Title	The Kelmscott Golden legend and F.S. Ellis
Sub Title	
Author	徳永, 聡子(Tokunaga, Satoko)
Publisher	慶應義塾大学藝文学会
Publication year	2017
Jtitle	藝文研究 (The geibun-kenkyu : journal of arts and letters). Vol.113, No.2 (2017. 12) ,p.83- 94
JaLC DOI	
Abstract	
Notes	The decay of lying? : essays in honour of professor Keiko Kawachi
Genre	Journal Article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00072643-01130002-0083

The Kelmscott *Golden Legend* and F. S. Ellis

Satoko TOKUNAGA

In 1891, *The Intentions*, a collection of critical essays on aesthetics by Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), was published, consisting of 'The Decay of Lying', 'Pen, Pencil and Poison', 'The Critic as Artist' and 'The Truth of Masks', all of which exhibit every aspect of Wilde's personalities, as well as his stance, at the *fin de siècle*. The first part of *The Intentions*, 'The Decay of Lying', originally published in the newspaper *Nineteenth Century* in January 1889, is presented as a vigorous dialogue between two characters, Cyril and Vivian, and delivers Wilde's views on modern literature and art through speeches by Vivian, who asserts that nature and life imitate art, not vice versa, and that art only expresses itself and does not reflect social reality. Vivian also severely criticises the 'decay of lying' in modern literature and deplores the literary rise of realism. Vivian laments that 'lies' and 'Romance' are fading from the European literary tradition, then cites representative writings of 'lies' from antiquity, ranging wildly from the works of Herodotus (called the 'Father of Lies'), Cicero, and Pliny, to saints' lives, medieval romances, and other works. 'Now, everything is changed', Vivian says. 'Facts are not merely finding a footing place in history, but they are usurping the domain of Fancy, and have invaded the kingdom of Romance'.[1] He further tells Cyril that it is time to revive the pure form of 'lying', i.e., 'lying for its own sake', which resonances with Wilde's 'art for the sake of art'.

In this context, one might remember a series of publications from the Kelmscott Press, founded in 1891 by William Morris (1834-96), one of the most prominent Victorian figures. Morris was active as a designer, writer, and socialist, as well as a leading proponent of the Aesthetic Movement and the medieval revival. His literary output was prolific and includes

collaborative translations from various languages such as Norse, French, and Old English. He also established his fame as a writer of the so-called 'prose romances', a series of imaginative fictions, represented by *The Wood beyond the World* (1894) and *The Well at the World's End* (1896). Morris himself explicitly expressed his preferences for pure fiction over realism in novels, the latter of which he severely criticised along with Wilde.[2] Indeed, Yasuo Kawabata has acutely pointed out that while Wilde was greatly inspired by the works and movements advocated by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris, his views on 'the decay of lying' were intellectually formed and resonates with contemporary movements such as Aestheticism and the Arts and Crafts Movement, led by those who influenced him.[3]

In 1891, the same year Wilde's *Intentions* was published, Morris opened the Kelmscott Press in Hammersmith and devoted his life to materialising aesthetic aspects of books through book making. The Kelmscott Press produced 53 titles between 1891 and 1898, plus some after Morris's death in 1896.[4] It includes not only Morris's prose romances, but also works by John Keats, P. B. Shelley, John Ruskin, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, whom Morris admired and with whom he had close relations. What is more, the press published works from the Middle Ages, an era of which Morris himself was an avid reader, and it successfully revived medieval 'lying' for Victorian readers.[5] Aesthetic qualities of the Kelmscott books have been the main focus of existing research, but what about the texts? The Kelmscott Press, for example, reprinted five books printed by England's first printer, William Caxton, but medievalists hardly credit them with shaping scholarly values. In this paper, I would like to shed light on the Kelmscott Press's *Golden Legend* (1891), a compilation of accounts on medieval saints' lives and liturgical feasts, one of the five Kelmscott reprints of books originally printed by Caxton. Most notably, the colophon of the Kelmscott reprint claims that its text is faithful to Caxton's original: 'there is no change from the original, except for correction of errors of the press, & some few other amendments thought necessary for the understanding of the text' (III, 1286). To what extent is this statement trustworthy? In the following paragraphs, I will first outline the background of the production of the *Golden Legend*, then examine the scholarly contributions made by the editor, F. S. Ellis (1830–1901), and his daughter Phyllis Marion Ellis (later Mrs Payne). As William F. Peterson has argued, measured by the contemporary standard, 'Ellis's achievements as an editor are impressive'[6]

and deserve more appreciation in the textual scholarship of the *Golden Legend*.

