

NOTES ON THE INFLUENCE OF ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE ON

"THE LORD OF THE RINGS"

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These notes were originally intended to form the basis of a more detailed and more carefully thought-out essay. Unfortunately the time to write such an essay has not presented itself. The notes are therefore meant to be suggestive rather than definitive and there is room for much more research and reflection. I am aware that there will probably be people reading this who know much more about Anglo-Saxon literature than I do. I hope such people will bear with any inadequacies and perhaps be stimulated to follow up some of the questions raised. All references to "The Lord of the Rings" are to the Ballantine edition. Double inverted commas " for titles of poems or books, single commas for titles of articles and essays, and for quotations not separated from the text. Text notes at the end of the article.

The Background

Tolkien, as most people probably know, is not only an outstanding creative writer, but also one of the world's leading Anglo-Saxon scholars. For many years he was Professor of Anglo-Saxon literature at Oxford University, and his published work in this field, though quite small in amount, is of considerable significance. Probably most important among this work is his 'Beowulf: the Monsters and the Critics' which is generally recognised as a seminal essay. It would, then, be surprising if "the Rings" did not show the influence of Anglo-Saxon literature. In fact this influence is widespread and manifests itself in a variety of ways. At a fairly superficial level this influence can be seen in such features as the names of the Rohirrim, which are all based on Anglo-Saxon, but it can also be seen permeating the most important themes of the book, as I hope to show.

Other Influences

Before proceeding any further let me make it clear that I am aware that Anglo-Saxon literature is not the only influence on "the Rings". I would not even suggest that it is the most important influence. This position, I would say is held by Christianity. (note 1) As Alexis Levitin notes: "The Lord of the Rings" may be called a modern epic. It differs from the traditional epic literatures of the Greek and Teutonic cultures in the introduction of a quite unostentatious but powerful Christian ethos which underlies the entire tale." (2) Many Anglo-Saxon poems in fact deal with Christian subjects and those in which the subject matter is pagan generally contain Christian elements, but the Christian influence is only half assimilated. As Stanley Greenfield remarks: 'Christ and His Saints come marching in with many of the qualities of a Beowulf or a Byrhtnoth.' (3) Alexis Levitin sums up well the difference between the influence of Christianity on the poetry of the Anglo-Saxons and its influence on "the Rings": 'In "Beowulf" the sudden appearance of the most obvious Christian preaching and moralising in the midst of long pagan and heroic passages is certainly incongruous, but in "The Lord of the Rings" the Christian element is subtly felt, for it never intrudes upon the heroic narrative, never actually shows its face. By remaining hidden it avoids any blatant incongruities while providing a stronger influence than it would if presented in the form of outright sermonizing.'

A second influence that must be noted is that of Old Norse literature. Because of its similarity to Anglo-Saxon literature it is difficult to say which elements in "the Rings" reflect the one and which reflect the influence of the other. Of the two it

seems to me that Anglo-Saxon literature is the more important. This is, of course, what one would expect from Tolkien's background. As possible examples of the Old Norse influence one can note that Shadowfax is like Odin's Sleipnir, the fastest horse in the world, and that Eowyn is like Hervor in loving the sword and the field of battle better than the home. One can also note the occurrence in Norse myth of elves and dwarves, of runes and barrows, and of riddle-making and wolf-riders. (4) In addition, of course, a number of the names in "the Rings" are taken from Norse myths. (5)

A final influence which I would suggest can be detected is that of the Medieval courtly love tradition. The poems of the Anglo-Saxons are - with the exception of three short poems: "Wulf and Eadwacer", "The Husband's Message", and "The Wife's Lament" - completely devoid of any sexual element. It is 'distinctly foreign to the general conventions of Old English poetry.' (6) "the Rings" has, of course, the stories of Aragorn and Arwen, and of Faramir and Eowyn, and it seems reasonable to me to suppose that they reflect the influence of the courtly love tradition, which came into English literature in the Middle Ages, ultimately from Provence.

