

beginning of folio 206' corresponds to *Patrologia Latina* CII, col. 478C (. . . *et innocentiam, in eo Christus suscipitur*), commenting on Matthew 18:5. What is missing is the end of the exegesis of the Gospel for the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost, all of the exegesis of the Epistle for the feast of the Archangel Michael, and part of the exegesis of that day's Gospel. Unlike the printed text, the Worcester manuscript does not write out the lection in full at the beginning of the exegesis, but simply provides the liturgical date, the specification of the reading, and the lection phrase by phrase as it is commented upon, picked out in majuscules, as already noted, and by marginal signs (see lines 4 and 5 of Bishop's Plate XVI). With allowances made for this difference between the manuscript and the printed text, it is clear that the missing material would have occupied two folios.

In May 1939 Vaughan commented that 'The book has been bound twice before – the second binding, which I pulled to pieces, was probably 13th century work'. Since the surviving part of the manuscript shows no signs of maltreatment, we may presume that the leaves missing between folios 205 and 206, as also the leaf missing between folios 98 and 99, noted by Bishop, were lost at the time of one of the bindings. Whether it was carelessness in binding or some other circumstance which caused the large loss of the manuscript's first six quires is something that we cannot guess.

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### **BEOWULF 875–902 AND THE SCULPTURES AT SANGÜESA, SPAIN**

SANGÜESA, situated 25 miles east-south-east of Pamplona and about 30 miles from the French border, is a quiet country town in the Spanish province of Navarre. Its finest monument is the church of Santa María la Real, whose south doorway is encrusted with a profusion of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century sculpture (see Plate 1). Amongst the subjects represented are Christ in Majesty, the Virgin and Child, the twelve Apostles, the symbols of the Evangelists, the Fall of Man, and the Last

Judgement, as well as craftsmen, musicians, acrobats, animals and monsters. However, the most interesting of the sculptures for Anglicists are those of scenes from the legend of Sigurd, including Sigurd's fight with the dragon Fáfnir, the smith Regin at his anvil, and Sigurd bringing Regin the dragon's heart. As the earliest literary reference to the dragon-killing is very likely that at *Beowulf* 884–97 (where it is related as a feat of Sigurd's father, Sigemund), these Spanish sculptures have a special link with Old English studies.

Apart from *Beowulf*, the legend of Sigurd also figures in the Old Norse *Edda* and *Völsunga saga*, the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* of c. 1200 (as the legend of Siegfried), and early medieval sculpture from Winchester, Lancashire, Cumberland, Norway, and Sweden. It has been claimed that it appears too in sculpture from Cambridgeshire, Leeds, and the Isle of Man, and that elements of it influenced Irish legends of Finn mac Cumhaill and Welsh legends of the poet Taliesin. Apart from their importance for Anglo-Saxon literature and archaeology, therefore, the sculptures at Sangüesa are of interest for Germanicists and even Celticists as evidence for one of the most vigorous of northern legends.

The fundamental discussion of the Sangüesa sculptures, and the basis for the present note, is Cynthia Milton Weber's 'La portada de Santa María la Real de Sangüesa', *Príncipe de Viana*, xx (1959), 139–86. *Príncipe de Viana* (Pamplona, 1940– ) is the leading journal for the study of the art and history of Navarre. However, for some reason it reaches few British libraries, and Cynthia Milton's paper has not had the attention from Anglo-Saxonists it deserves. As its account of early medieval sculpture in Britain and Scandinavia is now also seriously out of date, it is hoped the present note will prompt a new study by a specialist in Scandinavian art with access to the appropriate libraries. It has to be said too that Miss Milton's paper is not always accurate, especially on geography: for example, it locates certain Manx towns and villages (Jurby, 'Malem', Ramsey, and 'Maughola') in Ireland (pp. 168–9). So a fresh note on the Sangüesa sculptures is in order.