As is well known, Morris's vision for the Kelmscott Press originally grew out of admiration for book design and craftsmanship in the Middle Ages. Morris's principles of book design are summarised in his essay *A Note by William Morris on His Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press*, his posthumous publication in 1898:

> As to the fifteenth-century books, I had noticed that they were always beautiful by force of the mere typography. . . . And it was the essence of my undertaking to produce books which it would be a pleasure to look upon as pieces of printing and arrangement of type. Looking at my adventure from this point of view then, I found I had to consider chiefly the following things: the paper, the form of the type, the relative spacing of the letters, the words, and the lines; and lastly the position of the printed matter on the page.[7]

Morris learned these principles from medieval manuscripts and early printed books, and he applied them in practice to the book design of the Kelmscott Press books, using quality paper, ink and other materials, and allowing for ample space in the margins. The *Golden Legend* was no exception.

The *Golden Legend* is one of Caxton's *magnum opera*, the largest volume (in both size and length) of his publications. Morris originally intended for the *Golden Legend* to be his first publication when he launched the Kelmscott Press in 1891. The first type Morris designed for the Kelmscott Press was known as the 'Golden Type', for it was designed to be used for printing the *Golden Legend*. By the time he conceived of the idea of the Kelmscott Press, Morris already had 'a small, but attractive, collection of *incunabula*', but he started to purchase medieval manuscripts and 'books from all the principal presses in Germany, Italy, France and the Low Countries during the fifteenth century' to find models to design new typefaces.[8] Morris commissioned enlarged photos of a wide range of early printed books from Emery Walker (1851–1933), an engraver and printer, to prepare drawings of the new font.[9] Among a wide range of *incunabula*, he considered printing Jenson's 1476 edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, as well as Jacobus de Rubeis's letter forms found in his *Historia Florentina* of the same year. The type was designed, the punches were cut, matrices were all

struck and the Golden Type was cast.[10]

The actual printing of the *Golden Legend* was, however, delayed after all, as some 1,300 folio pages posed difficulties due to their size. Morris found the size of the first batch of paper delivered to be unsatisfactory. Thus, the press started to issue several shorter volumes before the *Golden Legend* was completed. With the larger sheets delivered in April 1891, the first volume was printed by October 1891, and the work was completed on 15 September 1892, with woodcut illustrations designed by Edward Burne-Jones.[11] A total of 500 limited-edition copies were printed, all financed, published and sold through Bernard Quaritch as the seventh of Kelmscott's books on 3 November 1892.[12] Its appearance was warmly welcomed. *The Library*, the journal of the newly founded Bibliographical Society, praised it in a review as 'a new epoch in the production of beautiful books in this country', though it also criticised the label title page and the transcription.[13]

Caxton's *Golden Legend* (1483/84), on which the Kelmscott Press book is based, is an English translation from a French version of the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine (*c*. 1230–98), which was one of the most popular hagiographies in medieval Europe. In his prologue, Caxton tells his readers that the translation of the *Legenda aurea* had already been available, but he found that the three versions in French, Latin and English that he possessed all differed in various places, so he had 'wryton one' by himself. Indeed, it is now established that Caxton really used three versions (strictly speaking, more than three). He used French, the so–called *Légende dorée*, as his main text and supplemented it with various sources in English and Latin available in England and from the European Continent. The Latin original *Legenda aurea* and the French version *Légende dorée* both largely consist of stories of 'Temporale' (i.e., the life of Christ) and 'Saints' Lives' with liturgical feasts, and between these two sections, Caxton added a selection of Old Testament stories, producing a unique edition. The publication seems to have been successful and widely read among Caxton's contemporaries, as it was reprinted by his successor printers, Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson and Julian Notary in England until the early sixteenth-century. After the Reformation, however, it was not printed for centuries. A facsimile edition was published by the Holbein Society in 1878, but the reproduction was only a part of the original edition, with several woodcuts reproduced.[14] In the Victorian literary culture, in which early English printers, especially Caxton, had been recognised as iconic figures in printing history, the rarity and

high prices of their books limited their accessibility to only a handful of bibliophiles. In this respect, as Peterson points out, 'the Kelmscott Press was, among other things, a pioneering attempt at intelligent popularisation of literary works'.[15]

