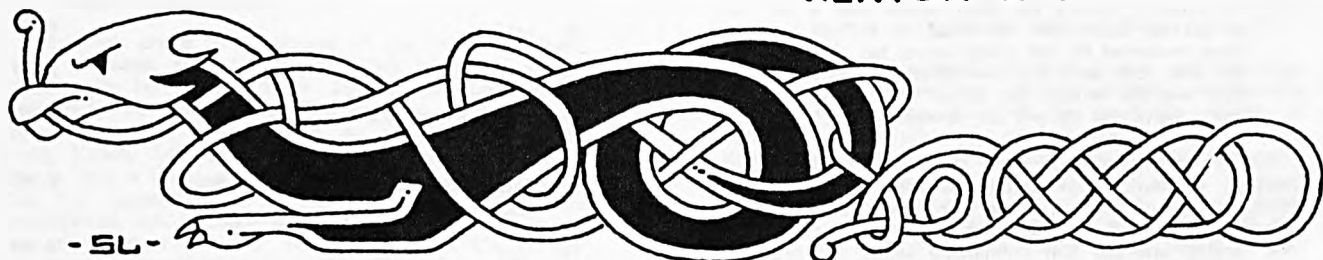


EXTRAPOLATIONS FROM THE TOLKIEN

by
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There are many parallels between events in The Lord of the Rings and the history of the Elder Days.

Gandalf's confrontation of Dúrin's Bane	Glorfindel's defense of the refugees from Gondolin
The Fellowship's entering Lórien and their first sight of Cerin Amroth.	Tuor's entering Gondolin and his first sight of the Vale of Tumiaden.
Frodo's view from atop Amon Hen	Húrin's view from atop Angband.
Gandalf's return.	Lúthien's return.
Merry and Pippin peering out of the woods as the Rohirrim defeated the Orcs.	The coming of the Sun and Moon after the Darkening of Valinor, (acknowledged in text).
The Ents' attack on Orthanc.	The breaking of Thangorodrim.
Denethor's attempting to have himself and Faramir cremated in Rath Dínen.	The rites of human sacrifice in Armenelos, Sauron's temple on Númenor.
Sam's attack of Shelob.	Túrin's slaying of Glaurung. (acknowledged in text).
Gollum's biting off of Frodo's finger.	Carcharoth's biting off of Beren's hand. (acknowledged in text)

Similarly several parallels can be found between names in The Lord of the Rings and names from the tales of the Elder Days:

Glorfindel of Imladris	Glorfindel, saviour of the refugees from Gondolin.
Legolas Greenleaf, Thranduil's son.	Legolas Greenleaf, who guided the refugees from Gondolin. ²
Celeborn, Lord of Lothlórien	Celeborn, the White Tree on the Lonely Isle.
Lórien, where the Fellowship rested.	Lórien, the garden of rest in Valinor.
Minas Tirith in Gondor.	Minas Tirith on Tol Sirion.
Denethor, Steward of Minas Tirith.	Denethor, who led the Nandor into Beleriand.
Grond, the battering-ram used on the outer gate at Minas Tirith.	Grond, the Hammer of the Underworld.
The plain of Gorgoroth in Mordor.	Ered Gorgoroth, which lay between Dorthonion and Nan Dungortheb in Beleriand.
Gothmog, lieutenant of Barad-Dûr.	Gothmog, Lord of Balrogs.

To end this series of parallels one may compare Mirkwood in *The Hobbit* and Taur-nu-Fuin in *The Silmarillion*. And last of all, Celeborn and Galadriel themselves on Cerin Amroth and Telperion and Laurelin on Corollairë. [Coron Giolairë; Ed.]

2. (i) Just as the characters of Sam, Frodo and Gollum (not to mention Merry, Pippin and the Gaffer) reach their full fruition in "The Return of the King", so is the character of Gandalf, originally introduced in the opening chapter of *The Hobbit*, realised in its epic proportion. The quality of Gandalf's strategic thinking, as he approaches the battle on the Pelennor and his own (contemporarily cinematic) confrontation with the Morgul-lord, is worthy of a slim volume's worth of intricate explication in itself; and the anticlimactic explanation scenes at Minas Tirith, as presented in both the "Return" and *Unfinished Tales*, wonderfully enrich a second reading of the narrative.

The truly awesome significance of Gandalf's battle with the Balrog in Moria only properly emerges by reading it with the perspective of *The Silmarillion* and *Unfinished Tales*. In the first place Gandalf, more surely than anyone else, would have had to have known that the Ring would almost certainly draw Dúrin's Bane to itself. It also seems evident enough that, during the interim between the demise of the Balrog and the retrieving of his body on the peak by Gwaihir Eagle-of-Manwë, Gandalf, - in the fulfillment of the mission he had accepted as Olórin, friend of Nienna and one of the Maiar himself -, visited and returned from the Halls of Mandos, putting an end to the aftermath of the ancient curse, enabling Galadriel, (in particular and the remaining Exiles in general), to return to Eldamar without untoward vindication or compromise: hence the attenuation of his more familiar personality in the character of Gandalf the White, final Redeemer of the Noldor.

