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THE *ANTIDOTARIUS ANIMAE* OF NICOLAUS DE SALICETO AS PUBLISHED BY KASPAR HOCHFEDER

Nicolaus de Saliceto, born Wydenbosch or Weidenbusch, was born towards the end of the first half of the 15th century in Bern, Switzerland, where he later studied the liberal arts. He continued his education in Paris, where he obtained a PhD in medicine in 1461. He must have then returned to Switzerland, for a couple of years later, in 1470, he stayed in a Cistercian abbey in Frienisberg, a canton of Bern, where he served as a preacher for five years. In 1482, on the order of Jean de Cirey, abbot of Citeaux (d. 1503), he left for the Cistercian abbey of Baumgarten (Alsace) where he became the abbot and died in 1493. This is also where he wrote the work that brought him fame, a prayer book entitled *Antidotarius animae*.

The GW¹ card index identifies 28 15th-century editions of this text that are known today, 7 of which were published with no printing date. The chronology of the dated editions is as follows:

Year	Number of editions	Year	Number of editions
1489	1	1495	2
1490	3	1496	1
1491	2	1497	1
1492	0	1498	1
1493	3	1499	2
1494	4	1500	1

TABLE 1.

¹ *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. Bd I-X. Leipzig – Stuttgart, 1925-2000.*

The editions were released in 11 cities by 13 printers. Most of them published *Antidotarius* once or twice. Only two printers published this work in more editions, namely Ioannes Grüninger in Strasbourg (seven editions), and Kaspar Hochfeder in Nuremberg and Metz (five editions).

The Grüninger's editions – apart from one that is undated – were published with a nearly annual regularity from 1489 to 1494, with the exception of 1492, as no editions are known from that year, and 1494 when it is likely that two editions came out (H2² 14164 – 4 III 1494 and C³ 5218 – 30 VI “1404”, which date was probably a mistake substituted for the proper one, 1494). Such frequency in the publication of the text discussed herein is a prominent sign of its popularity.

This is also confirmed to a certain extent by the case of Hochfeder. Of the five of his known editions, only two are dated: H 14163 – 26 IX 1493 and H 14166 – 31 VIII 1494. The three others are BMC⁴ II 478 (IA 8230), H 14154 and IBP⁵ 5954. The first two were listed in the monograph by Emil van der Vekene⁶ under numbers 29 and 58, while the third one remained unrecorded. For the purposes of the present paper, I have called them A, B and C, respectively, and will discuss them further.

Ed. A (BMC II 478) – printing date cited hitherto: BMC II 478 (IA 8230) – undated, Vekene 29 – [ca. 1495], IGI⁷ 8521 – [1496-1497]. Working GW card index (M39482) – [ca. 1495]. (IBP 5952 adopted Vekene's proposition).
Ed. B (H 14154) – HND⁸ 551 – [ca. 1500], CIH⁹ 3002 – [ca. 1499-1500], the same as Vekene 58, SFB¹⁰

- 2 L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica. inventa usque ad annum MD typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel adcuratius recensentur*, Vol. 1-2. Stuttgartiae – Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1826-1838.
- 3 W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum*, t. 1-2, London, 1895-1902, Repr.: Berlin, 1926
- 4 *Catalogue of books printed in the 15th century now in the British Museum*, part I-X. London, 1908-1971 (Part I-VIII lithographic reprint. London, 1963).
- 5 *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. 1, Moderante Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa composuerunt Maria Bohonos et Elisa Szandorowska. Wrocław, 1970; vol. 2: *Addenda. Indices*. Moderante Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa composuerunt Maria Bohonos, Michael Spandowski et Elisa Szandorowska, Wrocław, 1993.
- 6 E. van der Vekene, *Kaspar Hochfeder*. Baden-Baden, 1974.
- 7 *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d' Italia*. A cura del Centro Nazionale d' Informazioni Bibliografiche, Vol. 1-6. Roma, 1943-1981.
- 8 I. Hubay, *Incunabula aus der staatlichen Bibliothek Neuburg/Donau*. Wiesbaden, 1970.
- 9 G. Sajo, E. Soltész, *Catalogus incunabulorum quae in bibliothecis publicis Hungariae asservantur*. Budapest, 1970.
- 10 V. Sack, *Die Inkunabeln der Universitätsbibliothek und anderer öffentlicher Sammlungen in Freiburg*

3131 – [ca. 1499/1500], IBE¹¹
 4999 – [ca. 1500], BSB-Ink¹²
 S-23 – [ca. 1499-1500]. GW card index (M 39479) – [ca. 1499/1500]
 – the same in IBP.
 Ed. C (IBP 5954) – dating (in accordance with the GW card index
 M 39480) – [ca.1500].