When Morris conceived of the idea of founding the Kelmscott Press, he initially intended to work from a copy of Wynkyn de Worde's 1527 edition, which he had purchased. However, he subsequently decided to use Caxton's edition as his basis. As Morris did not own Caxton's edition, he needed to borrow a copy. The Cambridge University Library agreed to lend its copy to F. S. Ellis, who was responsible for the text. Ellis was allowed to take it home and prepare a transcription so that the original would not be touched by Kelmscott Press printers.[16] Indeed, Ellis's expertise as an editor was indispensable at Kelmscott Press. He had been a successful bookseller and experienced cataloguer of early books and manuscripts, and after his retirement from the business, he became active as a writer and editor. Before he started to work on the Kelmscott *Golden Legend*, Ellis already had compiled *An Alphabetical Table of Contents to Shelley's Poetical Works* for the Shelley Society (1888). He further established his fame as an editor by compiling *A Lexical Concordance to the Poetical Works of P. B. Shelley* (1892). For the Kelmscott Press, he edited several texts for Morris and read the proofs of the magnificent edition of Chaucer's *Works* (1896).[17] There was a division of labor between Morris and Ellis, as Peterson describes: 'Ellis took complete control of the editorial side of the operation, referring only a few difficult textual questions to Morris; Morris marked up the text to indicate the positions of initials, borders and illustrations; and Ellis and one of Morris's assistants (later, usually Sydney Cockerell) did the proofreading'.[18]

At the end of the third volume of the *Golden Legend*, Ellis added two appendices: 'Memoranda, Bibliographical & Explanatory, Concerning the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine & Some of the Translations of It' and 'A List of Some Obsolete or Little Used Words'. In the 'Memoranda' he explains the editorial policy as follows:

¶The present edition is a faithful, and it is believed an accurate reprint of Caxton's first impression, with only such variations as were absolutely necessary or desirable for the purpose of making the book more readable and intelligible. With this view the contractions of the original are extended, with the exception of the sign

"&," which is retained or extended as required to suit typographical exigencies. ¶As however this is intended to be, not a facsimile reprint, but a new edition of the book, where the text was altogether unintelligible, or absolutely wrong through mistranslation, no hesitation has been felt in correcting by the Latin original, but instances of the need for this are rare. (III, 1285)

The colophon of the Kelmscott *Golden Legend* by Morris says it was 'edited by Frederick S. Ellis', and medievalists usually have accepted that the text was established due to Ellis's contribution. However, it should be emphasised here that it was Phyllis Marion Ellis, Ellis's daughter, who conducted the initial transcription of the whole Caxton text. It was a herculean task, yet her name is not acknowledged at all in the Kelmscott Press edition, and as Peterson claims, 'she never received the public recognition she deserved'.[19] Only two leaves of Phyllis's manuscript have survived in the British Library,[20] and the following is a sample textual collation of a leaf of the two between Phyllis's transcription and the text by Caxton of part of 'The Lyf of Saint Elysabeth'. I have reproduced the page layout of both texts to show that Phyllis carefully retained the layout of the original with the same line endings as Caxton's in her transcription:

Phyllis Ellis's transcription[21]	Caxton's *Golden Legend* (sig. aa3[ra])[22]
hym ageyn wyth an heer ne I wolde	hym ageyn wyth an heer / ne I wolde
not retorne ageyn to mortal lyf. Lord	not retorne ageyn to mortal lyf / lord
I commaunde me and hym in to thy	I commaunde me and hym in to thy
grace. And thenne she cladde hyr with	grace / and thenne she cladde hyr with
habyte relygyous and kepte perpetuel	habyte relygyous / and kepte perpetuel
contynence after the deth of hir husbonde	contynēce after the deth of hir husbonde
and obedyence performed. She toke wyl=	and obedyence performed she toke wyl
ful pouerte and hyr clothyng was	ful pouerte / and hyr clothyng was

In Caxton's time, punctuation was not yet established, and the *virgula* (/) was often used where commas, colons or periods are used in modern writing. The transcription shows that Phyllis modernised the punctuation and capitalised letters where (probably) she found

it necessary or desirable for the purposes of making the book more readable and intelligible. She also silently expanded contraction, as F. S. Ellis explained in the 'Memoranda'. In fact, modern punctuation and contraction expansion seem to be the principles that she followed in transcribing, for the same policy can be observed in the entire text. Her father, Ellis, supervised her work and read the proofs against the Caxton version.[23] As there are no extant documents that record Phyllis's participation in the project, it is difficult to draw a picture of the division of labour between the two. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that Phyllis did a certain level of editorial decision making at the transcription stage, as the comparison above shows. Indeed, this reminds us that many critical editions produced in late Victorian England, most notably the series of editions published from the Early English Text Society, which was founded by Frederick J. Furnivall in 1864, are hugely indebted to transcriptions done by anonymous contributors or volunteers, like Phyllis.

