

ÁGNES MÁTÉ

ON THE POSSIBLE RESOURCES OF KRZYSZTOF GOLIAN'S
POLISH TRANSLATION OF *HISTORIA*

It is a generally accepted view regarding Enea Silvio Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus* that this work is one of the most successful pieces of European short stories and it was a real bestseller of humanism. Besides the diffusion of its Latin version, it quite soon started to spread in national languages as well: as early as the time of its birth, that is the 15th century, one German, four different Italian, two French and one Spanish versions were made. During the 16th century further translations followed in English, Hungarian, Polish, and Danish.

Although during the 20th century various bibliographies enumerated the short story's 15–16th century translations and handwritten copies, the summarization of these data has been long expected and the controlling of their authenticity is still awaited.¹ The versions in national languages are known to international researchers to various extents; we have modern editions of some that equal critical editions, while others are still only available in unique handwritten issues and are considered real curiosities.

The situation of the Polish translation is somewhere between these two extremities: there remained only one copy of its early translation with a defective front page titled *Historia piękna o miłości Euriala z Lukrecyą*, while its edition which is considered modern was edited and published by Samuel Adalberg in 1896 under the title *Historia o Euryalu i Lukrecyi*, however this issue hardly has a critical value and is difficult to access.²

The first to discuss the Polish translation in a study of fundamental importance was Pietro Marchesani,³ then his findings were complemented by Piotr Salwa and Simone Di Francesco,⁴ however the latter researcher does not seem to know Marchesani's study.

¹ The so far most complete list that I know is contained in Ines Ravasini's work, which is at the same time the critical edition of *Historia*'s early Spanish translation: Enea Silvio PICCOLOMINI, *Estoria muy verdadera de dos amantes, traducción castigliana anonima del XV secolo*, edizione critica, introduzione e note a cura di I. RAVASINI, Roma, Bagatto, 2004, 398–425.

² *Historia o Euryalu i Lukrecyi*, wyd. Samuel ADALBERG, Kraków, PAU, 1896 (Biblioteka Pisarzy Polskich, 32).

³ Pietro MARCHESANI, *Polski przekład "Historiae de duobus amantibus" Eneasza Sylwiusza Piccolominiiego a pojęcie miłości w Polsce doby renesansu*, in: *Studia porównawcze o literaturze staropolskiej*, a cura di T. MICHAŁOWSKA e J. ŚLASKI, Wrocław, Ossolineum, 1980, 111–133, mainly 115. and 126. The study was also published in Italian: *La traduzione polacca della Historia de duobus amantibus di Enea Silvio Piccolomini e la concezione dell'amore nel Rinascimento polacco*, in: *Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra medio evo e età moderna*, a cura di Vittore BRANCA e Sante GRACIOTTI, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1980, 397–426.

⁴ Piotr SALWA, *Ancora sulla prima versione polacca della Historia de duobus amantibus*, in: *Pio II umanista europeo: Atti del XVII. Convegno Internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza, 18–21 luglio 2005)*, ed.

According to Marchesani, it can be claimed that the translation was made by a member of the Polish nobility, Krzysztof Golian, not known for other works, and it was finished some time between 1560 and 1575 and printed after 1580. Golian transcribed the complete Piccolomini short story into 2,874 lines of paired rhymes and thirteen syllables, which was the most widespread form of 16th century Polish epic works. The translator tried to adjust his work to an audience with lower education than the Italian one, thus the mythological and culture historical references very often appearing in the Latin text were mainly eliminated or changed for more widely known ones, while the data relating to Italy's geography were simply not adopted (with a very few exceptions). Krzysztof Golian's work has a very tangible noble aspect and it is also characterised by a certain level of anti-Germanism. From a linguistic viewpoint, his work is only a distant forerunner of the new literary language which will accomplish in Poland during Baroque, but it definitely has a place among those works with which Italian humanism starts its northern expansion.