The Elegaic Mood

A number of the very best Anglo-Saxon poems are elegies - "The Wanderer", "The Seafarer", and "The Ruin", for instance - and there is throughout much Anglo-Saxon literature an acute awareness of the transitoriness and impermanence of the material world. Here I think is one of the most important influences on Tolkien. 'Lif is laene, eal scaeceth, leoht ond lif somod' (life is ephemeral, everything vanishes, light and life together.) sums up the Anglo-Saxon outlook. (7) It is echoed by Legolas's remark that '...beneath the Sun all things must wear to an end at last.' (Fellowship, 503)

Before proceeding any further it should perhaps be noted that Anglo-Saxon literature is not the only source of the elegaic mood that is likely to have influenced Tolkien. The same awareness of the fleeting nature of all living is to be found in Old Norse literature and it is of course implicit in the Germanic conception of "Gotterdammerung", the ultimate defeat of the gods. It has also figured in much Christian thought which has sought to contrast the transience and sadness of this world with the permanence and happiness of the next. Such a contrast was, of course, clearly expressed in St. Augustine's conception of the two cities. George Anderson suggests that '...it was to the interest of medieval Christianity that men's minds should be turned away from the joys of the world - such as they were - and anything to make this world less attractive would serve. No doubt the hardy persistence of these themes into the Middle English period, when life was probably a little more comfortable, even worthwhile, can be explained by the fact that they served to promote the doctrine of otherworldliness which the medieval Church tried to inculcate.' (8) One can also, I think, surmise that Tolkien's own experiences are in part responsible for the prevalence of the elegaic mood. In the forward to "the Rings" he remarks that: 'By 1918 all but one of my close friends were dead.' That he himself shares to a degree the Anglo-Saxon outlook is suggested by his comment on Beowulf that 'He is a man, and that for him and many is sufficient tragedy' (9)

The elegaic mood permeates racial, national and personal affairs throughout "the Rings". Almost everyone except the Hobbits look back with sadness to a better past and lament the passing of time. Among men the mood is most clearly expressed by the men of Gondor, and in particular by Faramir. The men of Gondor look back to Numenor. Since it was drowned and the realms in Exile established they have declined, and the Numenorean blood has been diluted with that of lesser men. Faramir discusses these matters with Frodo and Sam in Henneth Annun. Before they eat Faramir and

his men turn and face west in a moment of silence. 'So we always do', he says, 'we look to Numenor that was, and beyond to Elvenhome that is, and to that which is beyond Elvenhome and ever will be.' (Two Towers, 361) 'We are a failing people, a springless autumn' Faramir tells the Hobbits, and goes on to recount the story of the decline of Gondor. Concluding, he says '...now, if the Rohirrim are grown in some ways more like to us, enhanced in arts and gentleness, we too have become more like to them, and can scarce claim any longer the title High. We are become Middle Men, of the twilight...' The Rohirrim too look back, in their case to the glory of Eorl the Young. When Aragorn, Gandalf, Gimli and Legolas arrive at Edoras, Aragorn sings a song lamenting the passing of the days of Eorl - 'They have passed like rain on the mountain, like the wind in the meadow.' Of the song Legolas says: 'I cannot guess what it means, save that it is laden with the sadness of mortal men.' (Two Towers, 143, 142)

Just as the men of Gondor look back to Numenor, so the Dwarves look back to the glories of Moria. This is expressed most clearly in the poem "In Moria, in Khazad-dum". The poem speaks of the great splendours of Moria as it once was, then concludes :

The world is grey, the mountains old,
The forge's fire is ashen-cold;
No harp is wrung, no hammer falls:
The darkness dwells in Durin's halls;

The lament is typically Anglo-Saxon.

The Ents too look back to better days. Treebeard speaks to Merry and Pippin of a time when 'there was all one wood...from here to the Mountains of Lune, and this was just the East End.' 'Those were the broad days! Time was when I could walk and sing all day and hear no more than the echo of my own voice in the hollow hills. The woods were like the woods of Lothlorien, only thicker, stronger, younger.' (Two Towers 90) The Ents also look back to the time when they had the Entwives, and on an individual level there is Bregald's lament for his dead trees :

Your crown is spilled, your voice is stilled for
ever and a day,
O Orofarne, Lassemist, Carnemirie!