So, how 'accurate' is the transcription? The aforementioned review by the *Library* spotted a typographical error in the phrase 'for myes ben gon out of their causes' on the penultimate line on page 242 (the history of 'Judith'), reporting 'a little experience of fifteenth century English prompts us to offer the suggestion that "myes" is a misprint for "thenemyes," *i.e*., the enemies. But whether the error originated with Caxton or Mr. Ellis, we have not yet been able to ascertain'.[24] A quick check of the original confirms that the error derives from Caxton's text; it probably escaped the eyes of the daughter and her father. On the other hand, there are some places that support Ellis's careful reading of the text, as is claimed in the 'Memoranda'. For example, in the 'Advent of Our Lord', in the 'Temporale' section, Caxton uses a Latin phrase, *At vbi venet plenitude temporis* (sig. a1[rb]), in which *venet* is silently changed to *venit* in the Kelmscott Press edition. A textual comparison of the 'Advent of Our Lord' against Caxton's text further shows that the editor and the transcriber endeavoured to make the text a 'faithful' reprint of Caxton, on the basis of their editorial principles.

Ellis's source study for the *Golden Legend* is also noteworthy. While the book was in production, Ellis conducted bibliographical and textual research. The surviving correspondences indicate that he examined medieval manuscripts and early printed books to seek possible sources used by Caxton and sought support from eminent bibliographers and librarians, such as Gordon Duff of the Huntington Library and Francis Jenkinson of Cambridge University Library. Of Duff, Ellis requested a bibliography of the (English) *Legenda*

aurea, which Ellis wanted to include in the edition, though he had to give up on that idea, something Morris did not admit. In a letter to Jenkinson dated 21 April 1892, Ellis thanked him again for lending him the Cambridge copy of the *Golden Legend* and modestly asked if he could procure the loan of 'the old French translation', as he was interested in determining '*how* great a degree Caxton used this book & how far it is itself a compilation rather than a mere translation'.[25]

The textual history of the French version of the *Legenda aurea* is quite complicated. The most successful French translation, the so-called *Légende dorée*, was made by Jean de Vignay in Paris sometime between 1333 and 1338. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Jean Golein composed and added *Festes nouvelles* as a supplement to *Légende dorée*. Then later in the fifteenth century, a third version was produced with various additions, omissions and alterations—its contents rearranged substantially. The third text has survived in three manuscripts and in a printed book, undated, without a printer's name, but now identified to have been published in Southern Flanders between 1475 and 1477. The current scholarship of the *Golden Legend* asserts that a copy of this Flemish edition, or a text very close to it, possibly was used by Caxton as his main French source.[26] Most strikingly, though this has escaped scholarly attention, Ellis noticed this possibility concerning Caxton's source while he was preparing the edition. In the 'Memoranda', he provides bibliographical information about manuscripts and early printed books, if not all, related to Caxton's *Golden Legend*, with special attention given to the sources he examined.[27] It appears that a concise textual development of the *Légende dorée* after Vignay, as it is now understood, was not available to Ellis, but that he must have examined the French printed book he borrowed from the Cambridge University Library closely. In the 'Memoranda', Ellis also claims that 'by singular good fortune, we are able to identify beyond a doubt that to which he [Caxton] refers' (III, 1283). Indeed, though the printing place needs to be modified, the description of the edition given by Ellis matches the Flemish edition described above. His identification of Caxton's possible French source is pioneering in the textual study of the *Golden Legend*.

Modern readers and medievalists are usually more familiar with a later popular edition of the *Golden Legend* prepared for wider readers by F. S. Ellis and published by J. M. Dent in 1900,[28] in which not only punctuation, but also capitalisation and spellings are modernised extensively. Because of that, Ellis's text is generally not considered highly reliable

for scholarly use. Viewed from current editorial standards, the editorial judgements made by Ellis may appear arbitrary. However, if we look at the text of the Kelmscott Press through the contemporary landscape, in which the culture of textual editing of English literary texts had just emerged, what Ellis achieved in creating the Kelmscott Press, in such a limited time and with limited resources, deserves more applause. We also should not fail to acknowledge his daughter's huge contributions behind the scenes.