I suppose that one of Pietro Marchesani's most important findings is in connection with Golian's resource. Based on the translator's typical misreading and mistakes of interpretation, Marchesani convincingly proved that instead of using the 15th century translation of *Historia* made by Niklas von Wyle—as it was supposed by others—to create his work, Golian surely worked from some Latin resource.⁵ However, neither Marchesani nor the following researchers made a proposal for the more exact definition of this resource, thus I will now endeavour this by introducing a couple of identifiable Latin places. I would like to note here that in this case my research only covers printed editions because I have not had the chance to examine any manuscripts that are kept in Poland today and could be relevant to us in this exploration of resources. At the end of the paragraphs, I will indicate the shelf mark used in international bibliographies⁶ for the editions that contain the given characters.

The variant forms of historical, literary, and mythological names are especially useful signs in the research of resources and the grouping of text variants because the translations in national languages most probably transmit them in unchanged forms. In the Latin version, the story of Ariadne, the Cretan princess helping Theseus, is cited several times in Lucretia's letters, while her name is only mentioned twice in the Polish text. The 229th line of the work—"Adryana, Medea także były wzięte"⁷—probably goes back to the following Latin sentence: "Quid Hadrianam referam vel Medeam."⁸ The equivalent of its

Luisa SECCHI TARUGI, Firenze, Franco Cesati Editore, 2007 (Quaderni della Rassegna, 49), 487–497; Simone DI FRANCESCO, *La riscrittura polacca della Historia de duobus amantibus*, in: *ibid.*, 499–513.

⁵ MARCHESANI, *op. cit.*, 116.

⁶ For a detailed description of the issues see RAVASINI, *op. cit.*, 414–425.

⁷ "He captured both Ariadne and Medea." *Historya*, *op. cit.*, 8.

⁸ "What shall I say about Ariadne or Medea." The evaluation of the modern Latin editions of *Historia* being in circulation would be worth a separate study, however as none of these is a critical edition, they are to the same extent useful—or useless—to us. I still propose the following one to use and I refer to its page numbers: Enea Silvio PICCOLOMINI, *Historia de duobus amantibus*, a cura di Donato PIROVANO, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2001, 30.

884th line—“Przez radę Adryanny stamtąd był wywany”⁹—could be this Latin line: “sed Adriane consilio fretus evasit.”¹⁰ Thus in the Latin version being in front of Golian, the heroine known by her thread could have appeared as Adriana. Now and in the following, I am grouping the possible editions according to the versions they contain: H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 160 [Adrianam, Adriano], H 158, Lyon 1518 [Adrianam, Ariadne], Basle 1551, Basle 1571 [Hadrianam, Ariadnae], H 225 [Adrianam, Adriane].

In one of his letters, Euryalus cites the Sicilian Phaon from Ovid’s *Heroides*, to whom Sappho wrote a letter begging him to return her love. However the man’s name appears in line 556 of the translation in a strongly distorted form: “Zapho do Pharaona, gdy sie w nim kochała.”¹¹ So the resource could be one of those Latin text variants which include the following: “Si verborum memini quae ad Pharaonem Siculum scribit Sapho.”¹² H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, H 213, H 215, H 217, H 234, H 237, RSuppl1, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

After the first happy hours spent together with Lucretia, Euryalus leaves for home wearing a peasant’s dress and he meets three of his friends in the street: Nisus, Achates, and Palinurus. However, only two of his friends’ names are mentioned in lines 1635–1636: “Tak z sobą rozmawiając, postrzegł, że widzieli / Achaten Polinarus, bo w ten czas siedzieli.”¹³ Out of the numerous Latin texts, the Polish version is closer to the ones which include the name Nisus corrupted to *visus* or perhaps *visum*, and also have a somewhat distorted form of Palinurus’ name: “...visus/visum, Achaten Polinurum.”¹⁴ H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 239, Lyon 1518 [visus], Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

After arriving home, Euryalus takes off his disguise and recalling the adventure he tells about the beauties of Lucretia’s body to his friends. He refers to the story of Lydia’s king, Candaules, who showed his naked wife’s beauty to his bodyguard with the help of a ring that made him invisible. However, the king’s name can be read in a strongly distorted form in the 1707th line of the Polish version: “Nie piękniejsza Tandalis, króla Lidyjskiego.”¹⁵ And there are indeed Latin editions which contain the following form of the name: “Non tam Tandali Regis Lidiae formosa uxor fuit quam ista est.”¹⁶ H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 239, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

⁹ “He escaped following Ariadne’s advice.” *Historya*, *op. cit.*, 29.

