professional discourse to the valorization of cultures and international claims of supremacy.

As is evident from his many later publications, Tschichold became increasingly conservative and revised his opinions of the value of tradition and various writing systems over the next decades. In 1941, he first published his *Geschichte der Schrift in Bildern*.<sup>25</sup> It is addressed to amateurs and is a short, expressly non-scientific treatise intended to promote a sensibility towards good letterforms by showing an array of historical examples.<sup>26</sup> Despite its focus on

the Latin script, his narrative begins with more than twenty images outside it. [Figs. 57, 58] This was no coincidence, and the author's thoroughness did not remain uncommented upon.

The interspersed examples of scripts from foreign cultures are intended to show how meaningful, beautiful forms have developed as a result of technical and optical necessities. (Die eingestreuten Beispiele von Schriften fremder Kulturen sollen darlegen, wie sich aus technischen und optischen Notwendigkeiten sinnvolle und schöne Formen entwickelt haben.)<sup>27</sup>

Tschichold expresses his appreciation for the visual and artistic quality of Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic scripts and assures his readers that all these cultures demonstrated a concern for virtuous forms—a shared and seemingly universal value—that was expressed through their specific materials and cultural circumstances.<sup>28</sup>

Despite this change of opinion about the value of scripts and their diversity, however, Tschichold reverts to declaring all but the Latin to be backward. He arranges various historical and contemporary writing systems into an evolutionary narrative, based on assumed levels of functional abstraction. He thereby leads his readers from cave paintings and unstandardized mnemonic signs to pictograms, ideograms, and finally to phonograms. And the culmination of this

teleological development is naturally the “Europäische Lautschrift,” the European phonetic alphabet.<sup>29</sup> Whether knowingly or not, Tschichold adopts an approach that already had a long and problematic history. Such claims for the superior rationality of an alphabetical writing system were rooted in the European Renaissance discourse on both language and letterforms, were arguably related to proto-nationalism and Christian universalism, and were also perfectly aligned with colonial interests, with a Eurocentric historiography, and with European claims to power. This view of the Latin script as the peak of development in writing was never uncontested—various Enlightenment thinkers, for example, believed that the universal system they propagated needed to be of a pictographic nature, which was an ideal they saw best represented either in the Chinese script or in Egyptian hieroglyphs.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, it was this connectivity to real-world claims of supremacy, imperialism, and colonialism, that made this notion of the primacy of Latin script so prevalent, long-lived, and consequential.<sup>31</sup> While Tschichold slightly relativizes his own views by pointing out that certain languages—such as Chinese—would best be written non-phonographically, he reinforces his claims for the functional superiority of the Latin script by connecting them to its visual appearance. Because the Graeco-Latin letters are based on elemental opposites—on circle, square, and triangle—they were simply the most readable.<sup>32</sup>

In yet another one of Tschichold’s books, his popular *Erfreuliche Drucksachen durch gute Typographie* of 1960, he summarizes these ideas in a short passage of almost frightening clarity.

The occidental letterforms, with which the age of Homer erected an immortal monument to itself, are hardly less ingenious than the invention of the phonetic alphabet itself. Compared with the Graeco-Roman, all the other scripts of the world, even those Hebrew and Arabic letters that are related to our own, are unclear and less memorable. The spiritual and economic supremacy of the Western peoples, nourished by Mediterranean culture, is due in no small part to the formal nobility of the Graeco-Roman script. (Die Formen der abendländischen Buchstaben, mit denen das Zeitalter Homers sich ein unvergängliches Denkmal errichtet hat, sind kaum weniger genial als die Erfindung der Lautzeichenschrift selbst. Mit der griechisch-römischen verglichen, sind alle übrigen Schriften der Welt, sogar die mit den unseren verwandten hebräischen und arabischen Buchstaben, undeutlich und weniger einprägsam. Die geistige und wirtschaftliche Vorherrschaft der von der Mittelmeerkultur genährten westlichen Völker ist nicht zuletzt dem Formenadel der griechisch-römischen Schrift zu danken.)<sup>33</sup>



Evidently, even in the second half of the 20th century, these narratives were still connected to claims for the intellectual, political, and economic supremacy of the Western world. The reception of Tschichold's books suggests that these narratives seamlessly connected to a discourse that went far beyond the boundaries of the specialized field of graphic design. In the 1950s, for example, fragments from his *Geschichte der Schrift* appeared in a series of advertisements that juxtaposed Western modernity and non-Western "backwardness" in order to sell simple pens.<sup>34</sup> [Figs. 59, 60] And the influence of these concepts was not limited to Switzerland and the world of the Latin script, for they had an impact on the perceptions of different scripts in different cultures that we find in later publications by other Swiss designers.<sup>35</sup> Despite revealing insufficient knowledge of other writing systems and script cultures, these narratives have proven to be long-lasting and remain influential to this day.<sup>36</sup>