While registering incunabula during the preparations for the second volume of IBP, we came across a copy of the text discussed here in the library of the Reformat Franciscan Monastery in Zakliczyn on the Dunajec (provisional shelf mark no. 1). It lacks the title page and the last pages, from f. ii₈ onwards. The preserved part consists of alternating fragments of editions A and B. Its details are set out below (given in the order in which particular sequences are bound):

f. a₂₋₇ – ed. A
 f. [2-3]⁴ – ed. B
 f. a-d⁸ (lb. 1-32) – ed. B
 imposition c⁸ (lb. 17-24) – ed. A
 f. f₁ – ii₇ (lb. 41-225) – ed. B

We ought to emphasise that, regardless of the edition, this collection does not contain the complete text, as some of the fragments are duplicated while others are completely missing.

Shortly thereafter, we registered another copy of the text in question, this time in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (shelf mark Inc. 3606). It also turned out to be a compilation of both editions discussed (A and B); this time a fragment from the beginning to the end of imposition p⁸ belonged to edition A (lacking f. b₁), while the rest – from imposition q⁸ to the end (together with the last imposition, which is of great importance) – came from edition B.

I was concerned by the fact that the only two copies of these editions preserved in Poland were as such compilations of different prints bound together. Moreover, it turned out that another copy I discovered (Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina in Rome, cf. IGI 8521) was also composed of two parts which did not form a complete work:

f. [1]-9 (signature mark a8, b1) – ed. A
 f. 11-96 (signature mark b3-m8) – ed. B (missing the final part
 from imposition n to the end).

im Breisgau und Umgebung. Wiesbaden, 1985.

11 *Catálogo general de incunables en bibliotecas españolas. Coordinado y dirigido por Francisco García Craviotto*, vol. 1-2. Madrid, 1989-1990. *Adiciones y correcciones*. Madrid, 1991, 1994.

12 *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Inkunabelkatalog*, Bd 1-6. Wiesbaden, 1988-2005.

Please note that the gaps at the limits of both editions are larger than it might initially seem, since both editions have different collations, especially at the beginning: ed. A starts from imposition a, and the page numbering from 1; the beginning consists of the introduction and the *Tabula*, while the main text only starts on the verso of folio 10 (signature mark b_2), whereas the beginning of ed. B is composed of two impositions (12 f. in total) marked with numbers and with no foliation, including the introduction and the *Tabula*; the main text does not start until f. [13] where the impositions bear signature marks starting from “a”, and foliation begins on f. 1 (fig. 1-3).

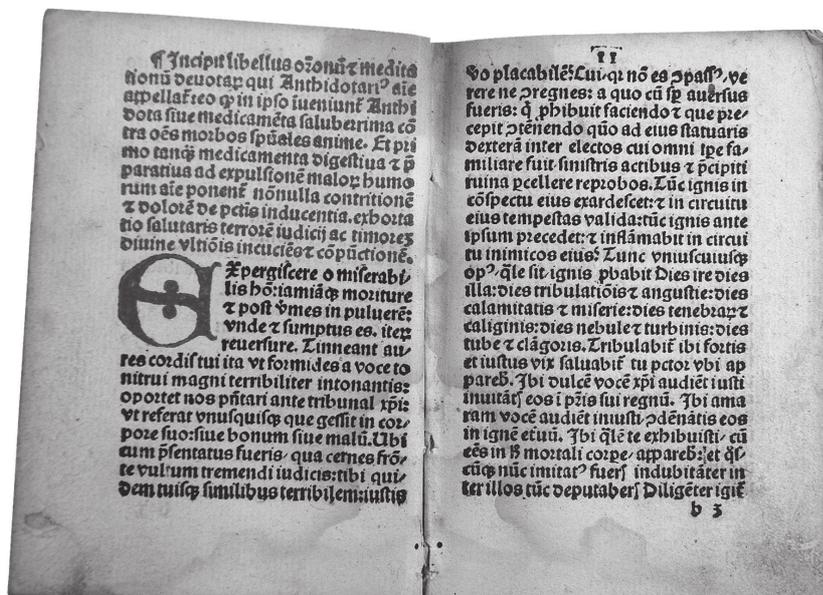


Fig. 1. Edition A. Beginning of the main text: f. b_2 - b_3a (copy from the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow)