(ii) Moreover, it is interesting to wonder just how, in the name of Morgoth Bauglir, the Balrog of Moria can have arrived underneath Khazad-dûm in the first place. In "Appendix A" to *The Lord of the Rings*, Section III, "Durin's Folk", Tolkien's chronicler writes that

It came to pass that in the middle of the Third Age Durin was again its King, being the sixth of that name. The power of Sauron, servant of Morgoth, was then again growing in the world, though the Shadow in the Forest that looked towards Moria was not yet known for what it was. All evil things were stirring. The Dwarves delved deep at that time, seeking beneath Barazinbar for mithril, the metal beyond price that was becoming yearly ever harder to win. Thus they roused from sleep* a thing of terror that, flying from Thangorodrim, had lain hidden at the foundations of the earth since the coming of the Host of the West: a Balrog of Morgoth. Durin was slain by it, and the year after Nain I, his son; and then the glory of Moria passed, and its people were destroyed or fled far away.

*[Or released it from prison; it may well be that it had already been awakened by the malice of Sauron.]

What would make more sense is to suppose that this Balrog was trapped in the act of leading an effort to tunnel beneath Durin's kingdom, when whatever tunnel collapsed behind it in connection with the foundering of Beleriand, bearing in mind that Khazad-dûm emerged as the heart of Middle-earthling civilisation at the beginning of the Second Age, even inspiring the establishment of Eregion in Hollin. It's no wonder that Gandalf was obliged to hurl the Balrog from the very top of a Misty Mountain in order to kill it, considering that it had managed to remain dormant for an age and a half without air, nourishment or water. And it's worth pointing out that Gandalf emerges here as the final saviour of Durin's Folk as well.

(iii) "The Istari" quotes from 'a brief and very hasty sketch of a narrative' concerning the selection of the Istari by the Valar, in which Saruman is associated with Aulë, Radagast with Yavanna and Gandalf with Manwë and Varda. This is logical enough as far as it goes, but what would be more convincing

would be for Gandalf/Olórin to have been nominated by Nienna at the confidential behest of the ruling couple.

(iv) In short, if there is a 'Christ figure' in *The Lord of the Rings*, it is not Frodo but Mithrandir.

3. In "The Hunt for the Ring", Christopher Tolkien says, 'my father nowhere explained the Ringwraiths' fear of water.'

While this is certainly a responsibly scholarly observation, there would appear to be no need for the point to remain permanently at issue. The Ringwraiths' fear of water would seem fairly clearly to be a function of the Ulmo/Aulë dichotomy familiar to admirers of *The Silmarillion* and Part I of *Unfinished Tales*. To address the point at issue in connection with the quotation, it seems clear enough that, once the Nine had been ferried across the Mering Stream and the Snowbourne, the Fords of Isen and Sarn Ford and would have negotiated the ruined bridge over the Greyflood at Tharbad by foot, however precariously, both on their way into Eriador and on their return, thankful for once to be heavily cloaked. Which is to say that, while a horse might have crossed the Brandywine at the Bucklebury Ferry by swimming, the Ringwraith was obliged to detour via the Brandywine Bridge, since his aversion to water was strong enough not to allow him even to remain on the horse's back while it swam.

This is an important point, not only because it is vital to the process of Frodo's escape from the Shire, but also because it bears crucially upon the history of the Ring throughout the Third Age. If both the Ringwraiths and Sauron had not had an aversion to water, the Ring would not have remained hidden. If Isildur had lost the Ring on dry land in the neighbourhood of Dol Guldur, it would surely have been discovered and retrieved by Sauron long before Déagol found it circa 2470, not to mention Saruman's search in 2851. Thus, only a Stoor - a water-loving Hobbit - was to be likely to find it and to succeed in absconding into the heart of the mountains without being observed by Sauron's minions. Moreover, it is worth noting that the Ring's emergence from underground (once Bilbo had escaped from both Gollum and the Goblins) might very well have contributed to Sauron's willingness to retreat to Mordor so readily when assailed by the White Council during Gandalf's absence from the Quest of Erebor.

The sticky question is as to why Saruman would have waited until 2851. What Tolkien senior never explained was the long-term development of Saruman's corruption. I would suggest that the eventual answer would have been the more or less immediate dislike that Curunír/Saruman might have taken to Galadriel in the early days following his newly incarnated arrival. There would seem to be no reason why he should not have found Círdan and Elrond fairly congenial; but his first encounter with Galadriel, considering that he represented Aulë, might well have left him severely confounded. That he should have been sent so perishably into Middle-earth to provide strategic advice, not to mention tactical support, to a still wilfully exiled Noldorin female, who even yet presumed to question (to doubt!) the wisdom of the Valar, this might have caused the uncorrupted Saruman to wonder what it was that the Valar supposed he ought to be doing. And Olórin's enthusiasm for Galadriel would have sown the distrust between them. Still, Saruman's perennial sphere of influence was based in Gondor, as opposed to Mithrandir's preoccupation with Arnor. Even though he would, in all probability, have known about the Disaster of the Gladden Fields for at least several hundred years by then, it would be a characteristically Númenórean complacency which might account for Saruman's failure to re-search the place where Isildur fell, before the end of the Watchful peace inspired him to assume residency at Orthanc and the ensuing exploration of its environs, (recollected by Treebeard in conversation with Merry and Pippin), which led to his discovery of the exact location of Isildur's death and the recovery of his armaments on the east bank.