The façade at Sangüesa is arranged as follows. On each side of the door are three jambs, five of them with elongated figures of the Virgin and saints showing the influence of twelfth-century

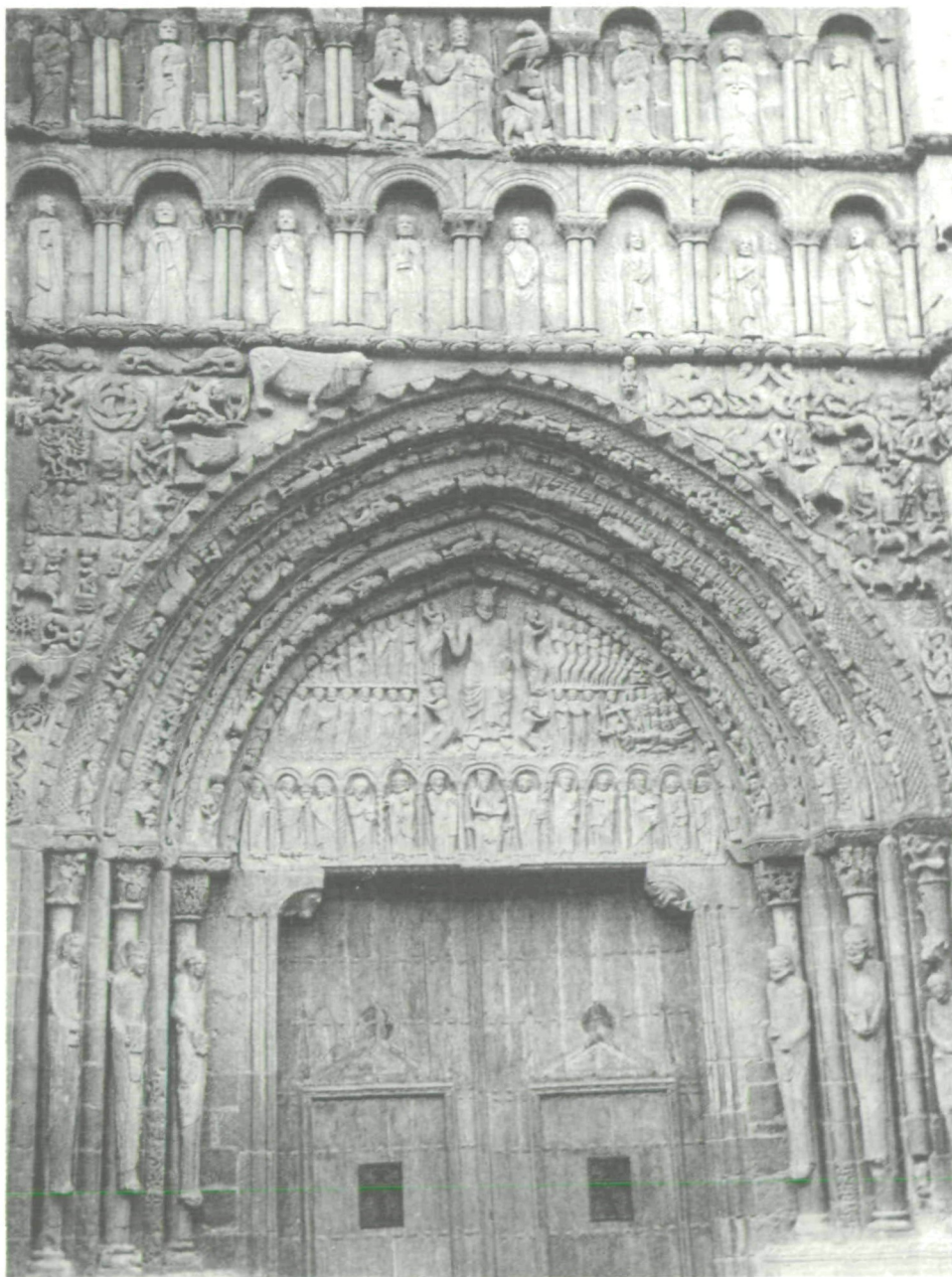


Plate 1

Chartres. Above the door is a tympanum with representations of Christ in Majesty, the Last Judgement and the Twelve Apostles. Around the tympanum are three mouldings, forming a pointed arch lined with human and allegorical figures. Above the arch are spandrels filled with a medley of carvings. These include, on the left, a dog with a huge tongue lolling out, an Old Testament king with two women, Adam and Eve plucking the forbidden Fruit, two men wrestling, a serpent swallowing a woman, a knotted strap, the ox of St Luke, a basilisk, and two snuffling creatures with wings and snaky tails; and, on the right, a bird pecking its back, a spearman, a hound chasing a hart, a griffin taking flight, a large quadruped with a woman's face, five winged monsters, one with a 'Chinese grin' (*sonrisa china*), and five carvings relating to the Sigurd legend. Above the spandrels are two blind arcades containing statues of the apostles and, in the centre of the upper row, a Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists.

