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Review article

DENIS NOSNITSIN, Churches and Monasteries of Təgray: A Survey of Manuscript Collections

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Bibliographical abbreviations used in this volume

AÉ Annales d'Éthiopie, Paris 1955ff.

ÄthFor Äthiopistische Forschungen, 1–35, ed. by E. HAMMERSCHMIDT, 36–40, ed. by S. UHLIG (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner (1–34), 1977–1992; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (35–40), 1994–1995).

AethFor Aethiopistische Forschungen, 41–73, ed. by S. UHLIG (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–2011); 74–75, ed. by A. BAUSI and S. UHLIG (*ibid.*, 2011f.); 76ff. ed. by A. BAUSI (*ibid.*, 2012ff.).

AION Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', Napoli: Università di Napoli 'L'Orientale' (former Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli), 1929ff.

BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London, 1917ff.).

CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1903ff.

EAe
S. UHLIG, ed., Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, I: A-C; II: D-Ha; III: He-N; in cooperation with A. BAUSI, eds, IV: O-X (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010); A. BAUSI in cooperation with S. UHLIG, eds, V: Y-Z, Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2014).

EMML Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa.
 JAH The Journal of African History, Cambridge 1960ff.
 JES Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa 1963ff.
 OrChr Oriens Christianus, Leipzig-Roma-Wiesbaden 1901ff.
 PdP La Parola del Passato. Rivista di studi classici, Napoli 1946ff.

PICES 8 TADDESE BEYENE, ed., Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, University of Addis Ababa (26–30 November) 1984, I–II (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies–Frankfurt am Main: Frobenius Institut, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, 1988–1989).

PICES 10 C. LEPAGE and É. DELAGE, eds, Études éthiopiennes: Actes de la Xe Conférence internationale des études éthiopiennes, Paris, 24–28 août 1988 (Paris: Société française pour les études éthiopiennes, 1994).

PO Patrologia Orientalis, 1903ff.

RIÉ É. BERNAND, A.J. DREWES, and R. SCHNEIDER, Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite, I: Les documents, II: Les planches (Paris: (Académie des inscriptions et belle-lettres) Diffusion de Boccard, 1991)

RRALm Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Roma, 1892ff.

RSE Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, Roma, 1941–1981, Roma-Napoli, 1983ff.

SAe Scriptores Aethiopici.

Review articles

DENIS NOSNITSIN, Churches and Monasteries of Tagray: A Survey of Manuscript Collections, Supplement to Aethiopica: International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies, 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013). xxxii + 430 pp. Price: € 59.–. ISBN: 978–3–447–06969–4.

This monograph is a preliminary report on the project known as the 'Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia—Salvation, Preservation, and Research', (with the rather humorous abbreviation, Ethio-SPaRe) launched by Denis Nosnitsin and his team. The project's aim is to survey the status of manuscript collections of churches and monasteries in comparatively limited but clearly defined regions of Təgray, and to digitize selected collections, which offer historical and cultural information. The goal of the project, as defined in this volume, was 'to show the richness, uniqueness, and creativity of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian culture' (p. xvii). 'The monograph briefly describes, in seven chapters, the first findings obtained from the eighty-four [eighty-seven?] collections scattered across seven administrative entities in Təgray' (pp. xxviii–xix).

It is impossible to review this book, with its wealth of knowledge, without doing it some injustice by passing over important pieces of information. But it can be said at the outset that its content and what it promises—in the forthcoming catalogue of the digitized manuscripts—indicate that the goal has been successfully reached, i.e. that scholars will have total availability and easy accessibility to the digitized manuscripts.

When looking at the pictures of the manuscripts in this book, the heart is filled with joy and the mind yearns to devour them. The pictures of the churches show beautiful buildings and breathtaking landscapes (e.g. Agärbəbse Abunä Mammas, fig. 63, p. 63). Ah, and this is Däbrä Macəşo, where Emperor Zära Yacqob had once banished the unruly Estifanosite monks (fig. 26, p. 25)! The gorge might be the other place of imprisonment, Gwənş, in Säwa, EAe, II (2005), 944b (Getatchew Haile). I think it is unfair for Denis Nosnitsin to have called the hand of the copyist of fig. 29, 'rather poor' (p. 26).