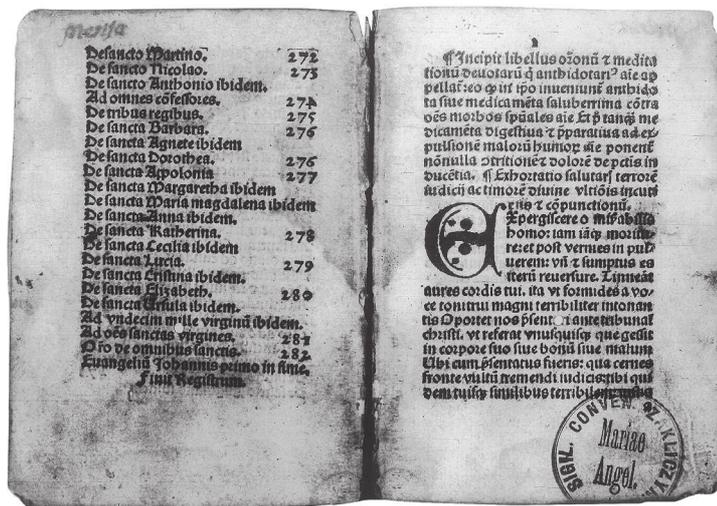


Fig. 2. Ed. B. Beginning of the main text: f. 2₄b-a (copy from Zakliczyn)

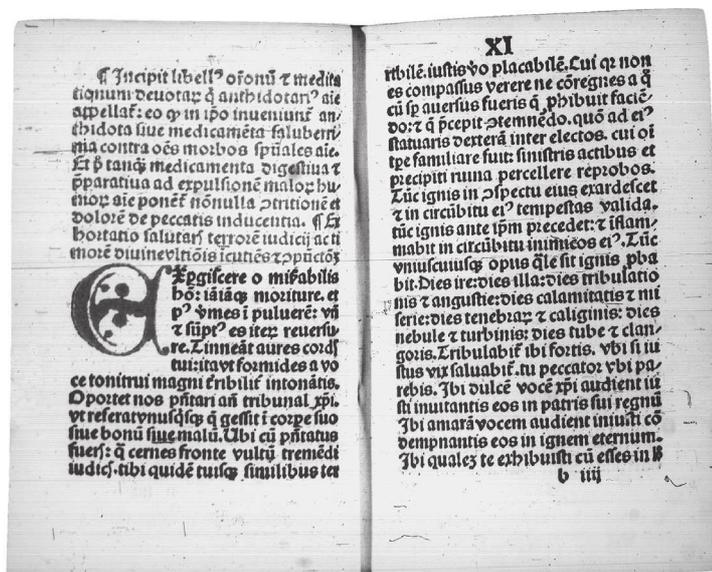


Fig. 3. Ed. C. Beginning of the main text: f. b₃b-b₄a (copy from Opole)

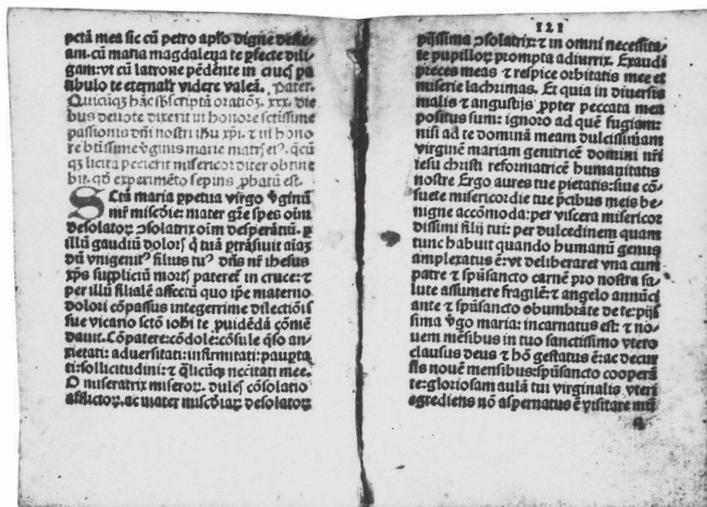


Fig. 4. Ed. A. f. p₈b-q₁a (copy from the Jagiellonian Library)