The work in the façade, by several hands, dates from various periods; the jumble of sculpture in different sizes and styles within the spandrels is amongst the clear evidence for reconstruction, carried out perhaps about 1230. J. M. Lacarra, in his *Historia del Reino de Navarra en la edad media* (Pamplona, 1976), 266, suggested rebuilding followed flood damage: the church stands by the river Aragón, swollen each spring with meltwater from the Pyrenees. However, we are here concerned with the Sigurd sculptures rather than the façade as a whole. Various oddities of their style fortunately allow us to date them fairly exactly. The bulging eyes and calligraphic decoration of the winged monsters and certain of the Sigurd figures show the hand of the 'Master of San Juan de la Peña', who left work dated to 1197 in the cloister of San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca. He worked as well at churches at Agüero (24 miles north-west of Huesca) and Ejea de los Caballeros (34 miles west), besides the monastery of San Juan de la Peña itself, 30 miles north-north-west of Huesca. All of these are in Aragon. In Navarre one of his sculptures also occurs at Puento la Reina, 13 miles south-west of Pamplona.

The story of Sigurd is told in the tenth-century *Fáfnismál* and *Eiríksmál* in the *Edda*, and the thirteenth-century *Völsunga saga* and (in a

different form) *Thídríks saga*. Regin the smith was the tutor of Sigurd, and reforged Odin's sword Gram for him. With the sword Sigurd kills the dragon Fáfnir and roasts its heart for Regin to eat, but burns his finger while prodding it to see if it is cooked, and having sucked it discovers he understands the language of birds. The birds tell him Regin is his enemy, and that whoever eats the heart will be the wisest of men; he therefore kills Regin with the sword and eats the heart himself.

The parallels between Sigurd's discovery of knowledge by burning himself while cooking a dragon's heart, and similar stories of Finn (cooking a magic salmon from the river Boyne), and Gwion Bach (stirring a cauldron of inspiration for the witch Ceridwen, who lived in Bala Lake), who was later reborn as Taliesin, are worth noting as a comment on the diffusion of this story: cf. T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), 329–34; *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, ed. Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff, 1978), 308–9, and Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *An File* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1982), 233–42. It is more likely Norse tradition influenced Celtic than vice versa. Even so, the thumb-sucking motif is far from limited to Norse and Celtic; see Kenneth Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff, 1961), 115–16, 132, where Jackson quotes Sir Ifor Williams's date of the ninth century for the Welsh text; cf. Sir Ifor's *Chwedl Taliesin* (Caerdydd, 1957), 18–19, 22–4. The poem Finn utters after burning his thumb is certainly ninth century; see *Early Irish Lyrics*, ed. Gerard Murphy (Oxford, 1956), 234. If (besides the dubious evidence of the Franks Casket) the evidence of *Beowulf* and the Burwell workbox cited below can be accepted, this element of the story may have been known in Britain as early as the seventh century. Irish scholars tend to assume the tale entered Celtic tradition from Norse, but the possibility that it came from England should not be ruled out. If it did, it could be contrasted with the themes discussed in the late James Carney's 'The Irish Elements in *Beowulf*' in his *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin, 1955), 77–128.

The Sigurd sculptures at Sangüesa are here described following Cynthia Milton's analysis (166–70). The first (see Plate 2) is that of Sigurd, presenting his right profile, and plunging a broad-bladed sword upwards into the throat of the dragon Fáfnir with his right hand while his



Plate 2



left arm is thrust up to the elbow between its jaws (gripping its tongue?): Milton, pl. 24; cf. L. M. de Lojendio, *OSB, Navarre Romane* (Paris, 1967), pl. 54. The close resemblance of the Sangüesa dragon-slaying to that at Hylestad in Norway proves the Sangüesa sculptor's source was visual, not narrative: cf. Peter Anker, *L'Art Scandinave* (Paris, 1969), i, pl. 222.