If the principal aim of the project was to make a survey of manuscript collections of churches in limited regions of Təgray, the information gathered about the churches and monasteries that house the collections is equally educational. Təgray (Ṣəra²) is the birth place of Ethiopian Christianity and, as the chronicles of Emperors cAmdä Ṣəyon (1314–1344) and Yoḥannəs

(1872–1889) have it, is Ethiopia's Zion. Its inhabitants are known to be especially religious. There is an anecdote that if one hears of a fellow from Təgray that one knows to have married, one's reaction is, 'before trying the monastic life!' As such, churches are built in almost every village, and the most ancient churches and monasteries can be found here; the impressive concentration of sanctuaries this project has reached in such a limited area is testimony to this fact. It is also said that the officials of the region managed to avert the major onslaught of the *ğihād* of the forces of *imām* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī, nicknamed Aḥmad Grañ, even if they could not save Gäbäzä Aksum from its fire: 'The fifteenth-century (sic) *imam* 'Aḥmäd 'Grañ' is said to have come close to 'Aḥzāra, but his army was chased away by a strong wind' (p. 87).

The author of the volume under review was the right person to undertake this project and the time was favourable. He knew what he was looking for, and his team was composed of people familiar with Ethiopic manuscripts. He could secure clearly digitized pictures of the manuscripts for us because of the advancement of technology. 'During the last two trips electronic microscopy was additionally introduced' (p. xiv, no. 10). There were no civil wars in the regions of his fieldworkalthough they were close to where a ferocious border war between the Ethiopians and Eritreans had taken place. But fortunately, the truce is observed by both sides—which was not the case when Sergew Hable Sellassie led the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (EMML) project in the 1970s. The team—and their equipment—he sent into the field to bring manuscripts to Addis Abäba for microfilming, was not up to the task. The camera had to be fixed in one place with carefully measured lighting. Təgray and Eritrea, the centres of Ethiopian Christianity, were inaccessible due to the raging civil war.

Other projects that have been launched to rescue Ethiopian manuscripts in one way or another are adequately listed and described. The most significant of them is that of the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library in collaboration with the EMML mentioned above. The project did not end in the 1990s, as this report implies (p. xi). It was only temporarily suspended due to interference of the Därg, the ruling Ethiopian military junta. The project has resumed, and valuable manuscripts have been digitized since then. Although, I am not aware of its full extent, Meley Mulugetta's activity in Təgray is worth mentioning. Also Steve Delamarter's Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project (EMIP) at Oregon's George Fox University, which studies the physical nature of a manuscript, including how the gatherings are grouped and bound, cannot be overlooked. Professor Delamarter does not have a major project for digitizing manuscripts within Ethiopia, but he has made a respectable contribution to the study of manuscript culture.

The present report on what might be called a pilot project brims over with knowledge, and there is more to come. It clearly shows that there is a lot to learn about the history of the Christian nation of Ethiopia. If I mention some of them, it is only to raise the appetite of scholars in Ethiopian Studies to study the monograph and the forthcoming catalogue. The first thing that comes to mind is, if so much information can be gathered from such a limited area, how much could we learn, if an all-embracing project were to be undertaken covering the entire Christian area? This question has reverberated ever since the 1966 publication of the article, 'Introduction générale aux églises monolithes du Tigrai' by abba Tewelde Medhin Joseph in the Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. And which part of Ethiopia is or was not Christian, if Eike Haberland could write about Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien, Frankfurter Historische Vorträge, 2 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976)? Furthermore, we know how, in the fourteenth century, Emperor ^cAmdä Şəyon came back from his military expedition in the south, bringing with him a tabot dedicated to Jesus (MS EMML no. 1832, f. 29^r). Nevertheless, the discovery of the rock-hewn church of Qəta Maryam (pp. 195-201) had to wait until this project was launched in the twenty-first century. However the mural depicting John the Baptist on its wall (fig. 79, p. 200) is an enigma. Neither the crown on the Baptist's head nor the cross on top of his staff looks native.