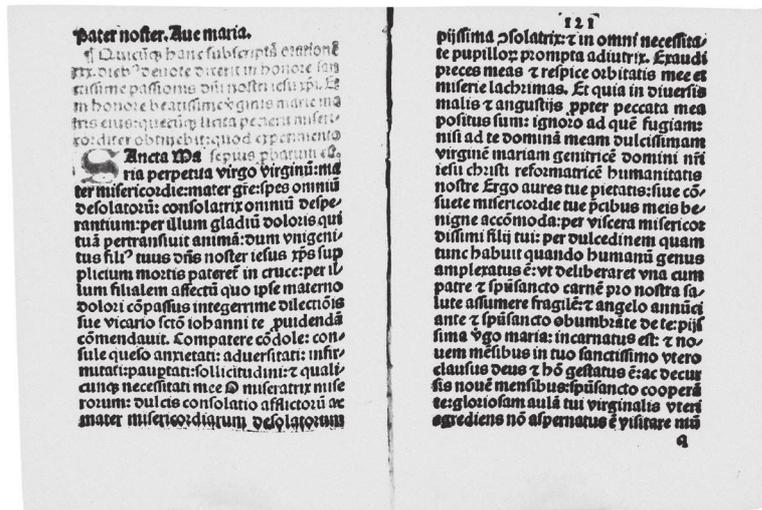


Fig. 5. Ed. B. f. p₈b-q₁a (copy from Esztergom)

Each of the three copies I had personally examined at that time compiled fragments of the two editions without containing the integral text in the preserved leaves (naturally, I leave aside the issue of possible defects). There was little probability that this resulted from the work of the bookbinders; I would rather consider the hypothesis that the printing workshop used remaining fragments of various editions to sell further – seemingly integral – copies.

Under these circumstances, full copies of editions A and B had to be carefully compared, which I did in London by correlating the copy from the British Library (shelf mark IA. 8230, ed. A) with a microfilm of the copy from *Érseki Simor Könyvtár in Esztergom* (shelf mark II.7957.b, ed. B). Both of them are complete and contain the integral text, with no gaps or repetitions. It turned out, however, that they did not use two entirely different typesettings. The beginning, up to imposition p⁸, as well as the final imposition nn⁴, show differences, while the middle, from imposition q⁸ to mm⁸, proceeds with the same typesetting. The typesetting of the final page of imposition p in both versions seems intriguing, as in ed. B the frequency of abbreviations here is no higher than in the rest of the print, whereas in ed. A their particular accumulation can be noticed on this page (including “Pater noster. Aue maria” from ed. B being replaced by simply “Pater” in ed. A (see fig. 4-5)). There could only be one purpose for this “densification” of the text: the printer wanted to tighten it so that it would fit in its entirety and match with the already printed beginning of imposition q. This would suggest that edition B should be considered earlier as compared to ed. A, while this later edition incorporated the already printed impositions q-mm⁸ from the previous one.

animā meam: sana ⁊ sanctifica me interius ⁊ exterius. Esio tutamen ⁊ contra me salutis corporis ⁊ anime mee: repelle a me insidiātes mihi hostes: recedentia a me potentia maiestatis tue: ut foris ⁊ intus munitus per te: recto tramite ad regnum tuū perueniam ubi nō in miseris sicut in hoc sepe agitur: sed facie ad faciem te videbimus cum tradideris regnum deo patri. ⁊ deus eris omnia in omnibus. Tunc enim de te satiab saturitate mirifica. Ita ut neque eluriam neque sitiam in eternū. Amen.