However, the central character of the story of the hunt for the Ring has obviously to be Sauron Gorthaur himself. And the climax of the story is surely the moment when Sauron, using the stolen palantír, spotted Gollum trudging across the Dagorlad in his own direction. The notion of Sauron's searching the Gladden Fields for the Ring in 2939 is highly unlikely. What Saruman observed in 2939 would have been designed to make him nervous and to aggravate the awkwardness of his position in the Council. What would be more plausible is to suppose that Saruman was observed in his own search in 2851, most likely by Sauron himself, who was still in Dol Guldur at that time. This would accord with the theme of Saruman's unintentional inability to achieve any more than Sauron's dirty work. Knowing that Saruman had discovered Isildur's necklace and the Star of Elendil but not the Ring itself, Sauron would then rightly assume that the Ring had passed comfortably out of circulation, since he would have known if someone competent had been using it against him. Thus, having witnessed the transformation of the Ringwraiths and because he would immediately recognise the 'stretching' effect of centuries as the possessor of the Ring on Gollum, Sauron would have panicked and have Gollum haled before him without delay, regaining his composure only for long enough to ask Gollum how he had lost the Ring, (which would have provided him with 'Shire' and 'Baggins'), before losing his temper when Gollum told him that he did not know of the Shire's location. Given his tenure at Dol Guldur, Sauron would have been aware of the former presence of hobbitas in the Vales of Anduin, and Gollum's final claim that the Shire must be along the Anduin would simply serve to convince Sauron that the former Sméagol possessed nothing in the way of useful information, since Sauron would also know that there had been no Hobbits there since long before Gollum re-emerged. One must bear in mind that Gollum would have come down from Esgaroth via the River Running, - for all Gollum knew, there still were Hobbits in the Vales of Anduin. This would have enabled Gollum to be sufficiently convincing and it would have required of Sauron no more than ordinary means of deduction to determine the general location of the Shire as being to the north of Dunland in Eriador. Sauron's mistake was to fail to take into account what Gollum was not telling but showing him: namely resistance to interrogation on the subject of the Ring. Given Gollum, Sauron should have suspected that Gandalf would use Hobbits to try to destroy the Ring: but Sauron could only interpret the Hobbits' relation to Gandalf in the terms of his own relation to Morgoth, (and concomitantly Saruman's developing relation to him), and the idea of destroying the Ring was literally against his nature.

Thus the account of the Ringwraiths' search for the Shire east of the Mountains is regardable as an eminently 'constituent text', as are the versions involving the Ringwraiths' detour to visit Saruman before passing the Gap of Rohan and their encounter with Gríma. In 'conversation' with Saruman, Sauron would never have mentioned the Ring. The point necessary to the plot is for Gandalf to have passed high above the Nine astride Gwaihir, since he would have been well aware of their advance northwards in any other circumstance involving his concurrent presence in the vicinity of Isengard. If the Nine had actually arrived at the gates while Gandalf was being held in the Tower, he would have begged Gwaihir to fly him north in a hurry. All that need have transpired during their journey is the Nine's acquisition of detailed information regarding the Shire and Hobbiton from one of Saruman's underlings along the Greenway.

Finally, it is worth noting that, as implied above, the location of the undiscovered Ring is arguably significant to the shape of events throughout the Third Age; the importance of Dol Guldur; the eventual failure of the Witch-king's invasion of Eriador, while the Ring lay beyond the Mountains; the occurrence of the Nanduhirion campaign, while the Ring lay in Gollum's lair; the stability of Imladris and Lórien; and so on. The manifestly 'unfinished' writings on the hunt for the Ring deserve to be evaluated critically according to the standards set by Tolkien's last glorious meta-historical essays such as "The Disaster of the Gladden Fields", "Cirion and Eorl", "The Battle of the Fords of

Ilsen" and "The Druedain". That it is possible to extrapolate resolutions of the difficulties presented by these 'constituent' texts in what are nevertheless rigorously Tolkienian terms serves merely once more to re-emphasize the thorough-going vitality of Tolkien's fabulous conception.



4. (a) "The History of Galadriel and Celeborn" links up the fragments concerning them which exist in various forms and explain their importance as characters who appear throughout the history of Middle-earth. Tolkien, towards the end of his life, became for a time concerned with working out the details of their story consistently; and what emerges is a conception of Galadriel that all but places a woman at the heart of the Tolkien mythology. From her youth as Fëanor's foil in Valinor, through her role during the Noldorin rebellion, her residence as a familiar of Melian in Doriath, her ascendancy in Eregion and her 'reign' in Lothlórien, Galadriel is at once the prodigal daughter and the "greatest of Elven women", the rightful Queen of the Noldor.

Tolkien Junior says that "there are severe inconsistencies 'embedded in the traditions' "; but the instinctual undercurrent of Tolkien Senior's imagination intimates, on the whole, a brilliantly integrated idea of what kind of woman Galadriel would have had to be. That she might have been married in Valinor would compromise the resonance of her portrayal as being implicated in the Noldorin rebellion, while opposing Fëanor to the point of bearing arms (for apparently the first and last time in her life); and, having fought to protect the ships of the Teleri, (where the majority of the Noldor trailed behind Fëanor's vanguard, Galadriel might very well have attempted to take ship ahead of him), she would have been bound to take part in the Crossing of the Helcaraxë. Galadriel was an adventurer, who shared the Green and Grey Elves' reservations concerning the Noldor, although from a completely different perspective - not that it would have made her reservations unattractive to the Úmanyar, rather the opposite; Galadriel would not, for

example, have blamed the ruin of Doriath on the Dwarves but on Thingol, who should have known better than to let his greed get the best of him.