In the Ethio-SpaRe project, Denis Nosnitsin has thrown light on many obscure details of the history of Christian Ethiopia, including the difference between *gädam* and *däbr* (pp. xvi–xvii); however, where does *mənet* fit in? And what is *ura*, prefixed to the names of churches, not only in Təgray but also in other regions?

The pictures of the different churches with double roofs, such as May Čäw Qəddus Mika'el (p. 31), might explain what 'building bä-kəl'e śärwe', means, which I failed to understand when I first met the expression a few years ago (see Getatchew Haile, Voices of Däbrä Zämäddo: Acts of Abba Bärtälomewos and Abba Yoḥannəs. 45 Miracles of Mary, AethFor, 79 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), pp. 87 and 228, n. 94).

It is widely accepted that we expect to acquire knowledge from the marginal notes of manuscripts. For example, what is the office of a səyyumä gwəlt (fig. 38, see also p. 40, n. 51)? Who was Patriarch Astona 'of the land of Rome'? (p. 30). How do musical notations in this region compare to those of other regions further south and west of Təgray? I am particularly pleased to see the name of abba Tärbinos in the genealogy of monks of the line of abba 'Abnä Sänbät (fig. 87, p. 208). The source corroborates an important incident in Ethiopian history briefly recorded in one of the versions of the so-called abbreviated chronicles. According to this version, abba

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Tärbinos was the abbot of Däbrä Damo when the war of *imām* Aḥmad had set the Christian heritage on fire. It was he who crowned Gälawdewos (1540–1559), bringing the boy from the monastery where his fugitive family had taken asylum, MS EMML no. 1264, ff. 10^v–11^v:

አሜሃ ፡ ዕለተ ፡ አንገሦ ፡ አቡን ፡ ተርቢኖስ ፡ ለንጉሥን ፡ ገላው ዴዎስ ፡ ዘተሰም የ ፡ አጽናፍ ፡ ሰገድ ፡ ወከለሎ ፡ በአክሊለ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ሕፃን ፡ ውእ ቱ ፡ አውሪዶ ፡ እመልዕልተ ፡ ደብር ፡ ወወሲዶ ፡ መንገለ ፡ ምሥራቅ ፡ ታሕ ተ ፡ ዕፀ ፡ ተርቤንቶስ ፡ ዘትሰመይ ፡ ምንጋሥ ።

On that day, *abunä* Tärbinos made our King Gälawdewos, named Aṣnaf Säggäd, a king. He crowned him with the crown of kingship while still a child, bringing (him) down from the top of the mountain/monastery and taking him toward the east, under a terebinthine tree, called a crowning place.

The same document adds the following interesting record:

As soon as our King Aṣnaf Säggäd saw that he gained power and victory, he sent the sword of his father, Wänag Säggäd (Ləbnä Dəngəl, 1508–1540), and five of his servants with a monk called *abba* Tomas to Däbrä Damo with this missive: 'My fathers, Tärbinos and the monks of Däbrä Damo, may the good news be to you. By your prayers, God has granted me the fall of the enemy under my feet and peace with my nobles. From now on, let this sword be placed on the head side of the corpse (of the king). Let these servants be the guards of the corpse. Lest you worry about their meal and clothing, I hereby grant you the whole land of Adäq Säyto'.

The painting in the Tä'ammərä Maryam manuscript from Däbrä Damo (p. 86, fig. 87) seems to be in the Gonderite style. Is the manuscript's presence here due to migration or is it a hint that the characterization of the style known as Gonderite should be reconsidered? Indeed, 'The ... team was lucky to spend a few days surveying the monastic library of the famous Däbrä Dammo (sic) monastery'. But its findings bring a mixed feeling: luckily, the library was not totally burned down as was reported in the 1990s, but unluckily, its manuscript collection does not reflect the monastery's age and fame. The oldest manuscript the monastery has is a single Psalter (fig. 85) which, as the forms of the \hbar and the \hbar show, might not be older than the sixteenth century.