Maiestati ^{Aug. O. q. n. n. n. n. n.} Aug. O. q. n. n. n. n. n.
tuam totis viribus deus p̄iisti
me humili prece deosco ⁊ exoro: ut remittas crimina: que caro fragilis a tentatione iniquo zum spirituum nequiter admisit: ⁊ iam reuerti ad ea non sinas ultra: sed cōfirma me iustificatiōibus tuis: ⁊ perferantia mihi tribue in illis: ⁊ fac me dignū ante cōspectū maiestatis tue astare: ⁊ sacrificiū tibi dñe casto corde ⁊ mūdo corde pigne offerre

Fig. 6. f. aa₁b – variant A (copy from Esztergom)

animā meam: sana ⁊ sanctifica me in-
 terius ⁊ exterius. Esō nutamen ⁊ conti-
 nua salus corpis ⁊ anime mee: repelle
 a me insidiātes mibi hostes: recedent
 paul a potentia malefactoris tue: ut foris
 ⁊ intus munitus ⁊ tere: recto tramite ad
 regnum tuū perueniam. Vbi nō in my-
 steris sicut in hoc tēpore agitur: sed fa-
 cie ad faciem te videbimus: cui tradide-
 ris regnum Deo patri. ⁊ Deus eris om-
 nia in omnibus. Tunc enī me de te sa-
 tiab̄ satietate misericordiae. Ita ut neq̄ estu-
 riam neq̄ sitiam in eternū. Amen.
Miserere Altissimē. Altissimē. Altissimē. Altissimē.
 tuam totis viribus Deus p̄stā
 me humili p̄ce deponso. ⁊ exoro: ut re-
 mias criminia: que caro fragilis a ten-
 satione iniquorum spirituum neq̄ter
 admittit: ⁊ iam reuerti ad ea non sinas
 vltra: sed cōfirma me iustificatiōibus
 tuis: ⁊ persecerantiā mibi tribue in il-
 lis: ⁊ fac me dignū ante cōspectū maie-
 statis tue asfare: ⁊ sacrificiū tibi offere ca-
 no corde ⁊ mūdo corde: digne offerre:

Fig. 7. f. aa₁b – variant B (copy from the Jagiellonian Library)

In the part of the typesetting which is common to both editions, two variant places can be found:

- a. f. aa₁b, final line (see fig. 6-7)
 - var. A: corde digne (copies preserved at the BL, in Esztergom and in Zakliczyn)
 - var. B: corde.digne (copy from the Jagiellonian Library)
- b. f. ff₁a
 - var. A: with an erroneous foliation: 230 (copies from the library in Esztergom, the Jagiellonian Library and Zakliczyn)
 - var. B: with a correct foliation: 231 (copy of the BL).

As we can see, the above variants appear irrespective of whether the particular part of the typesetting belongs to ed. A or B. This should be of no surprise: the GW card index provides numerous examples of Hochfeder prints where fragments of one edition appear in variant typesettings, such as the final imposition in ed. H 14166 and the end of the text on the last page in ed. A (limiting our consideration to the text discussed here, as the situation is no different in the case of other works).

Coming back to editing issues, not only will I try to determine which of the two editions is earlier: A or B (C will be discussed afterwards), but also to establish the time when they might have been printed.

In both editions, the same typeface, no. 13,¹³ was used, although when describing ed. A, Vekene mistakes it for typeface no. 7. This was probably due to the automatic copying of the Proctor numbering¹⁴ where typeface 13 (according to the adopted numbering) is marked with a number 7; the same mistake is repeated in the GW card index. Vekene distinguishes between two variants of this typeface: 13 and 13*.¹⁵ The difference consists in a tendency to use the Lombard minuscule in the second one, where the first one applies majuscules.

Vekene lists in total 11 prints¹⁶ in which any of the variants of typeface 13 were used. They are provided in chronological order¹⁷ in the following table:

-
- 13 Unless stated otherwise, any numbering of typefaces in the present article follows Haebler's system, which was subsequently adopted by GW and Vekene.
 - 14 R. Proctor, *An index to the early printed books in the British Museum. From the invention of printing to the year 1500. With notes on those in the Bodleian Library*. London, 1960.
 - 15 13 and 13bis in the GW terminology.
 - 16 In order to provide a clearer outlook, I have excluded from this summary both editions of the prayer book by Nicolaus de Saliceto discussed herein.
 - 17 When distinguishing between typeface no. 13 and 13*, I have adopted data taken from the Vekene descriptions in three cases (GW 1074, GW 1107 and GW 966), while in the others I present findings resulting from my own examination of a copy or a microfilm.