## Conclusion

The above close reading of books by Emil Ruder and Jan Tschichold reveals that Swiss graphic design also embraced universal aspirations of modernity with a clearly Eurocentric slant. Despite the focus on Latin script typography, other writing systems played a not inconsiderable role in the narratives of both authors, for they were used

to underpin their main arguments. Emil Ruder displayed a degree of respect and care, neither glorifying nor disdainful of his examples, but instead merely describing how they might encourage the uninitiated to engage in a comparative exploration of visual qualities—which he saw as the essence of truly modern typography. Nevertheless, his insistence on embracing the restrictions of letterpress printing revealed a bias that was already outdated at the time, and which was at best overly restrictive when dealing with a wide variety of scripts. In Tschichold's case, these prejudices were exaggerated to the extreme. In his early work, his experience of German biculturality led him to demand the abandonment of all writing systems and styles that did not correspond to the Franco-English model of Roman type. His later publications show how he revised his opinion and now attributed artistic value to different writing cultures. Nonetheless, his historiography still revealed real-world claims to superiority for the West that were explicitly connected to functional and visual aspects of the Latin script. In the undercurrent of Swiss graphic design and typography, with its narratives of progress, these images of non-Latin, distinctly "other" scripts with their corresponding self-images were seamlessly linked with other disciplines and discourses. This in turn enabled them to be disseminated, and preserved and prolonged their impact.

- 1 Ruder 1967.
- 2 This sentiment is explicitly expressed, for example, in the foreword to the second edition in English by Charles Bigelow and reiterated by Robin Kinross's insightful, contemporary critique. See Kinross 1984: 147.
- 3 Richard Hollis writes that the publication was positively received by design educators worldwide. Hollis 2006: 256. Hilary Kenna emphasized the ongoing importance of Ruder's *Typography* and recalled that the book had so far been published in nine languages, was in its seventh edition, and was still being widely used and referenced in education and practice. Kenna 2010: 35.
- 4 Ruder 1967: 40–41.
- 5 Images and examples displaying various scripts appear to be particularly common in programmatic books by leading designers. They seem to be mainly used to support the author's argument by claiming that its validity could also be observed in far-away cultures—either because it had been present before, because it would accord to a universal principle, or simply because the author's position had already found fertile ground elsewhere. See Müller-Brockmann 1971; Müller-Brockmann & Yoshikawa 1971; Müller-Brockmann 1981; Gerstner 2007 (1963); Lutz 1987; Frutiger 1989 (1978); 2003; 2005; NORM 2002; Tschichold 1941; 1952. The foremost exception, which engages with a non-Latin script on a deeper level, is a special issue of *Typographische Monatsblätter* from 1985 in which Hans-Jürg Hunziker recounts teaching an Arabic typeface design course at the Institute for Studies and Research on Arabization (IERA) in Rabat, Morocco between 1981 and 1983. Even though Hunziker did not belong to the illustrious group of Swiss practitioners who were writing eagerly and were widely received, his essay has recently resurfaced. Being among very few published early sources on Arabic typeface design in a European language, it has been cited by both designers and academics. See Hunziker 1985; Balius 2013; Nemeth 2017.
- 6 See Said 1979 (1978); Said 1994 (1993); Hall 1992; Dussel 1993.
- 7 Fabian 1983: 17–18.
- 8 Drucker & McVarish 2013 (2009): 247–254.
- 9 Kenna 2010: 1.
- 10 Ruder 1967: 40. In Chesterton's original it reads: "What a glorious garden of wonders this would be, to anyone who was lucky enough to be unable to read." See Chesterton 1922: 33.
- 11 In recent years, the layered potential of scripts far beyond the representation of spoken language has received growing attention. Under the term *Schriftbildlichkeit*, or "notational iconicity," various scholars have addressed notational systems with regards to material, functional, discursive, performative, and iconic aspects, as well as their changing relations, and have tried to breach the dichotomy between text and image that long guided Western conceptions of writing. Krämer & Totzke 2012: 13–29. For an informative explanation and an overview of different approaches, see Krämer 2014.
- 12 In a review of Ruder's *Typography*, Robin Kinross points out that references to a "spirit of the time" were rather common among Swiss graphic designers, and he suggests that on closer inspection, more problematic aspects could emerge. See Kinross 1984: 150. A particular similarity to Ruder's position can be detected in the programmatic works of Karl Gerstner. Both Basel designers not only shared a fundamental belief in constant adaptation as modernity's key principle, but also proposed a methodical approach to solving this issue. For a discussion of Gerstner and Kutter's historical arguments for the necessity of continuous change as stated in *Die neue Grafik* in 1959, see "Cave Paintings," in the present volume.
- 13 Ruder 1967: 5. Antonio Hernandez describes this position as an awareness for feedback processes between printing or production and design. Robin Kinross describes Ruder's stance "for craft values as applied to industrial production" as being in line with a more general Swiss tendency towards "near perfect