We will learn, when the catalogue is published, about the difference in age between the Gə^cəz text of the *Arägawi Mänfäsawi* and the marginal Amharic commentaries on it (p. 86). Unfortunately, the index does not have an entry on 'Amharic'. To be fair, there is one under 'Old Amharic', but I would prefer an entry 'Amharic, old [modern, etc.]' to 'Old Amharic'. The

reader's interest is first and foremost in the language and the text in the language; the adjectives should follow. The assumption is that the language of traditional church education throughout the country was Amharic of the Gonderite variaty (e.g. pp. 186 and 205). In my opinion, the Amharic texts, such as these and the *Ammostu A'amadā Mostir* (e.g. fig. 60, p. 181 and fig. 63, p. 184), if they are in Amharic, should be indexed under one heading. See also the interesting genealogy in MS QDQ-011 (fig. 87, p. 208), if it is, indeed, in Amharic. Also, the copyist of MS BGY-012 (fig. 73, p. 193) has left us a note (\$\hat{n}_1\$) to tell us that he was an Amharic speaker.

To come back to the case of Däbrä Damo, the two 'Ura churches—'Ura Qirqos and 'Ura Mäsqäl—fare much better, with their fourteenth century Gädlä Säma'tat, Four Gospels, and biblical fragments (figs. 3–6, pp. 3–8).

'The rectangular church (of 'Aḥzära Däbrä Məḥrät Qəddəst Maryam) is built in the traditional Təgrayan style' (p. 87). When did this tradition start? If the style is traditional in the region where Christianity first set foot, and if the style started there at that time, should it not be called 'early Ethiopian style', rather than local 'Təgrayan'? Or is this a later development?

The history of the *Woddase Amlak*, in the country of *Woddase Maryam*, must be interesting—could the *Woddase Amlak* have been translated to challenge the domination of *Woddase Maryam*? Copies are found in all Christian regions, and most of them come from the same period, and the overwhelming majority are copied beautifully like fig. 93 (p. 92). There must be a compelling reason, perhaps a movement that did not last long, that made it so popular at a given time. Now that we have the preliminary studies made on it, especially by Ugo Zanetti (*OrChr*, 61 (1995), 92), a student should be encouraged to edit it for her/his Master's degree.

It is doubtful that the reference to 'the Turks', as having taken manuscripts of Maryam Fäqada, is to 'the native troops of the Napier expedition' (p. 42, no. 61). Napier, who was a friend in that region, should not be associated with the name of the enemy. Secondly, the expedition did not loot manuscripts outside the fortress of Mäqdäla. On the contrary, it distributed the manuscripts it did not want among the churches of the region.

The presence of traces of the two groups of monks—the Ewostatewosites (e.g. p. 49) and the Astifanosites (e.g. pp. 42–43, and 168–169)—in the region that is supposed to be the domain of the main stream monks is as clearly visible on the ground today as in the literature of the past. It would be interesting to find out if there are local oral traditions that tell how these groups are remembered. If Mäzgäbä Śəllase is a saint with a säbäl, the feud may have had no impact on the faithful.

As has been pointed out in this monograph report, little is known about the identity of the Righteous of Kädiḥ, in whose name an imposing church

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is prominently built in Kələttä Aw^calo (fig. 1, p. 276) despite the publication of their *Gädl*. The Synaxary notice on them (24 Taḥśaś) is no more than a line: 'Also, the rest of the Righteous of Kädiḥ took place on this day, in one day, as the angel has told them'. Could there be a history to the naming of the church Däbrä Täwaḥədo, 'Monastery/Mount Union', which shows that they played a role in the defense of the *täwaḥədo* faith of the Ethiopian Church?