Next is the scene of Sigurd bearing Fáfnir's heart to the smithy of his tutor, Regin. This appears below the sculpture of Sigurd and the dragon in the present façade, and consists of three separate pieces of sculpture, whose original arrangement may not have been the present one. Nor is the figure of Regin by the Master of San Juan de la Peña (Milton, 166 n. 153). At present Sigurd, whose head has been lost, approaches Regin from behind, bearing in both hands an object which must be the dragon's heart. The sculpture of Regin at his anvil is well preserved. He is shown in left profile, stripped to the waist as he raises a hammer with his right hand and grips the piece of metal he is forging with tongs in his left. His head is sharply individualized: bald, bearded, and with a long, powerful face (see Plate 3; Milton, pl. 24, Lojendio, pl. 56). To the left of him is a figure (now headless) similar to that holding Fáfnir's heart; it has been identified from the Hylestad carving in Norway as Sigurd holding the bellows (now lost at Sangüesa) in Regin's forge; cf. Anker, i, pl. 219. The similarity between the Spanish and the Norwegian scenes of Regin and Sigurd at the forge is remarkable.

The next scene is that of Sigurd testing the sword Gram. This is shown in a figure to the left of a woman-faced quadruped (probably the Devil) which is itself to the left of the scene of Fáfnir's slaying. Sigurd must have been holding his sword (now lost) with his right hand, while gripping the scabbard in his left; he appears about to fight the quadruped. But this is an accident of reconstruction, as the woman-faced beast is by a different hand, and originally bore no relation to the sculptures now each side of it (see Plates 4 and 5; Milton, pl. 20).

The five pieces of sculpture described above are easy to identify. Two other possible scenes from Sigurd's story are more problematic. On the left side of the façade, in the lower part of the spandrel, is a small carving of a tree with

large spherical fruits, intertwined branches, and leaves like fish-tails. Cynthia Milton claimed to identify one 'fruit' as a bird (178, pl. 25), thereby suggesting another incident from the Sigurd legend. But the bird is not discernible to the present writer.

Finally, near the top of the left spandrel is an interesting carving of a spurred and stirrured rider, his head lost and his right hand holding an object also lost (probably a sword), whose horse is trampling a nude prone figure with a large head, protuberant eyes, and long, neatly combed moustache and beard. The prone figure stares downwards as the horse's front hoof rests on the back of his head (see Plate 6). This scene has been variously identified. Cynthia Milton cites a picture of St James on horseback trampling Moors in Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral Archive, Codex Tumbo A, and (much closer to the Sangüesa figure) an illustration of Catalan origin showing a crusader trampling Moors in the Ripoll Bible, fo. 342. The exotic face of the fallen man could be that of a Moor. However, she also suggests a possible identification with Sigurd on the horse Grane, killing the traitor Hunding when he threw himself down on the river bank to drink. She notes that although the sculpture is not by the master of San Juan de la Peña, it has similarities with that of Regin, and could be by the same hand (173-4, pl. 18).

The above does not exhaust the Scandinavian links of the Sangüesa doorway. One curious feature is that of the knotted beaded strap. Two of these appear at Sangüesa, one in four loops in the upper part of the left spandrel, the other, of two intertwined straps in six loops, at the bottom of the right spandrel (Milton, pl. 29; Lojendio, pl. 54, 58). This is familiar from Irish and Scandinavian art; none the less, Cynthia Milton suggests the fact that it exists elsewhere in Spain (at the abbey of Leyre, near Javier, and at Santillana to the west of Santander on the north coast of Spain) implies it need not here be due to direct influence from beyond Spain.