The question concerning Celeborn is as to what might credibly have given him the stature to marry Galadriel. A possible answer could be for Celeborn to have been born by Cuiviénen and to have come to Doriath as a member of the Denethor party, making him both Nandorin and Sindarin. The only source of first hand information on him is his appearance toward the end of The Fellowship of the Ring; and his character is far more reminiscent of Bilbo's account of Thranduil than of Frodo's own encounter with Gildor - who is as good as said to be Noldorin; in fact Celeborn is cast in the episode as a latter-day Thingol. At any rate it is not unreasonable to suppose that he might have been named after the White Tree of Tol Eressëa only in Middle-earth. What might account most appropriately for the theory that Galadriel and Celeborn had begun to migrate eastward before the end of the First Age is that a party including the couple might have left Doriath with the blessing of Melian more or less concurrently with Beren and Lúthien's retreat to Tol Galen, thus becoming members of the Green-elven community which helped to retrieve the Nauglamír; it is only too easy to imagine Galadriel as being borne on, formerly by the memory of the sacrifices of Lúthien and Melian, and latterly by the knowledge that the cost of Sauron's reliance on the Ring would, as likely as not, in the end amount in a similar way to what it had for Melian to maintain the Girdle; Celeborn's possible friendship with Beren would appear far more convincing to contribute to the requisite status for wedding Galadriel than simply being Thingol's cousin. Given this schema, the growth of love between Galadriel and Celeborn would be justified in the unbeatable terms of shared historic experience over the course of several centuries.

Their marriage seems to have been formalised in Lindon, after the foundering of Beleriand in the beginning of the Second Age, as Galadriel and Celeborn would not have married before the end of the Elder Days, given the drift of events in Beleriand, (cf. Note 22 to 'Aldarion and Erendis'):

It is stated that the Númenóreans, like the Eldar, avoided the begetting of children if they foresaw any separation likely between the conception of the child and at least its very early years.

The birth of Celebrían might then have occurred during their residence near Lake Evendim, on the East marches of Gil-galad's realm, in the original settlement at Fornost, where they would have been the pre-eminent members of another essentially nomadic population; and concern for the quality of Celebrían's education might subsequently have led them to Ost-in-Edhil in Eregion, perhaps after a certain amount of debate involving Celeborn's distaste for unforested country and his scepticism with regard to Galadriel's political ambitions. One imagines Galadriel as being only hazily aware that Eregion would justify both the ambition and the reservations.

Eregion turned out to be the crossroads of the Second Age. What the records imply is that Gil-galad viewed Celebrimbor's lordship in Hollin as a form of not-quite-justified competition, and that Annatar played on Celebrimbor's awareness of Gil-galad's condescension; and Galadriel would have agreed with Celebrimbor about the importance of the Dwarves. It is said that Galadriel regarded Annatar with scorn, but she might have shown scorn out of momentary irritation, possibly in response to Annatar/Sauron's (or someone else's Sauron-induced) confrontation of her own irresolutely unconvinced reserve. It is easy to imagine memories of Fëanor being much on Galadriel's mind in Eregion and irresolvably mixing her feelings about Annatar: she would have understood the potential value of a Maia to such a community; her regrets concerning Fëanor's life and death might have caused her to distrust her own motives, particularly since it was she who had persuaded Celeborn and Celebrían to remove to Ost-in-Edhil in the first place; and she would, on the other hand, have felt a very Noldorin affinity for Celebrimbor's ambitions in the making of the Rings.

It is entertaining to imagine the cast of her ire, when Celebrimbor told her that Annatar was in fact none other than the former lieutenant of Morgoth's garrison on Tol-i-NGauroth, where her brother Finrod had been tortured and murdered by a werewolf; not to mention Celebrimbor's sudden recognition of his great-aunt's true eminence; not to mention the renewal of her loyalty to Celeborn. The logic of the situation, once the war began to go badly, would be for Celebrimbor, (much in the manner of Turgon), to stay and go down with the ship; for Elrond and Celeborn to head north with the Narya and Vilya; and for Galadriel to escape from Eregion with the Nenyá by subverting the Hithaeaglin, using the Ring of Durin III as the toll for her passage through Khazad-dûm, in order to outflank Sauron by rallying the population east of the mountains to, at the very least, harry Sauron's lines of communication and supply from Mordor through Calenardhon.

Thus Galadriel would have initiated the realm of Lothlórien, beginning to realise her life-long ambition to rule a domain of her own in Middle-earth only after a period of deep hesitation and then having had the duty to do so imposed upon her by circumstances both beyond her control and opposed to her desire. Of course the advent of the Númenórean fleet achieved decisively what she would have been seeking to do; but Galadriel's astute strategic move into Lórinand may be held to have helped to inspire Sauron's willingness to be taken to Númenor. Celeborn would meanwhile have been Galadriel's ambassador to Rivendell, to Gil-galad and subsequently to Drogher; and thus it would indeed have been 'the White Lady' who had single-handedly founded the new realm of Lórien - concurrently with Elrond's establishment of Imladris - by planting Mallorns across Anduin from Dol Guldur, in the days when the Nandor east of the mountains had begun to seek the southern haven in substantial numbers. And there is no reason to suppose that Celeborn and Galadriel were ever based anywhere else in Middle-earth again (not that she would have missed (or hurried) a meeting of the white Council or the opportunity to visit Dol Amroth).

