

‘And my deeds shall be remembered, and my name that once was nought’: Regin’s Role in *Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*

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How on earth does Regin, as Snorri Sturluson’s avaricious ‘contriver-of-evil’,¹ become transformed, in William Morris’s reshaping of *Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*, into one of the most troubling and affecting characters in the poem? In reshaping the saga, Morris bestows careful attention on the character of Regin, anti-hero, and a crucial element in Morris’s redaction. As such, Regin deserves close consideration.

Morris’s interest in Regin was primarily because of his skills as a craftsman and an artist. Such skills are, however, so often interwoven and interlinked with memory and its manipulation, that the latter may also be viewed as a central element. The evocative nature of memory, its malleability, along with its power to shape lives and actions, are explored throughout the poem. Grimhild, for example, uses her powerful potions in order to distort and entangle the memories of Gunnar and Sigurd, to devastating effect on the lives of both men, as well as those of the women they marry. But it is the close association of memory with Regin’s craftsmanship which defines the most important section of the poem, Book II, entitled ‘Regin’. Morris’s artistic and literary treatment of different forms of memory in the poem – individual, collective, mythological – reveals a deep fascination with the power of memory to shape, and reshape, our lives and worlds. Our attention is drawn, then, not solely to Regin’s craftsmanship, but to the many ways in which Morris links Regin’s artistic skills with memory.

Through Regin Morris touches, too, on the relationship between memory and history. Since Morris’s time, our understanding of this relationship has

become ever more complex, as critical scholarship continues to reveal. Two of the earliest and most important studies are Maurice Halbwachs's *The Collective Memory* (1950), and Frances Yates's *The Art of Memory* (1966). Yates's account, while essentially tracing the importance attached to memory in the pre-print Renaissance world, also underscores the often untapped power of memory to shape the individual and society. In contrast, Halbwachs's work focused on the ways in which memory is both 'autobiographical and historical' in which 'the former ... make[s] use of the latter, since our life in history belongs, after all, to general history'. Halbwachs demonstrated the ways in which memory spans time, over which nothing much may change, but which exists within a cognisance of history as a series of events, a record of changes. Our memories of the past, for example, are composed from events which 'we say "we remember" but only know about through newspapers or testimony of those directly involved ... [and] often know such events no better than ... historical events that occurred before [we were] born'.²

It is clear from both authors' work that memory and history are social constructs, and that both are shaped by the human condition at the individual as well as the collective level. Both seem infinitely malleable and are made visible, as the historian Patrick Hutton notes,³ via the artistic and social phenomena through which we choose to remember the past, such as the monuments we erect, the museums we fund, the literary canon we acknowledge, as well as in the public rhetoric via which we recall, reconstruct, or represent the past. Morris's treatment of Regin, 'Singer of ancient days',⁴ indicates a deep interest in how the craftsman might be remembered, even after death, through his own work, as well as how that work might enrich the lives and memories of those who experience it.

Morris's interest in the Icelandic sagas may simply have stemmed from the pleasure they gave him, as revealed in his letters to Georgiana Burne-Jones, drawn as he was to the world of the Icelanders, whose social structures he had come to know and admire. He also believed that the sagas offered a great 'corrective to the maundering side of medievalism' and, at the same time, told the tale of the Norse cosmos, a world far more attractive to Morris than the Roman, which he believed to have been the 'great curse of the ancient world'. A more complex reason for his interest – and the one most influential for this essay – is related to the 'new spirit animating historical study' during Morris's time. This manifested itself in an apparent preference for the past over the present; one which might be traced in part to an identity crisis in the Victorian psyche, thought to stem from 'an increasing alienation of individuals from "community structures"'. The attraction of the sagas for Morris, then, may literally have stemmed from their being part of the distant past, and therefore capable of being coherently reshaped.⁵

While translating the *Volsunga Saga* (1870) – with the help of Eiríkr Magnússon – Morris seems to have been drawn especially to *Sigurd*, the 'central myth of

the Norse heroic tradition'.⁶ He described his feelings about the work in a letter to his friend, Charles Elliot Norton:

The scene of the last interview between Sigurd and the despairing and terrible Brynhild touches me more than anything I have ever met with in literature. There is nothing wanting in it, nothing forgotten, nothing repeated, nothing overstrained; all tenderness is shown without the use of a tender word, all misery and despair without a word of raving, complete beauty without an ornament, and all this in 2 pages of moderate print. In short it is to the full meaning of the word inspired.⁷

These spare but haunting words reveal how much the story moved him. Morris suggests that while his friend may have 'read abstracts of the story', these would have given him 'little idea of the depth and intensity of the work' because of the disjointedness stemming from its 'having been put together from varying versions of the same song'.⁸ So as well as indicating his appreciation of the deep humanity of the sagas, I think the letter hints too at Morris's wish to make the story more coherent, in effect to reshape the legend, making it more human and less heroic, more about the social community in which the hero lives than the martial world in which he is the central figure. Recreating and reshaping the social order are thus central to Morris's redaction, reflected in the attention he allots to individual behaviour in shaping stable and admirable social structures, and apparent most of all in his reshaping of Regin.

Morris clearly felt some ambivalence about recreating the story though, as evidenced by his comments later in the same letter that he had in mind to make an epic of the tale, but felt that 'it would be foolish for no verse could render the best parts of it'.⁹ Epic, though, is exactly the genre he selects, although he adapts the form by making it more generous and inclusive, refusing to favour one story over another; he is relatively even-handed in the attention he bestows on all the main characters, heroic or otherwise. Before turning to Regin then, it is worth considering what epic means for us as social beings.

In *Imagination and Power: A Study of Poetry on Public Themes*, Thomas R. Edwards 'discusses the "complicated self-awareness" which epic induces. It associates us gratifyingly with past greatness, with heroes who are *our* heroes; yet it also reminds us soberingly that it all is past, that we are less than our heritage'. Further, epic 'allows us an imaginative association with greatness even as it makes us recognize that we are ordinary ... and it allows us some comfort in this rueful understanding'. I think the duality articulated here was already discernible to Morris at the time he was writing *Sigurd*, hence his choice—and reshaping—of the epic form. Such a compound mix is evident too in Simon Dentith's suggestion that the price paid for modernity was the loss of epic's soothing and reassuring power.¹⁰ But that is surely felt only by those whose story epic tells—the victors,

not the losers, of history. Morris quite clearly is attentive, and sensitive, to the many stories, not the one. It is through Regin especially that Morris makes this clear, as he probes the ways in which memory and history serve to shape Regin's life and fate.

Morris's Regin is a more important, more complex and more appealing character than Snorri Sturluson's version of him in the *Prose Edda*, where he appears in only four relatively short paragraphs.¹¹ He is first mentioned as the son of the powerful Reidmar, who has just demanded gold from the gods for their killing of his son Otter; Regin then helps his brother Fafnir kill their father for the gold and, when Regin asks for his share, is ordered by Fafnir to disappear, or else face the same fate as their father. Later, Regin becomes smith to King Hjalprek, adopts Sigurd as his foster son, forges a sword for him, and then eggs him on to kill Fafnir for the gold. Finally, Regin is killed by Sigurd, who has already received a supernatural warning from the birds, whose language he can now understand, that Regin plans to murder him. Snorri's brevity is transformed by Morris who, in contrast, names a whole section of the poem after Regin, allowing him at the same time some of the most haunting verses, forcing a reconsideration of the story from a perspective other than that of the heroic. It must be granted that Snorri is just as economical in relaying the story of Sigurd and Brynhild, and indeed other characters in the saga, but Regin, as an avaricious 'contriver-of-evil', elicits little sympathy in Snorri. He thus represents an unusual character for Morris to focus on; as such, Regin – not only 'Master of Masters' but also 'Master of Sleight' – is one of the most troubling and thought-provoking characters in *Sigurd*.¹²

As a smith and talented craftsman, and member of a very long-lived race, Regin suggests both the crafting and the forging of history, since his life spans generations and thus also memory. He is also a seer; however, despite his ability to see the future, he still loses love, fame, wealth, and most of all, finds himself forgotten by the humans who have benefited so much from his skills. It is first through Regin, and his relationship with Sigurd, that questions and doubts begin to surface about power, whether in the form of a hero, wealth, gold, or wisdom, and the role memory plays in forming its shape or its acquisition.