- technique.” See Hernandez 1971: 10; Kinross 1984: 148.
- 14 Ruder 1967: 5.
- 15 Ruder 1967: 64.
- 16 See Vervliet 1977: 12–17.
- 17 Further influential instances of the centrality of letterpress printing in historical theories can be found, for example, in Elizabeth Eisenstein’s weighty *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, or Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*. See McLuhan 1962; Eisenstein 2005 (1979); Anderson 2006 (1983).
- 18 See Twyman 1990: 10, 15–16, 126.
- 19 For a detailed description of the impact of photocomposition on Bengali type, see Ross 1988: 336–363; and for a similar evaluation regarding Arabic type, see Nemeth 2017: 170–283. Both Bengali and Arabic typography benefitted from the flexible positioning of vowels, much improved kerning possibilities, and the extension of character sets. For a more contemporary source on the positive effects of computing and photocomposition on printing in the Arabic script with a slight bend towards advertising, see Tracy 1975.
- 20 According to the linguist and type software manufacturer Thomas Milo, these biases are not only reflected in the design of typefaces, but also have a fundamental effect on the design of machinery and software involved in all processes. For a discussion of Milo’s own efforts to create a system rendering the Arabic script independent of these biases, see Nemeth 2017: 410–434.
- 21 Even though *Die neue Typographie* was written years before the author went into exile in Switzerland, the manual can be considered as one of the key texts for the Swiss discourse around Modernist typography. Many later publications explicitly referred to it or were built on a similar narrative.
- 22 Tschichold 1987 (1928): 77. In pointing to changing demands induced by new media and new reading habits, however, Tschichold called for an even more reduced, impersonal appearance that supposedly only sans serif types could provide.
- 23 For a description of the concepts of rationality and universality in relation to letterforms from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, see de Looze 2016: 67–82, 102–117; Drucker 1995: 159–166. For an in-depth analysis of the long-standing debates on the relationship between the German language and letterforms, the so-called “Schriftstreit” or “Antiqua-Fraktur Debatten,” see Hartmann 1998; Killius 1999. For insights into the rhetoric surrounding “Latin” and “German” type and handwriting, see Shaw & Bain 1998: 12–13; Willberg 1998: 42; Mirsky 1998: 6–8. See Koselleck 1975: 400.
- 24 Tschichold 1941. Evidence for a changing perspective can already be found in Tschichold’s *TM* article “Europäische Schriften aus Zweitausend Jahren” from 1934, discussed in my essay “Neue Schweizer Schulschrift” in the present volume.
- 25 Tschichold 1941: 5–6. The German term *Schrift* encompasses a multitude of English meanings from “writing system” and “script” to “handwriting” and “typeface.” In the introduction, Tschichold explains the word in its widest meaning, as consciously fixed signs with a meaning. He adds that real writing was based on conventions and exclusively accessible to insiders. In the context of Tschichold’s book, *Schrift* might best be translated as “letterform.”
- 27 Tschichold 1941: 6.
- 28 Tschichold 1941: 6. This line of thought is characteristic of most of Tschichold’s work. In his *Meisterbuch der Schrift* from 1952, for example, he contrasts bad, deficient, or wild letterforms that dominate everyday life with desirable, masterful, genuinely beautiful shapes. Showing a title page of a Chinese book as an example of excellent brush lettering, he argues that an “equilibrium and harmony of all parts” ought to be the aspiration of lettering masters of all cultures. See Tschichold 1952: 15–17.
- 29 Tschichold 1941: 6–8.
- 30 See Neis 2018; Weststijn 2010; de Looze 2016: 83–101.
- 31 See Mignolo 1995; Rojinsky 2010; Cortez 2016; Sánchez 2016.
- 32 Tschichold 1941: 8.
- 33 Tschichold 1960: 28–29.
- 34 In 1956, the major Swiss newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (NZZ) contained a series of advertisements for the American pen manufacturer Paper Mate. Each iteration showed an example of a script taken from Tschichold’s *Geschichte der Schrift in Bildern*—depicting the Mayan script, the Chinese script, the Arabic script in its Kufi style, and pictographs of the Native American Crow

tribe—and a comment loosely based on the same source. With a seemingly shallow understanding of the topic, but based on the designer's Eurocentric proclamations, these adverts argued that a formal comparison of the depicted letterings with contemporary handwriting would reveal an astonishing progress that was directly linked to the tools used. Modern life in all its economic and cultural aspects would not be possible without a pen that allowed for quick, effortless writing. As the most modern of them all, the Paper Mate was the key to progress. Just like Tschichold's book, the advertisement simply uses scripts of other cultures to substantiate Modernist claims of primacy. See NZZ 1956a; 1956b; 1956c; 1956d.

- 35 In the two books published by Adrian Frutiger in his later years, for example, he describes his experiences with Indian scripts and his work on a Modernist Devanagari typeface. Even though Frutiger appears to have had a great interest in Indian culture and history, his concept clearly shows traces of arguments similar to those of both Ruder and Tschichold. Based on merely visual characteristics, he compared the existing Devanagari type to Latin type from the 15th century. In order to resolve the perceived backwardness of the former, he molded the Indian script after the European. Frutiger 2003: 126–132; 2005: 42–47; see Singh 2016.
- 36 See Izadpanah 2018: 114–115; Milo 2011: n.p.