Moreover for Nimrodel to have been unusual among the Silvan Elves in her disenchantment with Lórien might be held to indicate that Celeborn and Galadriel became its rulers only after the advent of Durin's Bane, and that before then Lórien had continued to be rather more reminiscent of the communities associated with Beren and Lúthien in Ossiriand and Celebrían's home in Eriador: Galadriel's way of ordering her own domain would have been to temper Noldorin ingenuity with Nandorin insouciance: which would account for the quality of the loyalty which she and Celeborn were able to elicit from the most rustic Elves of all. This would mean that, when Galdor told Gimli that he was the first Dwarf to lay eyes on Lórien "since Durin's Day", the Durin he meant was Durin VI, the Durin slain by the Balrog. The ensuing exodus of Dwarves from Khazad-dûm might certainly have forced Lórien to close its borders - particularly if it had been widely known that the Elves' aid in combatting the Balrog underground had been sought unsuccessfully.

Admittedly, since Galadriel only seems to appear as a repository in the stories of the Elder Days and as little more than a tourist attraction in The Lord of the Rings, the whole matter might understandably be regarded by the reader for entertainment as palpably frivolous; but Christopher Tolkien clearly does not think it is so, considering the importance which Galadriel came to have for Tolkien in philosophical terms (some sense of the background for which may be gleaned from Ulmo's preface to Tuor's Instructions in Vinyamar, Túrin's argument with Gwindor in Nargothrond and Meneldur's meditation on Gil-galad's letter, conveyed by Aldarion to Númenor); and there is no denying the fascination of Nerwen Artanis Altariel, author of the Quenta Silmarillion.

'Hard as di'monds, soft as moonlight. Warm as sunlight, cold as frost in the stars. Proud and far-off as a snow-mountain, and as merry as any lass I ever saw with daisies in her hair in springtime...'

'But perhaps you could call her perilous, because she's so strong in herself. You could dash yourself

to pieces on her, like a ship on a rock; or drown yourself, like a hobbit in a river. But neither rock or river would be to blame...'

(b) It will be apparent to anyone reading the immediately preceding section of these notes and familiar with the events in detail that I have been less than fully candid in presenting the opinions it outlines. This, however, is no more than a function of the fact that I have become sensitive to the importance of segregating theories and hypotheses during the process of composition.

For example I suspect that the problem between Fëanor and Galadriel probably occurred because she was his first cousin. I do not find it unreasonable to suppose that Galadriel pursued the judicious promiscuity of the all-around athlete in Eldamar - and the judicious celibacy of the aristocratic journalist in Beleriand, where she might be viewed as having been the daughter to Melian that Thingol couldn't help wishing Lúthien had been to him. I imagine Melian dispatching Galadriel to attend upon Lúthien in Ossiriand after having seen Thingol entangle himself beyond recall in the fate of the Silmarils, knowing that the ruin of Doriath was impending and that Galadriel's fate lay in Middle-earth; and I see Galadriel's experience with the "shepherds of the trees" in connection with the recovery of the Nauglamír as anticipating proximity to Fangorn as an important factor in her appreciation of the tactical viability of Lórinand.

The early, pre-Eregion centuries of the Second Age would have been the best of days for Galadriel, a fulfilling consummation that left plenty of room for ambition and plenty of leisure for dreams. It seems enchanting to think that Celebrimbor would have known what was to become the Shire as the site of many a carefree childhood afternoon. As the eldest living member of the Noldorin royalty in Middle-earth and Gil-galad's de facto regent east of the Ered Luin, Galadriel would have commanded more prestige than ever before, yet without anything unpleasant at all in the way of governing responsibility. Celebrimbor's creation of the Elessar in Eregion would, for Galadriel, have borne the aspect of manifest destiny; and its fashioning by Celebrimbor at this point in time seems to me to possess a necessity integral to the history of the Second Age for this reason, obviating the not unattractive but slightly overcomplicated notion of the gem's gratuitous creation in Gondolin, then taken overseas for no reason by Eärendil and brought back - out of character - by Gandalf. Here as elsewhere, Galadriel's saving grace is her humility; it seems as if she had never quite managed to think herself as important as nearly everyone else generally did. The answer to the question as to why she allowed Annatar to remain in Ost-in-Edhil is that she would not have seen herself responsible for approving or rejecting him unilaterally at any time. This is the dramatic key to the character of her role in the fall of Eregion: all of a sudden, Galadriel is in charge.