The transient nature of the world for the men and for the Dwarves is brought home vividly by the contrast with the immortal Elves. In particular this is brought home when the fellowship visits Lothlorien. Lothlorien is timeless, or of another time. To Frodo it seems that 'he had stepped through a high window that looked onto a vanished world'. 'In winter here no heart could mourn for summer or for spring.' (Fellowship, 454) When the Fellowship are sailing down the Anduin Frodo remarks : 'It was not, I think, until Silverlode bore us back to Anduin that we returned to the time that flows through mortal lands to the Great Sea.' (Fellowship, 503) But even for the Elves, the passing of time brings sadness. Legolas sums up their relationship to time as follows: 'For the Elves the world moves, and it moves both very swift and very slow. Swift because they themselves change little, slow because they do not count the running years, not for themselves. The passing seasons are but ripples ever repeated in the long long stream.' (Fellowship, 503) Even Lothlorien cannot escape the passing of time. To Frodo Galadriel says: 'Do you not see now wherefore your coming is to us as the footsteps of Doom? For if you fail we are laid bare to the Enemy. Yet if you succeed, then our power is diminished, and Lothlorien will fade, and the tides of Time will sweep it away. We must depart into the West, or dwindle to a rustic folk of dell and cave, slowly to forget and to be forgotten.' (Fellowship, 472) And later she

says to Sam : 'Then you may remember Galadriel, and catch a glimpse far-off of Lorien, that you have seen only in our winter. For our spring and our summer are gone by, and they will never be seen on earth again save in memory.' (Fellowship, 486) Of course nowhere is seen the sadness of the passing of time for Elves brought out more clearly than in the stories of Beren and Luthien, and of Aragorn and Arwen.

Before concluding this section one can note that one of the most common expressions of the elegaic mood in Anglo-Saxon literature, the exile theme, also plays a major role in "the Rings". In Anglo-Saxon literature "The Wanderer" develops this theme, as do "The Husband's Message" and "Resignation". (10) In "the Rings" not only are there the Realms in Exile, but the Noldor are often referred to as The Exiles, Thorin Oakenshield speaks to Gandalf of his 'poor lodgings in exile', (Return, 448) and both Aragorn and Galadriel are exiles.

The Heroic Spirit

Firstly it is necessary to make a distinction - a distinction which Tolkien himself makes - between the heroic spirit and chivalry. The heroic spirit is characterised by absolute courage even in the face of the most overwhelming odds, and by absolute loyalty to one's lord, 'unalloyed it would direct a man to endure even death unflinching, when necessary.' In chivalry there is an element of pride that is lacking in the heroic spirit at its purest, 'this element of pride, in the form of the desire for honour and glory, in life and after death, tends to grow, to become a chief motive, driving a man beyond the bleak heroic necessity to excess - to chivalry.' (11) It is the heroic spirit primarily that is to be found in the literature of the Anglo-Saxons, though the tendency towards chivalry can also be seen. It can be seen for instance in "The Battle of Maldon" when the Anglo-Saxon leader Byrhtnoth 'for his ofermod' (in his overmastering pride) yields ground to the Danes so as to make a "sporting" fight. "The Battle of Maldon" also provides one of the most famous expressions of the heroic spirit, which is worth quoting here. As Byrhtwold the old retainer prepares to die in the last desperate stand he says :

Hige sceal the heardra, heorte the cenre,
mod sceal the mare the ure maegan lytlath

'Will shall be the sterner, heart the bolder, spirit the greater as our strength lessens.' (I use 'th' instead of the Anglo-Saxon symbols "thorn" and "eth", for typing ease)

The heroic spirit is connected in important ways to the elegaic mood. Stoic resignation in the face of the sadness of the passing of time is obviously similar to heroic resistance in battle in the face of overwhelming odds. The heroic and the elegaic constitute the two major moods of Anglo-Saxon poetry, thus for instance "Beowulf" is 'in its larger patterning a combination of the heroic and elegaic.' (12) The two moods are, however, perhaps most closely allied not in the literature of the Anglo-Saxons, but in the German "Gotterdamerung" theme, the idea of the passing years leading up to the defeat of the gods in the final battle. It is interesting to compare this theme with Galadriel's remark that : 'together through ages of the world we have fought the long defeat.' (Fellowship, 462)