¹⁰ “...but helped by Ariadne’s advice, he escaped.” PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 50. The Latin quotations were translated by the author of the study, the Polish translations are made by Mihály Balázs.

¹¹ “Sappho to Pharaon when she fell in love with him.” *Historya*, *op. cit.*, 19.

¹² “If I recall the words which Sappho wrote to the Sicilian Pharaon.” Thus the name version Pharaon is text corruption of the form Phaon. PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 40. That contains the correct *Phaonem* form.

¹³ “While chatting, he noticed that he was seen by Achates and Polinarus who were staying there.” *Historya*, *op. cit.*, 53.

¹⁴ “He noticed Achates and Polinurus.” The Latin text “correctly” includes: “Dum sic loquitur, Nisum, Achaten Palinurumque cernit.” PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 72.

¹⁵ “The wife of Tandalis, Lydia’s king is not more beautiful.” *Historya*, *op. cit.*, 56.

¹⁶ “Not even the wife of Tandalis, Lydia’s king was as beautiful as her [Lucretia].” The edition cited by me is different: “Non tam Candaulis regis Lidie...” PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 76.

The name of the Hungarian knight eager for Lucretia's love is Pacorus in branch X of *Historia's* text tradition and Baccarus in branch Y. The resource of the Polish version most probably belonged to the latter text group since the Hungarian knight's name appears ten times as Baccarus in Golian's text, firstly in line 1725: "A w tym Baccarus, ślchcic rodu węgierskiego."¹⁷ The Latin equivalent of the quoted place could have been the line starting with "Baccarus interea, pannoniū eques..."¹⁸ Apart from this, the name Baccarus appears in lines 1737, 1747, 1755, 1790, 1803, 1823, 1834, 1836, and 1841 of Golian's work, but I omit their quotation. The following editions include this variant name: H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, H 239, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571. My findings based on the use of name variants typical of certain Latin editions and transmitted into Golian's translation are worth to be supported by other places explored with the help of a more detailed text examination in order to collect further proof and be able to narrow the circle of possible resources. Before making more specific statements about Golian's possible resources, I would like to present some results of this detailed examination in the following.¹⁹

At the beginning of the short story, Piccolomini describes Euryalus' horse with a borrowing from Virgil's *Georgics*—"Erat Euriali spadix equus..."²⁰—then with a humorous turn he compares the man incensed with love to it: "Similis illi fiebat Eurialus, visa Lucretia."²¹ To be more precise: in one half of the text tradition, Euryalus becomes similar to the horse when he sees Lucretia, just as cited above, but in the other half it is Lucretia who can be compared to a horse. These latter variations contain the following: "Similis illi fiebat Eurialo viso Lucretia."²² It seems that in Krzysztof Golian's translation it is also the woman who is similar to the naughty horse as lines 279–280 suggest: "We wszystkim Lucretia tym podobna była, / Kiedy Euryalusa okiem swym baczyła."²³ So the Polish resource probably included the text version "Eurialo viso Lucretia." H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, H 225 [Lucretia Eurialo viso], H 239, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

When Lucretia can no longer conceal her love for Euryalus, she first confesses it to her servant, Sosias, when Euryalus is passing under her window with the emperor's attendants. This text place also has at least two versions in the Latin tradition. According to one of them, Lucretia turns to Sosias with the call "Aspice caesaries et madido cirro contortos crines"²⁴ and we basically hear an allusion to Juvenal from her (*Sat.* XIII, 164–

¹⁷ "And among them, Baccarus, the knight with Hungarian origins." *Historia*, *op. cit.*, 56.