It seems to me logical to suppose that Sauron's problem in assailing Eregion from the South would have been to evade or otherwise neutralise the Ents, whom he would not have underestimated; and, taking once again into consideration Galadriel's long-standing familiarity with Fangorn, it seems as likely as not that she would have begun her efforts by making sure that Sauron's supply lines were suitably harassed by Huorns. This might have caused the approach of Elrond's reinforcement force to seem like a reason to hope genuinely for a victory - until the rest of Sauron's forces, having passed north from Mordor east of Anduin, began to pour out of the mountains into northern Hollin, effectively surrounding Ost-in-Edhil and threatening to cut off Elrond's line of retreat. At this point Elrond's army, accompanied by the detachment from Eregion led by Celeborn which had succeeded in joining forces with it, would have retreated northwestwards at first and then been obliged to head east, away from the line of retreat towards Lindon, by the effect both of Sauron's tactical interest and of the importance of relieving the body of refugees fleeing northward from Hollin along the western slopes of the mountains, which would have cut its way out through the rearguard, left behind the

pursuit of the warriors under Elrond and Celeborn. Elrond would then have been driven to Rivendell, and the core group at Imladris may thus be understood to have consisted of refugees from Eregion, who had left their appetite for urban elegance south of Rhudaur before the beginning of the Third Age.

In the meantime Celebrimbor would have been left at the Halls of the Gwaith-i-Mirdain with the nine and the seven, simply because nobody wanted to travel with them, given Sauron's hold over them. The documents are full of references to the importance of not using the Elven-rings, but I am of the opinion that these postulations, in what must be regarded as having, at least, originated as part of the lore of Elrond, are firmly grounded in the experiences of those who made use of them in this emergency. I should suggest that Narya and Vilya went north with Celeborn and the rest of those likely to need their powers most desperately. In terms of the subsequent history of the Elven-rings, it seems evident that Narya was the ring which Gil-galad might have worn in leading the last Alliance, that Vilya was the one originally intended for Círdan, and that Nenyá was meant for Galadriel to wield in Eriador; but that, in the dispensation which accrued following the war of the Elves against Sauron, the Elves' orientation had undergone a reversal of strategic polarities, placing the Nenyá at its tactical extremity, the Vilya along its line of retreat and the Narya in the one stronghold the Elves had never lost. In the documents it is said that Sauron hoped to recover "one or more" of the Elven-rings by attacking Lindon; but the obvious contingency, at the time, was that there was no way for any of the Rings to have got there from Hollin; and thus I conclude that the Narya and the Vilya helped to account for the establishment and survival of Imladris under siege: the Vilya in withstanding attacks and assuring the succor of the non-combatants, the Narya (worn by Elrond as the senior Noldorin prince available) only in attempting to open the High Pass. Following the Númenórean intervention, the Narya would have passed to Eregion and played its role in the siege of Barad-dûr, while the Vilya remained with Círdan in Lindon; but, by the beginning of the Third Age, Elrond's experience during the retreat from Eregion and the siege of Imladris, and the fact that he had been present at the fall of Gil-galad, would have disinclined him to the Red Ring altogether, and he would have chosen to accept the Vilya from Círdan in order to ensure the survival of Imladris, while the Narya awaited the arrival of Mithrandir at the Grey Havens.

Galadriel, on the other hand, as noted earlier, would have fled from the sack of Ost-in-Edhil via Khazad-dûm, advancing alone when every other Elf in Middle-earth was in one manner of retreat or another; which naturally would have presented difficulties of a different and quite remarkable order. To whatever extent the Dwarves may have emerged to support Elrond and Celeborn before Sauron's overwhelming of Hollin, there is no mention of any Dwarves' flight northward, and it is evident, in terms of what may be regarded as the Dwarves' sins of omission during this period, that Durin's bottom-line policy was to regard Sauron and Noldor alike as Valinórean first, and whatever else second; one need only begin to imagine what a Nanduhirion-scale campaign might have accomplished against Sauron in Eriador to see that this was the case. And this is why I surmise that the most dramatic encounter of that period of the Second Age must have been Galadriel's confrontation of Durin III, having entered Khazad-dûm, escorted most probably by Narvi, just before the West Gate closed on the Elves, to offer Durin the first of the Seven, while Celebrimbor was still being tortured. Durin would, by then, have been measuring his options, in anticipation of Sauron's success in conquering the known world, and he was bound to know that the mere presence of Galadriel in Khazad-dûm might very well bring an invasion of the Orcs who were sweeping north into his realm next, if word was to get out that he had so much as harbored such an illustrious fugitive; indeed, since Durin would by then already have given orders to close the Doors to the Elves, Galadriel would only have been admitted at Narvi's insistence that she brought a token that more than justified allowing her to enter, at which point she would have been hailed directly before Durin himself.

One could imagine Galadriel's audience as taking place at a depth, in the heart of the mountains, to rival Gollum's lair, at the very core of Dwarven civilisation, Durin beginning by accusing her of presumption upon his hospitality of an insolence unimaginable in a female of any other species and answering what he regarded as her gilded demand for a suicidal initiative by ordering his retainers to take the Dwarf-ring which, Galadriel herself has just admitted, had been intended by its maker as a gift, by force; at which point Galadriel, by virtue of the very seclusion which gives Durin the courage to make the attempt, uses the *Nenya* to repel the guards, undetected by Sauron, thus demonstrating the quality of the product, in order to certify the expedient propriety of Durin's accepting it, irrespective of his erstwhile military decision. The ensuing pause would have been one for the ages: a moment of irretrievably revelatory cultural, psychological and political understanding between a Dwarf reputed to be the reincarnation of the first of the Seven Fathers and the foremost among Elven women anywhere. Durin would momentarily have been helpless not to wish to have been the monarch of a population which might have followed him in acceding to Galadriel's wishes; and, of course, the surpassingly courteous and strategically impeccable Galadriel would have permitted him not to declare that he had found himself possessed of such a desire before his ever-present inferiors; Durin would have gone to the grave without even having considered ever admitting this truth to anyone. Galadriel would then have renewed her petition, offering the ring once again as a gift and re-stating her position in the form of advice; which Durin would have granted with reserve, accepted with gravity and rejected with diplomatic regret, in that order - gruffly and in the dawning light of the knowledge that the future of the Dwarves boded no less ill than that of the now-fading Eldar -, before the devastatingly fabulous representative of whose adamant commitment to justice, joy and prosperity he would, if only he could have been left to his own devices, have prostrated himself just then, in glad abjection.