The influence of the heroic spirit on "the Rings" is, I think, fairly obvious. It is expressed most clearly in Frodo and Sam's journey across the wastes of Mordor. Their determination to complete their task even though they have no hope of surviving its completion shows the heroic spirit in its purest form. Sam recognizes that: 'at best their provision would take them to their goal; and when their task was done, there they would come

to an end, alone, houseless, foodless in the midst of a terrible desert. There could be no return.' (Return, 259) But he remains resolute: 'I'll get there, if I leave everything but my bones behind. And I'll carry Mr. Frodo up myself, if it breaks my back and heart.' (Return, 266) Sam's loyalty to Frodo is, of course,, the most notable feature of this episode. It is extremely reminiscent of a number of passages in Anglo-Saxon literature. Notably it recalls the loyalty of Byrthwold to Byrthnoth, or the loyalty of Wiglaf to Beowulf in Beowulf's final battle.

There are many other passages one can point to as illustrations of the heroic spirit. One can point to the grim words spoken by Eomer on the Pellenor fields when the battle appears lost:

Out of doubt, out of dark to the day's rising
I came singing in the sun, sword unsheathing.
To hope's end I rode and to heart's breaking:
Now for wrath, now for ruin and a red nightfall.

One can point to the decision of the last debate to go in battle to the very gates of Mordor. Gandalf sums up their position. 'We must push Sauron to his last throw. We must call out his hidden strength, so that he shall empty his land. We must march out to meet him at once. We must make ourselves the bait, though his jaws should close on us.' (Return, 191) Finally one can point to the grim acceptance with which the armies of Gondor and Rohan face up to the prospect of death when the hosts of Mordor pour forth from the Morannon.

The influence of the Anglo-Saxon heroic spirit on "the Rings" is then a strong one. It should not however be over-emphasised. It is a less important influence than the elegaic mood, and one that is modified far more by the influence of Christianity. There is none of the emphasis on martial prowess as a thing good in itself, rather art and learning are the most highly valued things. Thus Faramir speaks critically of the men of Gondor to Frodo and Sam: '...as the Rohirrim do, we now love war and valour as things good in themselves, both as sport and as an end; and though we still hold that a warrior should have more skills and knowledge than only the craft of weapons and slaying, we esteem a warrior, nonetheless, above men of other crafts.' (Two Towers, 364) One could perhaps say that it is in the Rohirrim and in such as Boromir that one sees most clearly the influence of the Anglo-Saxon outlook on war, while in Faramir, in Aragorn, and in the Elves one sees more the Christian outlook - they aspire to, higher things.

It would probably be true to say that none of the leading figures in "the Rings" fits completely the Anglo-Saxon idea of a hero. Aragorn comes nearest but, as I have suggested, there is a strongly Christian element in his character, which is lacking in that of the typical Anglo-Saxon hero, such as Beowulf. The Hobbits are even further removed from the Anglo-Saxon idea of a hero, of course. W.H. Auden has distinguished two types of hero in literature: the traditional epic hero and the fairy story hero. 'The epic hero is who, thanks to his exceptional gifts, is able to perform great deeds of which the average man is incapable. He is of noble nature (often divine) descent, stronger, braver, better-looking, more skillful than anyone else...' The fairy story hero, on the other hand, 'is not recognisable as a hero... he is the one who to the outward eye appears, of all people, the least likely to succeed... The virtue by which he succeeds when others fail is the very unmilitant virtue of humble good nature.' (13) Alexis Levitin suggests that Aragorn is a typical example of the epic hero so defined, while Frodo and Sam are typical examples of the fairy story hero, though he points out that Frodo 'unlike the fairy story hero and the epic hero... does fall victim to temptation in the end.' One must conclude I think that while the Anglo-Saxon

heroic spirit is a major influence on Tolkien, the major characters in "the Rings" only in part reflect the Anglo-Saxon conception of the hero; other influences, Christianity and later epic traditions, are as important or more so in this area.