There is some doubt as to whether Regin is a dwarf or a man, or even either of these. Morris initially describes him as 'a certain man, beardless and low of stature', as does Snorri, who also states that Regin's father, Reidmar, is a farmer, 'a powerful man with much skill in magic'. Yet, when Morris's Regin begins to tell his story to Sigurd, he says that he comes 'of the Dwarfs departed'. There is the suggestion here that Regin represents history as being irrevocably past, and yet, still there in the present. Regin's race may have been forgotten, yet, in his role as Sigurd's foster-father and teacher, he still bears influence on the present. The downfall of Regin's race came with the arrival of 'Gods amongst us', and the seeds of change accompanying their arrival ultimately led to destruction rather than

growth. Frederick Kirchhoff describes the dwarves as aborigines who had at one time been the dominant race, until the coming of the Gods, who 'undermined the power of the dwarves by teaching them the "hope and fear" of imaginative perception'. This new perception changed their lives, as, unhappy 'with their lot and tormented by their new-found sense of guilt ... the dwarves developed the arts of civilisation, but at length were corrupted by their greed for wealth and power'.¹³

For this reason Kirchhoff sees 'lying behind the events of the poem ... a mythic representation of Morris's own ambivalence toward historical progress'.¹⁴ Equally, *Sigurd* may reflect Morris's desire to explicate the formative patterns shaping life in order to effect change, rather than merely to record history's progress. The many ways in which the past is remembered within the poem, through songs, weaving, story-telling, indicate Morris's belief that history is plural, and because it has usually told the story of the victor, Regin's sense of loss is representative of all those who have been displaced as the 'losers' in the 'battle' of history. Hence Morris's redaction manages not only to make the many stories described in his letter to Norton a more coherent whole, but the poem also serves – in its reshaped epic form – to ensure that many voices are heard.

Regin regrets the passing of a simpler life, which had disappeared once the new race of Gods came on the earth. In their earlier state, untroubled by imagination, 'the dwarves [could] live happy but uninspired lives. With it, they are destroyed by the boundlessness of their desire and the torments of their anxiety over things to come'.¹⁵ Regin's regret over this is apparent in his impassioned reflections on the past, as he relates his race's history to Sigurd:

And how were we worse than the Gods, though maybe we lived not as long?
 Yet no weight of memory maimed us, nor aught we knew of wrong;
 What felt our souls of shaming, what knew our hearts of love?
 We did and undid at pleasure, and repented nought thereof.¹⁶

As a dwarf Regin is troubled, then, not only by being part of a once powerful, but now usurped race, but also – thanks to their newly acquired faculty – by the terrible weight of memory. The word 'maimed', attached to memory, is loaded with meaning, with 'weight', leaving us with the sense that Regin is trapped, as well as debilitated by a memory which causes him to long for an innocent past now lost. At the same time, with his ability to see, and fear, the future – when he knows he will die at the hand of Sigurd – there can be no hope left in Regin's life. He is scarred, too, by the memory of his father's defiant words to the Gods, which Regin recalls when he tells Sigurd about his past:

It was better in times past over, when we prayed for nought at all,
 When no love taught us beseeching, and we had no troth to recall.¹⁷

Through Regin, Morris highlights how closely woven together are memory and the past, pain and love. Regin's pain stems from the loss of a simpler past – perhaps a distant past he had never experienced, but yet ‘remembers’ – when hearts which knew nothing of love meant that the dwarves led pleasurable lives, without guilt and without shame. Thus Morris gives some of the most moving words in the poem to Regin, when he relates the dubious inheritance bestowed on him by his father, Reidmar, ‘a covetous man and a king’ – an inheritance which ensures that Regin's present is marred by grief-stricken memories of a lost past, as well as made fearful by knowledge of a future already mapped out for him and over which he has no control:

And to me the least and the youngest, what gift for the slaying of ease?
 Save the grief that remembers the past, and the fear that the future sees;
 And the hammer and fashioning-iron, and the living coal of fire;
 And the craft that createth a semblance, and fails of the heart's desire;
 And the toil that each dawning quickens, and the task that is never done;
 And the heart that longeth ever, nor will look to the deed that is won.¹⁸