Date of print	Text	Letter	Vekene	Copy	Typeface	Place of print
1495	Alexander de Villa Dei: Doctrinale. P. 1	GW 1074	20	†Karlsruhe LB	13	Nuremberg
1495	Alexander de Villa Dei: Doctrinale. P. 2	GW 1107	21	†Karlsruhe LB	13	Nuremberg
29/09/1495	Diurnale Ratisponense	GW 8557	19	Berlin SB	13=7 ¹⁸	Nuremberg
25/03/1496	Guillelmus Parisiensis: Postilla	GW 11928	30	Kraków Czart.	7, 13*	Nuremberg
8/07/1497	Psalterium	C 4936	37	London BL	13*	Nuremberg
[ca. 1498]	Breviarium Erfordense	GW 5338	51	London BL	13=7 ¹⁹	[Nuremberg]
[ca. 1499/1500]	Tafel der Jahreszeiten	Einbl. 1449	59	Trier StB	13*	Metz
1500	Alexander de Villa Dei: Doctrinale. P. 1-4	GW 1135	60	GfT Tabl.1123	13*	Metz
[ca. 1500]	Alexander de Villa Dei: Doctrinale. P. 1-4	GW 966	63	Freiburg i.Br. UB	13*	[Metz]
[ca. 1500]	Poeniteas cito	HC 13158	65	Wrocław BU	13*	[Metz]

TABLE 2.1819

The present summary demonstrates that Hochfeder did not use both typefaces at the same time: he started with typeface 13, later replacing it with typeface 13*. An explanation is needed as to when this change took place. This might seem evident, since the earliest print where typeface 13* has been found is *Postilla* by William of Paris (GW 11928), which bears an exact date when its printing was completed, namely 25 February 1496. Nonetheless, a detailed study of the publication leads to the conclusion that this finding is not unambiguous.

The reason for this is that the edition was printed with typeface 7. It is only a note in GW (Anm.) that provides information about the two variants of a part of imposition g (leaves g_{1,2} and g_{7,8}): the original one where typeface 7 was used, as

18 I have checked personally that it is in fact typeface no. 7.

19 Another example of wrong typeface identification. BMC II, p. 473 analyses the typeface used in this print (quoting the IB 8209 shelf mark) and identifies it as 61B, equal to typeface no. 7 according to Haebler's system. A reproduction of this typeface may be found in table XLIV, which undoubtedly is an example of typeface 7, not 13. In its description, GW only mentions typeface no. 13, and albeit the BM catalogue is quoted, no remarks regarding any different typeface identification are made. Both typefaces are of the same size (61 mm), which might have been the reason for the mistake made by GW. In Vekene's work, the issue gets even more complicated, as the author refers to typeface no. 13 in the description of the item without any mention of typeface no. 7, whereas while giving an outline of typeface no. 7, he acknowledges that it is equal to typeface 61B as described in the BMC and – as we can learn therein – used in the print here discussed. My examination has confirmed that the typeface in question is typeface no. 7.

with the rest of the edition, and a revised one in typeface 13* (see fig. 8). As we might expect, the date from the colophon refers to the original typesetting. When were these four leaves swapped for the amended typesetting? Probably shortly thereafter, and presumably no later than at the end of 1496 or the beginning of 1497. The first dated edition printed by Hochfeder where typeface 13* was used turns out to be a Psalter completed on 8 July 1497 (C 4936). From this date on, no Hochfeder prints with typeface 13 are known.

Coming back to the editions of the work by Nicolaus de Saliceto discussed in this paper, in editions A and B typeface 13 appears, therefore they must have been printed no later than before mid-1497 (the date of publication of the Psalter). As the remaining part of the typesetting of edition B was incorporated into edition A (see above), I assume that the time that elapsed between printing the first and second one must have been relatively short (considering the difficulties in storing the typesetting or printed impositions). As mentioned above (also in the case of the dated editions published by Hochfeder), *Antidotarius* was reissued every year throughout the entire decade of the 1490s. Therefore, the conclusion that ed. B was created a year after the publication of H 14166 (dated 31 August 1494) seems most likely, and I would tentatively suggest approximately 1495 as its date of issue, and consequently approx. 1496 for edition A, which is the last year that Hochfeder could without any doubt have used typeface no. 13.