Volume iv/2 of the *Catálogo Monumental de Navarra*, ed. María Concepción García Gainza *et al.* (Pamplona, 1980- ), which will describe the town of Sangüesa, is at press. But it would be surprising if even so detailed a survey as this exhausted the possibilities of the Sangüesa doorway for researchers. The figures on the



Plate 4







Plate 6

jams, linked with the influence of Chartres and Autun (45 miles west-south-west of Dijon in Burgundy), also have parallels at the churches of San Martín in Segovia and San Vicente in Ávila; the tympanum has its closest links with the south of France; and the upper arcades have their antecedents in Saintonge, the region north of the Gironde estuary in south-west France, and at Angoulême a little way to the east. It is a structure of great complexity, quite apart from the Germanic and Nordic aspects of its art discussed here.

In her analysis Miss Milton describes the close parallels between the Sangüesa figures and sculpture in Norway and Sweden, noting in particular that all five of the following scenes appear in wooden carvings from the church at Hylestad in south-west Norway, approximately midway between Oslo and Stavanger, though the Hylestad doorway is now in the university museum, Oslo. (The present writer has tried, where possible, to give locations and current name-forms of the Norwegian and Swedish places below.)

Cynthia Milton sets out the Hylestad parallels thus:

1. Sigurd kills the dragon.
2. Regin and the sword.
3. Sigurd tests and shatters the sword.
4. The tree and the speaking birds.
5. The horse Grane.

On this analysis, scenes 1, 2, and 3 appear at an old house at Gaulstad, near Drammen to the south-west of Oslo; 2, 3, 4, and 5 at Vegusdal, some 40 miles south-south-east of Hylestad; 1 and 4 at Versos, between the great lakes of Vänern and Vättern in southern Sweden; and 'other scenes' at Austad, seven miles south of Hylestad. These carvings, all in wood, date from about 1200, but derive from older models. Not all are *in situ*. The Norwegian Sigurd scenes are discussed in Anker, i.413–15, who bases his account on Roar Hauglid, 'Setesdalens stavkirkeportaler', in *Universitetets Oldsksamplings Arbok* (1937), and Martin Blindheim, *Norwegian Romanesque Decorative Sculpture 1090–1210* (London, 1965), 52.

Cynthia Milton goes on to list earlier examples of these scenes, more distant in style, in runic monuments of the tenth century and later: 1 and 4 on the Leeds Cross; 4 and 5 on the

Ramsund stone in the parish of Jäder, and 1, 2, 4, and 5 on the Gök stone, both in the Swedish province of Södermanland south-west of Stockholm; and 1 on the Drafle stele and Manadsbladet monolith, from Sweden, and the Norderhov block from near Hønefoss, a few miles north of Oslo. There is a drawing of the Ramsund stone in Anker, i. 202.

Cynthia Milton also lists scenes 2, 4, and 5 from the eleventh-century cross shaft at Halton, near Lancaster; in sculptures built into a twelfth-century wall at Gosforth, on the Cumberland coast south of Whitehaven; and in monuments from the Isle of Man, with unidentified evidence from Michael; scenes 1, 4, and 5 from Jurby; 1, 4, and 5 from Andreas; 4 from Maughold, near Ramsey; and 1 and 5 from Malew, in the south of the island. Finally, she refers to a sculpture of Sigurd in the crypt of Freising Cathedral, some 20 miles north of Munich.

It has not been possible to provide any kind of systematic updating of the above analysis from resources in Pamplona libraries. However, the fundamental account of Sigurd in Hilda Ellis Davidson, 'Gods and Heroes in Stone', *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickens (Cambridge, 1950), 121–39, with important references to her earlier research on this subject, is worth noting for scepticism as to Sigurd's presence on the Leeds cross; compare the popular account in Mary Anderson, *History and Imagery in British Churches* (London, 1971), 59. Dr Ellis Davidson also rejects (at 137) any link between the horse on the detached right side of the Franks Casket (at Florence) and Sigurd's horse Grane mourning his dead master, though this identification is still made, for example in R. M. Wilson's study cited below, and Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972), 221–2 (and cf. 232–3). More positively, Dr Ellis Davidson mentions (135–6) a figure, who *may* represent Sigurd, plunging a weapon into the underside of a dragon on the bronze cylindrical workbox of the mid-seventh century from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Burwell, nine miles east-north-east of Cambridge. She refers as well (126) to an Old Norse verse, perhaps of the early eleventh century, describing scenes of dragon slaying and roasting on a

tapestry in the hall of St Olaf, King of Norway; the verse is a neat piece of evidence for the Sigurd story in both art and literature. The English and Manx carvings surveyed by Dr Ellis Davidson are also discussed in three articles I have not seen: H. M. Taylor, 'Halton Crosses', *Archaeological Journal*, cxxvii (1971), 287–8; D. M. Wilson, 'Manx Memorial Stones of the Viking Period', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, xviii (1971), 1–18; and James Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in pre-Conquest Carvings from Northern England', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xlviii (1976), 83–94.