There is a world of irony and heartache in this description of something which brings the ‘slaying of ease’ as a gift, an irony compounded by the hurt and depths of despair suggested by the following line – ‘the grief that remembers the past, and the fear that the future sees’. As Peter Burke writes, ‘victors can afford to forget, while the losers of battles are condemned to brood over it, relive it, and reflect how different it might have been’.¹⁹ This is especially true since Regin knows his fate, and thus ‘the craft that createth a semblance, and fails of the heart's desire’ suggests a mind and soul being forced to confront a known and dreaded future, and to bear, at the same time, the burden of a past filled with grief. As Regin relates his past to Sigurd, ‘Yea we were exceeding mighty – bear with me yet my son; for whiles can I scarcely think it that our days are wholly done’, he echoes the earlier words of Sigurd's own father, Sigmund, whose great sorrow was to die before his son was born. Sigmund's dying words: ‘And the joy for his days that shall be hath pierced my heart to the root’, similarly call up heart-wrenching emotions associated with memories of the past on the one hand, and, since Sigmund is dying, the agony of the knowledge that he will never see his son; to all of which, according to his Volsung code of ethics, he must submit unflinching.²⁰

As Sigurd's foster father, Regin is an especially complex figure, since he is subservient to men, and yet his great wisdom and skills mean that he is appointed as foster-father to the future king and hero, who will be better than all other men before him. Regin is admonished to ensure that he teaches Sigurd everything he knows, the extent of which ‘three men's lives thrice over thy wisdom might not learn’. ‘Three men's lives thrice over’, based on a notional life-span of seventy years, amounts to six hundred years or so, taking us back to the Middle Ages.

Morris's idealised vision of this age is reflected in the skills which Regin teaches Sigurd; 'smithying ... carving runes ... tongues of many countries ... soft speech for men's delight ... the dealing with the harp strings ... winding ways of song ...' – in essence, the literary, artistic and linguistic memory markers of the past. So, while Sigurd is the hero, all the understanding, knowledge, diplomacy and training he needs in order to make him fit for this role stem from the wisdom and teaching of Regin, 'Master of Masters'. In contrast, in the human world it is only the 'skills' of fighting and war-making that Sigurd learns.²¹

One of the most striking images in the section which Morris entitles 'Regin' occurs with the re-forging of Sigmund's sword. Sigurd asks Regin for a gift, and Regin says movingly there is nothing Sigurd might ask for that Regin would not get for him: 'The world must be wide indeed / If my hand may not reach across it for aught thine heart may need'.²² Sigurd says he wishes for a sword, and Regin, after two failed attempts, finally forges together the broken shards of Sigurd's father's sword; those which Hiordis, Sigurd's mother, collected from the battlefield on which Sigmund died. The re-forging of the sword is thus both a symbolic and a material link between past and present – Sigmund has held the sword in the past, and his son now holds it in his hands in the present. Both men are also linked via the sword to Regin, since it was he who originally made it for Sigmund, as Regin reveals:

But Regin cried to his harps strings: Before the days of men
I smithied the Wrath of Sigurd, and now is it smithied again:
And my hand alone hath done it, and my heart alone hath dared
To bid that man to the mountain, and behold his glory bared.²³

Bound up in the sword, too, are images of the destruction it will likely wreak:

Then Sigurd saw it lying on the ashes slaked and pale,
Like the sun and the lightning mingled mid the even's cloudy bale,
For ruddy and great were the hilts, and the edges fine and wan,
And all adown to the blood-point a very flame there ran
That swallowed the runes of wisdom wherewith its sides were scored.²⁴

The idea of the flame causing the disappearance of wisdom harks back, via the death the sword will inflict, to earlier parts of the poem, in which we learn that men are only able to teach their sons the skill of battle. It harks back also to an earlier image, when Regin's brother, Fafnir, in the semblance of a serpent, sits atop the great treasure of gold, sharing neither it nor his great wisdom with humans, thus rendering both useless.²⁵

A key part of Regin's fostering of Sigurd includes passing on the memory and history contained in story-telling about his own past, but with a dual purpose; to relate the past as history and at the same time to reveal its effect on him in the

present. He describes the pain he suffers at being forgotten by those very people with whom he has shared his skills and knowledge, those humans who, having learned from Regin's many skills, so quickly forget from where their knowledge came. He tells how he taught their first generation skills such as reaping and sowing; then the next the craft of metal-working, sailing the seas, taming horses, yoke-beast husbandry, and the building of houses. After that another generation came along and he taught them needlework and weaving. Finally, he teaches them 'the tales of old, and fair songs fashioned and true, and their speech grew into music, of measured time and due'.²⁶