Vekene finds it most probable that Hochfeder moved to Metz in 1499.²⁰ Thus, both of the editions discussed must have been issued while he was still in Nuremberg.

The remaining edition C applies typeface 13*, therefore it is certainly later than the two previously discussed.

In his monograph, Vekene arranges all Hochfeder's production in chronological order.²¹ If we compare the range of the titles that he printed in Nuremberg (1491-1499) with the ones from his first stay in Metz (1499-1501), it turns out that they had only one²² item in common: *Alexander de Villa Dei: Doctrinale*, which is of no surprise, since this Latin grammar handbook was incredibly popular²³ in the 15th century and certainly constituted a reliable source of income for the printer. Among the other authors and texts Hochfeder worked with in Metz, not even one had been previously printed in Nuremberg. Furthermore, Hochfeder never printed the text discussed here again, neither in Cracow (1503-1505) nor in his second publishing house in Metz (1508-1517). This correlates with observations on the activity of other printers who issued this work: its popularity peaked in the

20 E. van der Vekene, *Kaspar Hochfeder...*, pp. 25-26

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-36.

22 Without considering edition B of the prayer book attributed to the print shop in Metz, as I have tried to prove above that it was in fact printed earlier in Nuremberg.

23 GW lists 280 editions in total, and surely not all of the published ones have been preserved up to the present time.

mid-1490s and declined significantly afterwards.

For the above reasons, I believe it is most probable that edition C was also printed in Nuremberg. As far as the time of its publication is concerned, considering the previous publishing pace of Hochfeder as well as the dates of the earlier editions, I would cautiously estimate its date of printing at approx. 1497-98.

To summarise, I propose the following sequence and dates of publication for the three editions of the prayer book discussed in this paper:

Letter	Previously	Proposal
HC 14154	[Metz, ca. 1499-1500]	[Nuremberg, ca. 1495]
BMC II 478	[Nuremberg, ca. 1495]	[Nuremberg, ca. 1496]
IBP 5954	[Metz, ca. 1500]	[Nuremberg, ca. 1497-98]

TABLE 3.

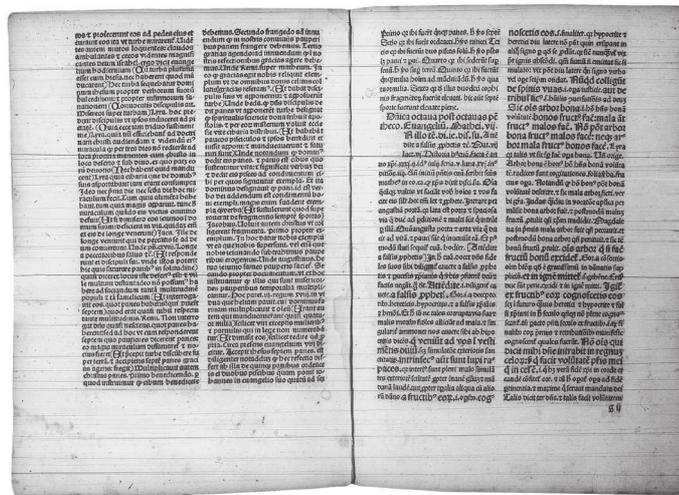


Fig. 8. Guillelms Parisiensis: *Postilla*. Nuremberg 1496. (GW 11928). Var. B: left: f. g₂b (typeface 13*), right: f. g₃a (marked mistakenly as g₂, typeface 7)

SUMMARY

Antidotarius animae by Nicolaus de Saliceto was one of the most popular prayer books printed in the 15th century. Kaspar Hochfeder was one of the printers who published that text most often. Three of his editions bear no date or address. Detailed analysis of a few copies of these editions, also in the context of other copies, enables us to present a new way of dating them, defining the sequence in which they appeared and the place where they were printed.