This may be the right place to add two *Näśg* hymn to their *Gädl*, the first by *Abba* Giyorgis of Gasəčča (MS EMML no. 204, f. 74^r) and the second from the *Mäzmurä Fəśśuḥan* (MS EMML no. 1297, f. 72^{rv}), even though they do not make any historical contribution:

1. በጻማ ፡ ወበሥራሕ ፡
ወበት ጋህ ፡ ብዙ ጎ ፡
ቦሉ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽብብ ፡ ውስተ ፡
ምድረ ፡ ርስት ፡ ስፉሕ ፡
ከመ ፡ መላእክት ፡ ሥርግዋን ፡ በንጽሕ ፡
አበዊን ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ እለ ፡ ከዲሕ ።
2. ሰላም ፡ እብል ፡ ዘኮንክሙ ፡ ጻድ ቃን ፡

ብውሳን ፡ አበው ፡ ዘታብዕሉ ፡ ምስኪን ፡

በአዕኑን ፡ ክብር ፡ አሰርግዉኒ ፡ አዕባን ፡

ወበአብን ፡ ፌውስ ፡ ኰሐሉኒ ፡ ዓይን #

With toil and labour,
And much diligence,
They entered the wide inheritance
through the narrow (path).

They are adorned like angels, Our holy fathers of Kädiḥ.

I say peace, (to) you, O Just Ones, Who became fortresses in the city of Kädiḥ.

O rich fathers, who enrich the wretched,

Adorn me with (precious) stones through earrings of glory,

And with a stone of healing paint me on the eyes.

One wonders whether the copy of King Zär a Ya qob's Näśg (p. 104) includes a hymn for the Righteous of Kädih. MS EMML no. 3128, does not.

If the beautiful manuscript of the Miracles of Mary of Maryam Säbäya (fig. 51, p. 51), with about one hundred miracle stories, can, indeed, be dated to the fifteenth/sixteenth century, the growth of this literature must have started soon after its introduction in the fourteenth century. I hope a few new and interesting stories (cf. MS EMML no. 3872) will be found.

The picture in the manuscript of the *Woddase Maryam* of the same church (fig. 53b, p. 53) must be Saint Ephrem standing in the presence of the Blessed Virgin, receiving unexpected orders to sing her praises spontaneously. The story, as told in the Commentary of the *Woddase Maryam*, goes as follows:

Our Lady comes to the Syrian potter; a carpet of light is spread and a canopy of light is stretched in her honor. Sitting there, she says to him,

'Peace to you, O my beloved Ephrem'. Ephrem stands up, girding his waist in a manner servants do before their masters, bows, and stands attentively. She says to him, 'Praise me'. He replies, 'How can I praise you in a way that the heavenly angels and the earthly saints cannot?' She says, 'Speak as the Holy Spirit inspires you'. Accepting her order, he asks her blessing. She blesses him saying, 'May the blessing of my Son, and the blessing of his Father and Holy Spirit, dwell in you'.

The event would take place every weekday morning, starting Monday. This is the story told in the composition of the *Woddase Maryam* by Ephrem, the Syrian potter, *läbhawi*.

To add one more piece of information in an attempt to identify Zä-Amanu'el, the donor of the Golden Gospel to the church of Si'at Däbrä Gännät Qəddəst Maryam (figs. 35 & 36, pp. 160–161), he must be the same dignitary who ordered the commemoration, *täzkar*, of Emperor Zär'a Ya'qob, as recorded in the *abba* Gärima Gospel, in a late fifteenth-century hand (MS Davies 2, f. 10^r).

The reason why MS MAKM-004, the interesting manuscript of May Anbäsa Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät (fig. 16, p. 271), is called Mäsḥafā bərhan, is not known. But the limited information and the text in the picture are enough to indicate that it is not another copy of Zära Yacqob's Mäsḥafā bərhan, for it is the work of the king, bearing the same title, and comes to mind whenever this title is invoked. I also assume that a description of a manuscript with a generic title, e.g. 'Prayer book' (e.g. fig. 50, p. 172) and 'Marian prayers' (fig. 65, p. 185) is tentative.