If Sigurd and the dragon appeared in needlework at the court of King Olaf, they may also have appeared in stone at the court of his Danish contemporary King Cnut, as suggested in Martin Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1965', *The Antiquaries Journal*, xlvi (1966), 308–32, at 329–32. Biddle describes the discovery by archaeologists at Winchester of a stone carving thought to show Sigmund, Sigurd's father, as a bound man tearing out with his teeth the tongue of a wolf attacking him. This incident occurs in chapter 5 of *Völsunga saga*; although the saga in its present form is said to have been compiled 'not later than c. 1260–70, probably in Iceland, though possibly in Norway', Biddle speaks of 'references to the Volsung legend in *Beowulf*, *Widsith* and *Waldere* in Old English [in the last two, presumably the allusions to the Burgundian king Guthhere, d. 436/7], and in the fragmentary tenth-century Norse poem *Eiríksmál*'. He argues that the scene comes from a frieze erected in 1016–35 by Cnut at the Old Minster, Winchester, to commemorate his ancestors. As the original frieze may have been 80 feet long (a kind of Bayeux Tapestry in stone), it might have included scenes from the Sigurd legend like those at Sangüesa, as well as those mentioned by St Olaf's poet. The frieze was destroyed when the Old Minster was demolished in 1093–4. Biddle also cites proof for the knowledge of *Völsunga saga* in art from England, Norway, and Sweden, but is cautious about evidence for the Sigurd legend from the Isle of Man.

This evidence for the knowledge of *Völsunga saga* in royal circles at Winchester casts new light on the *locus classicus* for the legend in English poetry, *Beowulf* 875–902. This relates how one of Hrothgar's retainers at Heorot told

the mighty deeds, far journeys, feuds, and crimes of Sigemund, the tribes of giants he and his nephew Fitela killed, and the fame he achieved after death by killing the dragon, 'the guardian of the treasure'.

Under the gray stone the son of the prince had ventured alone, a daring deed, nor was Fitela with him. Yet it was granted to him that his sword pierced the gleaming dragon, and stood fixed in the wall, the noble weapon. The dragon lay dead from the murderous stroke.

Sigemund loads the dragon's bright treasure-hoard into his ship as the dragon dissolves in its own heat (*wyrm hāt gemealt*), and the poet comments on Sigemund's reputation amongst men that he was 'by far the most famous of adventurers amongst nations for his brave deeds'.

It is worth emphasizing that if this passage on the dragon-killing and other legends is original to *Beowulf* as composed about 750, it is the oldest literary evidence for what we know as *Völsunga saga*; hence its importance. In his *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London, 1970), 18–19, from which the above translation is quoted, R. M. Wilson claims (despite the scepticism of Hilda Ellis Davidson cited above) that whether this passage is a late one brought to England by the Vikings or not, the right panel of the Franks Casket may be evidence that the story was known in Northumbria about 700. Finally, C. L. Wrenn in his edition of *Beowulf* (London, 1973), 47, argues that, although Sigurd's killing of the dragon in the Norse accounts is transferred to his father Sigemund in *Beowulf*, 'it is quite as likely that the Old English, being set down several centuries before the Norse accounts, has the older tradition, and that it is right in that sense in attributing the dragon-slaying to Sigemund rather than to his son'. Wrenn clearly did not regard the passage as a post-Viking interpolation. (Another account of Beowulf, Sigurd and the dragon, in G. V. Smithers, *The Making of 'Beowulf'* (Durham, 1961), 14–16, I have not seen.)