¹⁸ "In the meantime Baccarus, a Hungarian knight..." The Latin edition used is different: "Pacorus interea, pannoniū eques..." PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 76.

¹⁹ Hereby I would like to thank my ex-teacher, professor Mihály Balázs for having taken the time and energy to thoroughly read Golian's work and besides his Latin and Polish knowledge helping me write this study with his endlessly repeated encouragements.

²⁰ "Euryalus had a chestnut coloured horse..." PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 30.

²¹ "Euryalus became similar to it when he saw Lucretia."

²² "Lucretia became similar to it when she saw Euryalus." PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 30.

²³ "Lucretia was completely similar to it when she saw Euryalus." *Historia*, *op. cit.*, 10.

²⁴ "Look at their beautiful hair locks curled up wet." PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 32.

165)²⁵ which is about Germanic men's typical hair-do. According to the other version however, Lucretia encourages Sosias to admire the attendants themselves and not their hair as instead of "Aspice caesaries" there is "Aspice caesareos" here. Thus text corruption here modifies the plural objective case of the noun *caesaries* -ei (f) meaning 'big and beautiful hair' to the masculine plural objective case of the adjective *caesareus* 3 meaning 'of the emperor'. According to my research, Golian's text either goes back to the variant with the form *caesareos* or we can witness the translator's misunderstanding as in lines 319–320 of his work we can read the following: "Co cesarza prowadzą porządkiem ozdobnym, / Nie jest żadna kraina młodzią tym podobnym."²⁶ So far I have only seen two editions that contain the form *caesareos*; these are H 234 and H 237. However all editions that use Latin forms equivalent to the Polish text (as we saw earlier) include the correct *caesaries* form. H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, H 219, H 235, Venice 1504, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.²⁷

Writing about women and men deceived by strangers, Euryalus cites the love of Antony and Cleopatra in his fourth letter written to Lucretia, and then Ovid's lines about the Achaians who rather stayed with their lovers instead of returning home. "Qualis amor Antonii Cleopatraeque fuit et aliorum, quos epistulae brevitatis referre non sinit? Sed tu Ovidium legisti invenistique post Troiam dirutam Achivorum plurimos..."²⁸ However, Latin tradition knows another version of the text here. According to this, the text does not continue with a contrastive conjunction after the interrogative sentence but with a conditional one: "Si tu Ovidium legisti invenistique..."²⁹ It seems to me that lines 989–990 of the Polish text ("Jeśliś Owidyusza też kiedy czytała, / Nalazłabyś, jak wiele Troja ucierpiała"³⁰) also follow this latter one since Euryalus here says to Lucretia: if you had read Ovid, you would have found that. H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

In the last third of the story, when Lucretia's jealous husband has already blocked every possibility for meeting, Euryalus is forced to ask the woman's brother-in-law, Pandalus, for help. Besides the advantage of escaping from the family's shame, in return of his help Euryalus mentions to Pandalus getting the title of count palatine but he modestly protests against such an award. In some of the Latin versions, Pandalus "refuses" Euryalus' proposal with the words "Ego ut vitem infamiam nostre imminentem familie hoc

²⁵ "...caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam / caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?" "And who would be surprised at the Germanic's blue eyes and the blond locks of his / hair, which he wets to curl into the form of a horn?"

²⁶ "There is no attendance that could be compared to the one following the emperor in a fine order." *Historya, op. cit.*, 11.

²⁷ I do not have data about the relating place of H 225.

²⁸ "Just like what the love of Antony and Cleopatra was and that of others about which I can not write because of the brevity of the letter? But you read Ovid and found in it that after destroying Troy many of the Achaians..."

²⁹ "If you read Ovid, you found in it..." This is what the Latin edition quoted by me includes as well. PIC-COLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 54.