What is the 'Golden Gospel' that some churches have and others do not? The short answer might be that it is a gospel manuscript whose boards are plated with gold. If so, can owning such a book be a sign of high class? Are the institutions that own a Golden Gospel different in any way from others, at least historically?

There are always minor points in any book, including this monograph, that oblige a reviewer not to end his/her assessment with only the laudatory words with which he/she started. As one would expect, the study has benefitted greatly from the informative *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (*EAe*), because *EAe* 'provides concise and clear definitions and explanations, and well-selected bibliography for terms, localities, historical events, and figures, and therefore is frequently referred to in the discussion[s]' (xvi, n. 13). While the *EAe* is an excellent source, and may well, exceptionally, be used as a primary source, there is surely no justification for using it as a single source. It implies that the *EAe* is, as Amharic has it, əzziyaw fälla əzziyaw molla (i.e. 'a close circuit'), and puts those who does not have access to all five volumes as a seri-

ous disadvantage. When reference is made to the *EAe*, reference to at least one other major should be given alongside it, as is the case with the description of *tabot* (Fritsch 2000, p. xv, n. 12, or is it 2001, bibliography). We hope this suggestion will be followed when preparing the catalogue.

As for the other minor points, Many Ethiopians do not accept that the five-year period of the war was an 'Italian period' (p. xiii). For the benefit of both Ethiopia and Italy, they prefer to call it 'the period of Fascist occupation'. Contrary to popular belief, the *Kəbrä nägäśt* affirms that Makədda was the famous queen of Ethiopia, not of Sheba (p. 1).¹

Regarding transliteration, the famous monastery of Arägawi/zä-Mika'el is Däbrä Damo, not Däbrä Dammo. The /d/ in 'ṣadəq' has, indeed, a vowel, but not in 'ṣadqan'. This is true with /h/ in 'kahən', which is 'kahnat' when in the plural form. Others are 'ardə't', not 'ardə'ət'; 'tä'ammərä', not 'tä'amrä'; see *EAe*, IV, 793. The Ethiopian teachers pronounce their great teacher as 'Qerəlos', not 'Qerəllos'. The use of 'holy' in describing a tree (p. xiv) might lead to confusion with the non-Christian 'adbar'. Perhaps 'sacred' might be the right adjective.

In the history of Ethiopia, King Dawit I is not the father of King Solomon of Israel, but the son of Queen Makədda of Ethiopia and King Solomon of Israel (*ibn al-malik* or *ibn al-Ḥakīm*). King Dawit II reigned thirty-one years and died on 9 Ṭəqəmt, 1406 EC (= 6 October, 1413 CE), i.e. from 1381/1382 to 1413, probably not from 1379 to 1413 (p. 30).

A great deal of information that one expects to find in the body of the book is found in the footnotes. My guess is that it was a way of accommodating afterthoughts.

Denis Nosnitsin has earned the sincere gratitude of all scholars in the field of Ethiopian and religious studies and heart-felt congratulations for reaching his goal, no one doubts, under difficult circumstances (p. xiv, n. 8). We are also indebted to the agency that financed the project and to the local authorities of the province of Təgray for their understanding and cooperation, without which this treasure house would not have been at our fingertips. It is also gratifying to note that funding has been allotted for the conservation of manuscripts exposed to wear and tear (p. 8).

We look forward to the publication of the catalogue of the manuscripts digitized by this project and the proceedings of the workshops, *Ecclesiastic Landscape of North Ethiopia: History, Change and Cultural Heritage* (2011), and *Saints in Christian Ethiopia: Literary Sources and Veneration* (2012).

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¹ See also 'Kəbrä nägäśt', EAe, III (2007), 364a–368a (P. Marrassini), here 364a–b.