The above material indicates that knowledge of the legends found in the Sangüesa sculptures was widespread in England, Norway, and Sweden. But the problem of how these tales reached Spain remains. Here Cynthia Milton's explanation is very plausible. Sangüesa was

founded at a crucial bridgehead on the Navarrese-Aragonese border shortly before 1131, in which year the King of Navarre, Alfonso I 'the Battler', made town and church over to the military order of Knights Hospitallers or Knights of St John, who remained in charge of its defence until 1351; cf. Lojendio, 153, and José Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de los Obispos de Pamplona*, i (Pamplona, 1979), 372-3. (Another frontier relic, the castle of Javier 3 miles from Sangüesa, reappears in history as birthplace of St Francis Xavier in 1506.)

Now, the Knights of St John were an international order who maintained especially strong links with Scandinavia; and Cynthia Milton points out the Crusades had already brought Scandinavia into contact with southern Europe in the persons of Sigurd Jórslafak, King of Norway (1109-10), and Karl the Dane, Alfonso's kinsman; while Sangüesa's position on the new pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela via Puente la Reina and Burgos, supplanting the old route hugging the north coast of Spain, ensured the passage of thousands of pilgrims from northern Europe through the town.

As a trouble spot and dangerous posting frequented by pilgrims, Sangüesa was no doubt well-sited for its fighting men to learn and value tales of Sigurd's prowess. But there may be more to the sculptures than that. Sangüesa in the twelfth century was a new town as well as a garrison town, full of newcomers making a living by supplying bread, wine and lodging to pilgrims. Many of these inhabitants were foreigners, including the Gascons, Provençals, Poitevins, Auvergnats, Jews, and other immigrants who staged a peaceful 'invasion' of Navarre (punctuated with massacres) between the late eleventh century and the thirteenth. At least two of the Volsung cycle monuments, at Winchester and Halton, were apparently put up to commemorate ancestors; the Halton shaft stands in a manor owned by Earl Tostig, who claimed descent from Sigurd via Harald Bluetooth and Ragnarr Hairybreeks, as Dr Ellis Davidson points out (134). It is tempting to associate the Sangüesa sculptures with some Norwegian knight of St John living south of the Pyrenees some time in the late twelfth century. If no such soldier-monk appears amongst the *comendadores* of the *encomienda* of Sangüesa

listed in Santos García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén* (Pamplona, 1957), i.96, 269, Dr García himself points out (248) how little we know of the Hospitallers in Navarre at this date, especially of their intellectual culture, for which almost the only scraps of evidence are the *sanjuanista* churches and hospitals (many in ruin) which still dot Navarre long after the Order's libraries and other treasures have vanished. We are lucky that the Sangüesa sculptures have survived centuries of weathering, flood, and warfare to demonstrate the links between the twelfth-century knights who had them carved, and the audience of *Beowulf*.

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**SINDRUM BEGRUNDEN IN EXETER  
BOOK RIDDLE NO. 26**

RIDDLE No. 26 in *The Exeter Book* of Old English poetry is interpreted as 'a sacred codex'. It describes in the first person various stages in the manufacture of a book - obtaining and processing the parchment, writing the text, encasing the gatherings within jewelled boards - and it ends by commending the saving powers of the sacred writings themselves. Lines 5b-7 contain the statement

snað seaxses ecg, fingras feoldan . . . <sup>1</sup>	Heard mec sibþan sindrum begrunden;
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of which the widely accepted translation is: 'Afterwards the hard edge of the knife cut me, with all impurities ground off; fingers folded me . . .'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Williamson (ed.), *The Old English Riddles of the 'Exeter Book'* (Chapel Hill, 1977), 83; *ecg* is emended from manuscript *ecge*. Williamson departs from ASPR in numbering this Riddle 24.

<sup>2</sup> R. K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, rev. edn, 1954), 297. The same sense with different wording is found in the translation which replaced Gordon's, that of S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1982), 374: 'a hard knife's edge dissected me, buffed clean of blemishes. Fingers folded me . . .'. 'With all impurities ground off, . . . apparently with reference to the sharpness of the *seaxses ecg*' is again proposed in Williamson, 213, citing the support of Bosworth-Toller s.v. *seax*. Williamson also makes reference to L. K. Shook, 'Riddles relating to the Anglo-Saxon Scriptorium', in R. O'Donnell (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Anton*