³⁰ "If you had read Ovid, you would have found how much Troy suffered." *Historya, op. cit.*, 33.

ago, quod si tibi conducit, non propterea sum premiandus”³¹ but according to other versions there is “non propterea sum amandus”³² at the end of the sentence. Thus while in one of these Pandalus says he is not doing it to be awarded, in the other he says he is not doing it to be loved. In my opinion, Golian also follows the version “non propterea sum amandus” in lines 2281–2282 of his work: “Co jeśli sie tak sprawi, jako usiłuje, / Myśl twa, nie przeto secre twoe mnie niech miłuje.”³³ H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

When Euryalus and Lucretia meet for the last time, after the man successfully enters the gate of the house, the woman faints from her strong emotion. Not knowing what happened to her, Euryalus finally awakes his love with his tears. In lines 2533–2534 of the Polish translation, Lucretia “Któremi, by różaną wódką pokropiona, / I zaraz, jak z ciężkiego snu, jest obudzona,”³⁴ that is she wakes up as if she had been sprinkled with rose (scented) water. The place shows many kinds of corruption in the Latin tradition but the translator seems to have seen a relatively uncorrupted text and he follows this version: “...quibus tanquam rosarum aquis excitata mulier quasi de gravi somno surrexit.”³⁵ H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, H 216, H 222, H 223, H 231, H 239, C 59, C 64, C 65, R 3, P 155, BMC IV. 44, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

When the lovers meet for the last time, Euryalus also praises the woman’s bosoms with enthusiastic words. “O piersi przeozdobne, jaż rękami memi / Trzymam was, a cieszą mnie wdzięcznościami swemi?”³⁶—says the Polish Euryalus in lines 2569–2570 of the work. From the two Latin versions typical of this place (“O papille preanitime/premende”³⁷), Golian’s resource could belong to the group which includes the plural form *papille premende*.³⁸ H 151, H 154, H 156, H 157, H 158, H 160, H 225, C 64, C 65, R 3, BMC IV. 44, Lyon 1518, Basle 1551, Basle 1571.

On the basis of my research so far, it can definitely be claimed that the manuscript or the print serving as a resource for the Polish work could belong to the group which E. J. Morrall called the branch Y of text tradition.³⁹ I suppose it would not be right if I narrowed the scope of possible texts too much, however I still mention some arguments

³¹ “I am doing this to avoid our family’s endless shame and if this is good for you I do not deserve any further awards.” PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 92.

³² “...you do not need to love me above that.”

³³ “Even if it happens the way I want, your heart should not love me only for this.” *Historia*, *op. cit.*, 74.

³⁴ “And she awakened from her dream as if she had been sprinkled with rose scented water.” *Historia*, *op. cit.*, 82.

³⁵ “With which, as if she had been sprinkled with rose scented water, the woman awakened from her deep dream...” PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 100.

³⁶ “O these wonderful bosoms; what a pleasure it is when I can hold them in my hands.” *Historia*, *op. cit.*, 36.

³⁷ “O white bosoms / bosoms to be massaged.”

³⁸ In the cited modern edition as well: PICCOLOMINI, *op. cit.*, 100.

³⁹ Eric John MORRALL, *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II), Historia de duobus amantibus: The Early Editions and the English Translation Printed by John Day*, The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, March 1996, Sixth series, Vol. 18, No. 3, 216–229.

which exclude one part of the editions as their characters are too distinct from the ones that could be contained in the Polish edition.

Instead of the form Tandali, the name of Lydia's king appears in a different form in the following editions (I always group the editions according to the differences, I indicate the distinct forms in square brackets). H 160 [Candele]; H 213, H 216, H 217, H 219, H 235, RSup11, Venice 1504 [Candali]; H 215, H 222, H 223, H 231, C 59, P 155 [Candidi]; H 225, H 234, H 237 [Candaulis]; C 64, C 65, R 3, BMC IV. 44 [Candele, regis lilie].