Nevertheless the Dwarves did not reject the Seven, and the probability is that Durin distributed them. Hence Celeborn's disinclination to the Dwarves, not as a result of the ruin of Doriath, but rather as a function of his knowledge that his wife was the best friend the Dwarves could ever have had, and that her advice had, for all practical purposes, been spurned in their counsel for millenia; hence Galadriel's disinclination to do more than just ensuring that the Balrog's menace remained subtterranean; hence the spectacle of Thrór's aimless wandering before the face of the Misty Mountains, caught between his own Ring and the one that lay in Gollum's lair, until his anguish guided him into the arms of Azog's tender attentions; hence the eventual extinction of the direct line of Durin the Deathless with the deaths of Thráin, Thorin and Balin, each more overtly the victim of his own folly - and hence, at the same time, the towering ferocity of the war that raged between Mount Gundabad to the Mirrormere in Thorin's youth, the success of the Quest for Erebor and the final vindication of the Dwarves in the War of the Ring: for without the benefit of Galadriel's personal intervention at mortal risk at the last crossroads of the history of the two races, the Dwarves might have collaborated with Sauron rather than merely accommodating him, and thus sealed a fate far crueller than the one they suffered so hardily; not to mention Celeborn and Galadriel's alacrity and grace in responding to Gimli: Galadriel might have been forgiven for suggesting that Celebrimbor didn't appreciate Dwarves at all.

After the departure of Amroth, whose tragedy made him a hero for Sindar and Nandor alike, Galadriel ruled Luthlórion from Cerin Amroth with *Nenya*, the Ring of Adamant, because she knew that the Elves of Middle-earth were caught between hope and despair: after the fall of Eregion, Galadriel's exile from Elvenhome was, by virtue of her obligations, and all the Mallorns in Arda would not spare her from the agonies of the fading, including the loss of her daughter. Saruman offered her nothing but more of the same; Radagast she might actually have found bewildering; but the empty-handed simplicity of Gandalf would have charmed

her out of the trees. I have the impression that, while Legolas clearly thought of Gandalf as Mithrandir, the inhabitants of Lórien and Imladris delighted to think of him as Gandalf, the jest being that he didn't in the least look like an Elf to them. The sight of the gleam in the eyes of the old man wearing the *Narya*, just after the aftermath of the Last Alliance had begun to seem routine, would have paralysed any Elf in Middle-earth with reassuringly astonished hilarity; and to Galadriel Mithrandir might very well have brought the first word she'd received from her mother in at least an age and a half. There are a number of rumors about their first encounter, none of which I credit particularly: no *Elessar*, no *Ban* and nothing Galadriel could regard as news (the Mallorn seeds having come



from Númenor before the fall of Eregion); Gandalf himself would have been all the news, indulgence and treasure she could have desired at the time, an equal, a novelty and a co-conspirator; in really sizeable footwear, a wonderful blizzard of beard and those eyebrows, and topped right off with a truly atrocious hat.

Just as Sam is held to be the author of *The Return of the King's* closing chapter, I would suggest that Celeborn wrote *Of the Third Age and the Rings of Power* following the Ringbearers' departure from the Havens; and, as Elendil is held to have been responsible for preserving the vintage account of Aldarion and Erendis, it seems reasonable to suppose that he may have written the *Akallabêth*, the closing sentence of which is notably persuasive to this belief. *The Unfinished Tales* can be held to represent the lore of Elrond, and the *Lost Tales* would then be attributed to Gondor. I have proposed earlier on that Galadriel is the fictional author of *The Silmarillion*. I should also suggest that she wrote it at Gandalf's behest, and that their first meeting inspired her composition of the *Valaquenta*, which appears to me to feature an introduction by Mithrandir - who would then be regardable as the roughly contemporary author of the *Ainulindalë*.

Just as Beren would not eat the flesh of beast or fowl, Galadriel swore never to handle a blade again after the Kinslaying at Alqualondë, where she was alone, in that the kin she slew was her own.

5. The implication of scattered references to the

origin of the Uruk-hai in The Two Towers' account of the campaign in Rohan is that Saruman created the Uruks by breeding Orcs with Men and then feeding their fathers to the consequences; which, in turn, raises the question of Goblin females, who might be supposed to surpass even female Dwarves in their obscurity; and the question of Saruman's creation of Uruks harks back to the question of Melkor's creation of Orcs and Trolls: the least incredible theory about which would seem to be that Morgoth created Orcs by breeding Elven women (it is said that he used Elves, and females are surely the ones he would have preferred) with male Dwarves, (though certainly not, one might certainly add, those of the mansions of Belegost), and that he created Trolls by breeding Orcs with goblins. Sauron would then, Saruman having created the Uruk-hai, have himself created the Olog-hai by breeding his own Uruks with women. The upshot of this theory thus seems to cast a certain light (however unpleasant the resulting view) on the hideous character of Celebrian's shattering captivity. The expression "poisoned wound" has the air of a euphemism in the explanation for her flight to the Havens offered by Elrond's family for public consumption.