Notes

1   Oscar Wilde, 'The Decay of Lying', in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde* (London: HarperCollins, 2003) pp. 1071–1092.

2   Wilde's admiration for the beauty of Morris' romance works can be glimpsed from the letter Wilde reportedly sent in March or April 1891 to Morris. Conveying gratitude for sending a copy of a prose romance, *The Roots of the Mountains*, published from Reeves & Turner (1890), Wilde writes to Morris: 'Dear Mr. Morris, The book has arrived! And I must write you a line to tell you how gratified I am at your sending it. How proud indeed so beautiful a gift makes me. I weep over the cover which is not nearly lovely enough, not nearly rich enough in material, for such prose as you write. But the book itself, if it is to have suitable garment, would need damask sewn with pearls and starred with gold. I have always felt that your work comes from sheer delight of making beautiful things: that no alien motive ever interests you: that in its singleness of aim, as well as in its perfection of result, it is pure art, everything that you do. But I know you hate the blowing of trumpets. I have loved your work since boyhood: I shall always love it. That, with my thanks, is all I have to say' (*The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed. by Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davies (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), p. 476. The actual copy, once in the possession of Wilde, appeared as Lot 95 at Sotheby's auction sale, 'The Library of an English Bibliophile, Part V', which took place in London on 24 November 2015. The catalogue description says, 'it appears, however, with many unopened gatherings present in this copy, that Wilde failed to read the book, or at least not this copy' <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/library-english-bibliophile-part-five-l15416/lot.95.html> last accessed on 1 September 2017). We do not know if Morris replied to this letter, but it is certain that Morris read Wilde's 'Decay of Lying'. In a letter to Charles Eliot Norton, dated June 17, 1889, Morris wrote that he hoped to send him 'another prose romance in hand' (which is a copy of *The Roots of the Mountains*) before the end of the year, and concluded the letter, alluding to 'The Decay of Lying'. ('I

will rather carry out Oscar Wilde's theory of the beauty of lying, as it will have neither time, place, history or theory in it'; *The Collected Letters of William Morris: Volume III, 1889–1892*, ed. by Norman Kelvin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 77). For a comparative study of Wilde and Morris, see, for example, Peter Faulkner, 'William Morris and Oscar Wilde', *Journal of the William Morris Society*, 14.4 (Summer 2002), 25–40.

3   Yasuo Kawabata, 'Sekai no Hateno Izumi ni tsuite: William Morris no Romance to Shakaishugi', *Gendai Shiso* (1991), 19.3, 180–89 (pp. 184–85) (in Japanese).

4   As for the history and publications of the Kelmscott Press, this article is hugely indebt to: William S. Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press: A History of William Morris's Typographical Adventure* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991); *ibid*. ed., *A Bibliography of the Kelmscott Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); *ibid*. ed., *The Ideal Book: Essays and Lectures on the Arts of the Book by William Morris* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1982).

5   For all the publications of the Kelmscott Press, see William S. Peterson, *A Bibliography of the Kelmscott Press* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

6   Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, p. 209.

7   William Morris, *A Note by William Morris on His Aims in Founding the Kelmscott Press: Together with a Short Description of the Press by S. C. Cockerell, and an Annotated List of the Books Printed Thereat* (Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1895), pp. 1–2. The text is included in *The Ideal Book*, pp. 75–78. The University of Maryland's Hornbake Library houses 'The William Morris Collection', which consists of 'three hundred and forty titles of English-language books and related material printed by or about William Morris since 1891'; the core of the collection was purchased from collector John J. Walsdorf, Morris scholar and collector. Most of the Kelmscott Press books in this collection, including *A Note by William Morris*', are available in digital facsimiles at the library's website <http://lib.guides.umd.edu/william_morris> (last accessed on 1 September 2017).

8   Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, p. 79. For the library of Morris, the catalogue for the Sotheby's auction sale that took place posthumously in London from 5th to 10th December 1898 is useful: *William Morris, Catalogue of a Portion of the Valuable Collection of Manuscripts, Early Printed Books, &c.: Of the Late William Morris, of Kelmscott House, Hammersmith* (London: Dryden Press, J. Davy and Sons, 1898). It was reprinted with the appendix of *The Best Books in the Library of the Late William Morris* (1897) and explanatory notes in Japanese in Yokohama, Japan, in 1991. For Morris as a book collector, see Paul Needham, 'William Morris: Book Collector', in *William Morris and the Art of the Book*, ed. by Paul Needham (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1976), pp. 21–47.