These editions can also be excluded by the fact that the names of Euryalus' three friends appear in different forms in them; or they do not appear at all. H 160 [visum, Achaten Polimmurum]; H 213, H 216, H 217, H 219, H 222, H 223, H 231, H 235, C 59, P 155, Venice 1504 [Nisum, Achaten Pliniumque]; H 225, H 234 [Nisum, Achatem Polimiumque]; C 64, C 65, R 3, BMC IV. 44 [visum Achatem Palmierumque].

At the first occurrence of the name Ariadne, the form Diana appears in the Latin text in some editions: H 213, H 215, H 217, H 219, H 231, H 234, H 235, H 237, Venice 1504.

Another argument against the editions signed H 213, H 215, H 217, H 219, H 225, H 231, H 234, H 235, H 237, C 64, C 65, R 3, BMC IV. 44, Venice 1504 is that they contain the form "propterea non sum premiandus" instead of "amandus"⁴⁰ which seems more likely to me.

Finally, the strongest argument against all the following editions can be that none of these include the Hungarian knight's name as Baccarus but as Pacorus. H 213, H 215, H 216, H 217, H 219, H 222, H 223, H 225, H 231, H 234, H 235, H 237, C 59, C 64, C 65, R 3, BMC IV. 44, P 155, RSup11, Venice 1504.

Summing up all the above, we can say that the Latin text serving as Golian's resource could be in a closer relationship with the following nine editions.

1. H 151

Epistole familiares, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, Niklas von Wyle [editor], 1481. 16 Kal X (16. IX).

Examined copy: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, B.3.27; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Inc. 581.

2. H 154

Epistole familiares, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, Niklas von Wyle [editor], 1486, 16 Kal VIII (17. VII).

Examined copy: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Inc. 1073.

⁴⁰ I have no data about this place of editions H 216, H 222, H 223, H 231, C 59, and P 155.

3. H 156

Epistole familiares, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, Niklas von Wyle [editor], 1496, 16 Kal VI (17. V).

Examined copy: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Inc. 1074.

4. H 157

Epistole familiares et varii tractatus, Milan, Ulrich Scinzenzeler, Ambrosius Archintus & Johannes Vinzalius [editors], 1496, 10. XII.

Examined copy: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Inc. 1222.

5. H 158–C 37

Epistole familiares et varii tractatus, Lyon, Jean de Vingle, Ambrosius Archintus & Johannes Vinzalius [editors], 1497, 8. IX.

Examined copy: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Inc. 1075.

6. H 239

Historia de duobus amantibus, Bologna, Benedetto Faelli [editor], 1496.⁴¹

7. EPISTOLE ET VARII TRACTATUS, Lyon, Jean Moylin alias de Cambray, 1518, 15. IV.

Examined copy: Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, SEDE ST 9720.

8. OPERA QUAE EXTANT OMNIA, Basle, Henrichus Petri, 1551.

Examined copy: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ant. 1069.

9. OPERA QUAE EXTANT OMNIA, Basle, ex officina Henricpetrina, 1571.

Examined copy: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 10_6; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ant. 503.

Naturally, my examinations are far from being complete, and they could provide us with a comprehensive picture of Krzysztof Golian's Polish translation primarily—but not exclusively—together with the data referring to the manuscripts and printed editions of *Historia* that can be found in present and former Polish areas. However, it already seems to be sure that Golian's Polish translation subsists on the Latin text group from one member of which the German Niklas von Wyle also worked a century earlier.

⁴¹ According to the data of *Catalogus Incunabulorum Hungariae* one such edition can be found in the Diocesan Library in Győr. Nevertheless, according to the information given by Krisztina Pintérné Rácz, a colleague of the Library, in 2009 the volume can no longer be found in the collection, thus I did not have the opportunity to see such an edition. However, it can be claimed that H 239 also belongs to this group of editions because of the concordance of places not relevant from the viewpoint of the Polish translation, which I did not represent here but of which I have information.