These 'songs of measured time and due' represent the last link in their memory of Regin. The importance for him in telling the tale is thus that at least he might be remembered. Regin's other (and ulterior) motive is to goad Sigurd into an interest in the great deeds he has been born to do, the first of which is to win back for Regin the treasure and great knowledge for which he and his brother Fafnir murdered their father. Thus his story-telling evokes memories of the past, thereby helping Sigurd understand and fulfil his destiny, but at the same time allowing him treacherously to egg on his foster-son to commit murder for his own ends, thwarting the nobility which is part of Sigurd's destiny. In effect, Regin repeats the sins of his own father, who urged his sons to 'be evil and wise, that his will through them might be wrought'. Sigurd, in contrast, will break the pattern of revenge and thus act as a regenerative, rather than cyclically destructive, force.²⁷

Regin's selfishness is redeemed, though, by his great love for his foster son. In recognising his own duplicity, Regin warns Sigurd to 'trust not thy life in my hands in the day when most I seem / Like the Dwarfs that are long departed, and most of my kindred I dream',²⁸ a compassionate gesture (because he knows his own fate is sealed) from foster-father to son. Kirchhoff wonders whether Regin's duality stems from the gift of imaginative perception bestowed on the dwarves by the gods, a dubious gift which compels a 'lust for power [which] has its origin in the "hope and fear" of the future'. While 'Regin may be a self deceiver ... he seems genuinely to believe that the power he craves is power to undo the harm the gods have wrought'.²⁹ This is so because if Regin does get his hands on the treasure his intention is:

To thaw this winter away and the fruitful tide to bring.
 It shall grow, it shall grow into summer, and I shall be he that wrought,
 And my deeds shall be remembered, and my name that once was nought;
 Yea I shall be Frey, and Thor, and Freyia, and Bragi in one:
 Yea the God of all that is, – and no deed in the wide world done,
 But the deed that my heart would fashion: and the songs of the freed from the
 yoke
 Shall bear to my house in the heavens the love and the longing of folk.

And there shall be no more dying, and the sea shall be as the land
 And the world for ever and ever shall be young beneath my hand.³⁰

Regin desires power then, but it is the power to do good, to introduce freedom, and to help 'bear' both the love and the longing of humanity. While we may not remember Regin in the dynastic conflagrations which ruin the saga world, we will remember that it was Regin – 'Singer of ancient days' – with his desire to remember the past, and be remembered by others, who fostered Sigurd, and helped make him the hero he became, a hero who ensured the cycle of vengeance was broken.

Morris's use throughout the poem of words and expressions related to storytelling – such as 'tales', 'deeds', 'fame's increase' – are almost a set of verbal worry beads, as he frets over the importance of story telling, of history, to life and to art, as Kirchhoff seems to indicate: 'In his poetry and imaginative prose [Morris displays] an instinctive ability to submerge himself in a literary genre and work through it in such a way that its conventional themes and characters become the expression of his own deepest concerns'.³¹ That he makes Regin such a complex and affecting character is, I believe, Morris's early recognition of what it means to be 'other', without power, the 'loser' rather than the 'victor' in history.

Five years after *Sigurd*, for example, he makes comparisons between his own privileged position with that suffered by the 'brutal' and 'reckless' workers he hears passing by his open study window, acknowledging that it is mere chance that has determined his own life be enriched by art and exquisite craftsmanship, while their lives in contrast are starkly impoverished. As he relates in 'Art and the Beauty of the Earth' (1881), his initial response to their presence was aggressive and lacking in sympathy for their lot.³² In retrospect, though, he understands how little control they possess over their lives and livelihood. Creating and reshaping the character of Regin may have helped him come to this more considerate understanding, as Morris's exploration of the dwarf's troubled past, his haunting memories, and his all too human weaknesses and strengths, similarly draw the same conflicting response.