9   John Dreyfus, 'New Light on the Design of Types for the Kelmscott and Doves Presses', *The Library*, 5th ser., 29, issue 1 (1974), 36–41.

10   For details about the production process of the Golden Type, see Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, pp. 81–91.

11   Although the Kelmscott Press did not publish vellum copies of the *Golden Legend*, there survives a bifolium text proof printed on vellum from quire f, which was once in the possession of Morris's old friend, Charles Fairfax Murray (1849–1919), and is now in the collection of Special Collections, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne. See Pam Pryde, 'Unique, Never Published, Kelmscott Text Proof on Vellum with a Marvellous Association', *University of Melbourne Collections*, 7 (2010), 43–48.

12   Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, pp. 205–7. Documents, such as correspondences and diaries related to the production of the Kelmscott Press *Golden Legend*, are available as: *The Kelmscott Press 'Golden Legend: A Documentary History of its Production Together with a Leaf from the Kelmscott Edition,* ed. with an introduction by William S. Peterson (University of Maryland at College Park Libraries and The Yellow Barn Press, 1990).

13   'Record of Bibliography and Library Literature', *The Library*, ser. 1–4, issue 1 (1892), 346–350 (p. 346).

14   Alfred Aspland, ed., *The Golden Legend: A Reproduction from a Copy in the Manchester Free Library,* with an Introduction by Alfred Aspland, The Holbein Society's Facsimile Reprints (London: Wyman & Sons, 1878).

15   Peterson, *A Bibliography*, p. xxvi. See also Yuri Cowan, 'Translation, Collaboration, and Reception: Editing Caxton for the Kelmscott Press', in *To Build a Shadowy Ilse of Bliss: William Morris's Radicalism and the Embodiment of Dreams*, ed. By Michelle Weinroth and Paul Leduc Browne (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2015), pp. 149–71.

16   Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, p. 207.

17   H. R. Tedder, 'Ellis, Frederick Startridge (1830–1901)', rev. Fiona MacCarthy, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [http://www.oxforddnb.com.kras1.lib.keio.ac.jp/view/article/33008, accessed 14 Aug 201714 Aug 2017].

18   Peterson, 'Introduction to the Documents', in *The Kelmscott Press 'Golden Legend*, pp. 1–5 (pp. 2–3).

19   *The Kelmscott Press*, p. 207.

20   BL C.43.c.26 (ZQQ44).

21   Transcribed from a photocopy reproduction available in *The Collected Letters of William Morris: Volume III*, p. 200.

22   There is no reference to the shelfmark of the copy that Ellis borrowed from the Cambridge UL in the Kelmscott Press edition, as well as letters by Morris and Ellis accessible to the author. The Cambridge UL houses multiple copies of Caxton's *Golden Legend*, among which a possible candidate is a copy of the first setting, now shelfmarked with Inc. 2.J.1.1.[3781],

which lacks first and last blank leaves only though this copy and Phyllis's transcription do not agree with 'wyl/wyl=' at the line end. This text was transcribed from the Cambridge UL, Inc. 2.J.1.1.[3781].

23   Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, p. 207; *The Collected Letters of William Morris: Volume III*, p. 201, n. 8.

24   'Record of Bibliography', p. 347.

25   *The Kelmscott Press 'Golden Legend'*, p. 19.

26   For the *Légende dorée* tradition and Caxton's possible source, see, for example, Vita Russell, 'Evidence for a Stemma for the De Vignay MSS: St. Nicholas, St. George, St. Bartholomew, and All Saints', in *Legenda aurea: Sept siècles de diffusion*, ed. by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (Montreal, Canada: Éditions Bellarmin, 1986), pp. 131-54; Richard Hamer, 'Jean Golein's *Festes Nouvelles*: A Caxton Source', *Mediu Ævum*, 55.2 (1986), 254-60.

27   Information about printed editions is probably greatly based on a list prepared for him by Gordon Duff.

28   William Caxton, *The Golden Legend, or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, ed. by F. S. Ellis, 7 vols in 4 (London: J. M. Dent, 1900; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1973).