6. It has been said that one of the obvious problems with Tolkien is the absence in his books of believable sex; but I should submit that, just as there is no problem with Sam and Rose, so there is no problem with the incredibly glamorous Galadriel and her rough-hewn, indomitable, non-Valinórean spouse - or with the appeal of the story of Éowyn and Faramir. After all, good writing about sex relies inevitably upon imagination; and, if Tolkien's books require a good deal more in the way of imagination than somebody else's, this is something for which an author with an imagination like Tolkien's can only be too readily forgiven. If Elessar and Arwen are exalted unrealistically, this, it must be admitted, is at least appropriate in context. None of which should come as any surprise to those aware of the relation between Edith Bratt and Lúthien Tinúviel.

7. It is difficult (if not impossible) to believe that Tolkien had no conception of the Hobbits' relation to the creation myths which open The Silmarillion, even though the Hobbits' origins are cloaked in impenetrable obscurity in the terms of the narratives and appendices. My theory is that Manwë became despondent after the Fall of Númenor and pondered deeply on the nature of Evil in the world; considered Morgoth's creation of Orcs, Trolls and Dragons; considered Aulë's creation of the Dwarves; and decided to get into the act himself. It might even be suggested that the act of creating Hobbits taught Manwë to laugh; that Hobbits represented his answer to Galadriel's objection, embodying both an irresistible foil to the vast pretensions of the Elder Days and the tangible latter-day hope of Middle-earth's 'free' or 'speaking' people.

What is specified about Hobbit history in the Tale of Years is, at any rate, integral to the strategic geometry of the Third Age. The "Return of the Shadow" to Mirkwood coincides - one assume not uncoincidentally - with the first mention of Hobbits in the records. The Witch-king's invasion of Arnor had the effect of making certain that the Stoors would move back to the Vales of Anduin, however temporarily. And the Ring was found by two such Stoors just as Sauron was re-assuming command at Dol Guldur, ending the Watchful Peace - again, one assumes, not uncoincidentally. When Gollum crept into the Misty Mountains, it wasn't long before the rest of his people were climbing over. In short the history of the Third Age seems to conspire to pin Sauron between the variously endowed Istari and the imperfectly incorruptible Periannath.

8. A choice topic that Tolkien never got round to treating is the question of Sam's reaction when the group, returning from Elessar's wedding and the War of the Ring, encountered Fangorn. Given The Two Towers' account of Sam's sighting of an "oliphant" (and that, please note, from a tree), it can only be heart-warmingly risible to contemplate the possibilities of what might have passed through Samwise's mind as he witnessed Treebeard's conversation (and evident familiarity) with the wisest of the Wise. If you

remember, Sam had maintained to Ted Sandyman that his brother Hal had seen what could only be an Ent in the Northfarthing, well before he had any but the barest intimation of his impending quest. Indeed, one may be permitted to suppose that seeing Fangorn might have reminded him both of that evening and, as a consequence, of what he had seen in the Mirror of Galadriel, and thus provided for his optimal preparation for what his role was to be in the Scouring and the subsequent all-important restoration of the Shire - most definitely including his planting of Galadriel's Mallorn nut in the Party Field at Bag End.

9. Let us end on two light, and perhaps frivolous, notes: It is not said in the appendices that appear at the end of The Lord of the Rings that Merry and/or Pippin visited Edoras or Gondor during the 63 years that elapsed between their return from the War of the Ring and their final departure from the Shire; but it is not said that they didn't; and it seems most likely that Meriadoc Brandybuck and Peregrin Took would have travelled in S.R. 1427-30 (following Pippin's marriage but before the birth of their first child) in order to show their wives sights of their odyssey such as Bombadil's, Fangorn and Lórien (which was still more or less as it would be after Elessar's abdication in F.A. 120), not to mention Orthanc, Aglarond and Minas Anor. Moreover, it will be remembered that, of the three small boats given the Fellowship by the Elves of Lothlórien, one carried the body of Boromir out to sea, another was hidden by Aragorn, Legolas and Gimli in the woods near Parth Galen, and the third was abandoned by Frodo and Sam at the feet of the Emyrn Muil on the east bank of Nen Hithoel. It is thus not particularly difficult to conceive of an afternoon's royal entertainment in the early years of the Fourth Age, during which the remaining Elf-boats, recovered in the meantime, would have been carried repeatedly up the stair west of Amon Hen between fantastic rides over the Falls of Rauros, this time carrying Éowyn, Faramir, Arwen, Elessar, Merry, Estella, Pippin and Diamond in various hopelessly charming combinations. This might at first seem reproachfully frivolous; but why not? The two boats might even become heirlooms of the Master of Buckland, to use on the Brandywine.

10. Still the last laugh belongs to Gandalf, who cannot possibly be supposed to fail to be present to witness and ostensibly to 'supervise' every moment of Sam Gamgee's orientation tour. One imagines his having awaited Sam's ability to explain the Shire.



Gandalf - by Alan Lee '85