By paying closer attention to Morris's reshaping of Regin, with his troubled past and haunting memories, we may see more clearly the ways in which our own problematical relationship with history and memory is formed, especially since both are constructed essentially from the same events and images. We may see more clearly, too, the ways in which Morris believed that this most important of human relationships might be clarified and strengthened by paying closer attention to artists and their craftsmanship, and how these help shape our relationship with the past, and the future.

NOTES

1. Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda Tales from Norse Mythology*. Transl. Jean I. Young. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954, p. 113. (Afterwards Sturluson)
2. Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, New York: Harper & Row, 1950 (1980), 182 pp. (Afterwards Halbwachs); Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966, 400 pp.; Halbwachs, footnotes, pp. 52, 86–87, 51.
3. Patrick Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993, pp. xx–xv, 89, 131–133, 148–150.
4. *Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*, 1876, London: Longmans, 1918, p. 128. Subsequently *Sigurd*.
5. Norman Kelvin, ed, *The Collected Letters of William Morris*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, Vol. I, p. xxxix. (Subsequently Kelvin); Margaret Grennan, *William Morris: Medievalist and Revolutionary*. New York: Kings Crown Press, 1945, p. 52. (Subsequently Grennan) Grennan is possibly the first scholar to suggest connections between Morris's ideas about the way society is structured (as revealed, for example, in his interest in barbarism, and in organic and mechanic forms of society) with those of the 17th Century Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico, whose major work, *The New Science* (1744), was circulating in Europe during Morris's time; Kelvin, Vol. II, p. 229; Charlotte Oberg, *A Pagan Prophet: William Morris*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978, pp. 102–103. (Subsequently Oberg); Grennan, p. 7; Denis R. Balch, '“The Lovers of Gudrun”, *Sigurd the Volsung* and *The House of the Wolfings*: Three Chapters in a Tale of the Individual and the Tribe', in John Hollow, ed, *The After Summer Seed: Reconsiderations of William Morris's The Story of Sigurd the Volsung*, New York: William Morris Society, 1978, p. 91.
6. Theodore M. Andersson, *Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180–1280)*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 139.
7. Kelvin, Vol. I, p. 99.
8. Kelvin, Vol. I, pp. 98–99.
9. Kelvin, Vol. I, p. 99.
10. As quoted in Herbert F. Tucker, *Epic: Britain's Heroic Muse 1790–1910*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 3, n 5.; *Ibid.*; Simon Dentith, *Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 260 pp.
11. Sturluson, pp. 110–113. In contrast to Sturluson's brevity, the structure of Morris's poem itself also indicates the need for a closer consideration. Morris divides the poem into four books, the second of which he names 'Regin'.

If we agree with J.W. Mackail (*The Life of William Morris*, 2 Vols, London: Longmans, 1901, Vol. 1, p. 331) that Book I, which is named for Sigurd's father Sigmund, is extraneous, then Regin clearly is an important focus of Morris's attention.

12. *Sigurd*, p. 76, p. 83.
13. *Sigurd*, p. 70; Sturluson, p. 110; *Sigurd*, p. 84; *Ibid.*; Frederick Kirchhoff, *William Morris*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979. p. 103, *Ibid.* Subsequently Kirchhoff.
14. Kirchhoff, p. 104.
15. *Ibid.*.
16. *Sigurd*, p. 84.
17. *Sigurd*, p. 90.
18. *Sigurd*, p. 85.
19. Peter Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in Thomas Butler, ed, *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1989, p. 106.
20. *Sigurd*, p. 84, p. 62.
21. *Sigurd*, p. 76, p. 77.
22. *Sigurd*, p. 101.
23. *Sigurd*, p. 107.
24. *Sigurd*, pp. 106–107.
25. Jane Ennis, 'The Role of Grimhild in *Sigurd the Volsung*', *Journal of the William Morris Society*, VIII, No. 3, 1989, pp. 13–23.
26. *Sigurd*, p. 98.
27. *Sigurd*, p. 85; Oberg, pp. 102–103.
28. *Sigurd*, p. 84.
29. Kirchhoff, p. 104.
30. *Sigurd*, p. 100.
31. Kirchhoff, p. 165.
32. 'Art and the Beauty of the Earth', 1881. As at The William Morris Internet Archive, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1881/earth.htm> (1 March 2012).