"Lof"

It is probably true to say that in almost every society where life is hard and in many ways tragic there has developed a set of beliefs which act in some way as a consolation. Obviously for many people Christianity has performed this function, while for others identification with humanity, with their nation, or - in the case of Marxists - with their class has played a similar role. What then was the consolation of the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons? It is difficult, in view of the fact that the records of Anglo-Saxon England were made by churchmen, to determine just what was the nature of the beliefs of the Anglo-Saxons prior to their conversion. It would seem that the ancient Germanic Gods, Woden, Thor etc., were worshipped, but it seems doubtful whether they had a very strong belief in an afterlife. In Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of the English People" the pagan noble Coifi compares human life with the flight of a sparrow through the king's hall, 'coming in from the darkness and returning to it'. David Wright suggests that for Beowulf the consolation is "lof", 'the praise and esteem of one's contemporaries'. In the last two lines of the poem he is described as:

manna mildust ond mon-thwaerust,
leodum lithost ond lof-geornost.

'The gentlest and most gracious of men, the kindest to his people and the most desirous of reknown.' Earlier in the poem the view is expressed that:

Each of us must experience an end to life in this world;
let him who can achieve glory before he die;
that will be best for the lifeless warrior afterwards.

While it should not be exaggerated, I think there are passages in "the Rings" that show the influence of "lof". There is throughout the book an emphasis on having one's deeds recorded in song, though it is not all-important. Treebeard says: 'at least the last march of the Ents may be worth a song.' (Two Towers, 114) Theoden suggests that the Rohirrim should 'make such an end as will be worth a song - if any be left to sing of us hereafter,' (Two Towers, 183) When they have destroyed the Ring, Sam says to Frodo: 'What a tale we have been in, Mr. Frodo, haven't we? I wish I could hear it told!' (Return, 281) When they are carried to the field of Cormallen a minstrel of Gondor does in fact sing their story. One can also note the song sung by Gleowine at the funeral of Theoden, and the song Aragorn and Legolas sing after the death of Boromir.

I think it is plausible to suggest then that Tolkien was influenced by the idea of "lof" but, as I have said, it is an influence that should not be overestimated. One can note that Aragorn says to Arwen 'the deeds will not be less valiant because they are unpraised.' (Return, 68) It should also be pointed out that the peoples of Middle-earth do seem to have a belief in an afterlife. Thus Aragorn says to Arwen: 'We are not bound forever to the circles of the world, and beyond them is more than memory.' (Return, 428) One can also note Theoden's words as he lies dying on Pelennor fields: 'My body is broken. I go to my fathers. And even in their mighty company I shall not now be ashamed. I felled the black serpent. A grim morn, and a glad day, and a golden sunset!' (Return, 143)

"Wyrð"

This is the last of the major Anglo-Saxon themes that are, in my view, reflected in "the Rings". It is also the least important. The idea of "wyrð" plays an important role in the elegaic poetry of the Anglo-Saxons but it is difficult to say precisely how the term was understood. In part it seems to have been understood as a blind inexorable and impersonal force of fate, but there are also references to "Wyrð" as a goddess of destiny. However, whether one assumes the term denoted an impersonal force, or whether one assumes it meant a personal figure, it is, I think, clear that it is hardly compatible with the basic tenets of Christianity. As George Anderson says: 'Between the blind forces of "Wyrð", the pagan goddess of destiny and the conception of an all-wise, all-knowing, providential father of man, there is a gulf, difficult, if not impossible, to bridge.' (15) For this reason then it is not surprising that the influence of the idea of "wyrð" on "the Rings" is comparatively small. While there is great stress on the transitory nature of things there is no real suggestion of any inexorable force behind this, and there is certainly no suggestion of a personalized force. Middle-earth is strictly monotheistic.

There are just one or two passages one can quote that suggest the influence of "wyrð". Consider, for instance, Denethor's words just before he takes his life: 'I would have things as they were in all the days of my life, and in the days of my long-fathers before me: to be the Lord of this City in peace, and leave my chair to my son after me, who would be his own master, and no wizard's pupil. But if doom denies this to me, then I will have naught; neither life diminished, nor love halved, nor honour abated.' (Return, 158. emphasis mine) One can also point to a remark about the faint hearted whom Aragorn allows to go to Cair Andros rather than to proceed with the host to the Morannon. We are told: 'they understood not this war nor why fate should bring them to such a pass.' (Return 199) Finally there are Frodo's words to Faramir: 'let me go where my doom takes me.' (Two Towers, 350)

All these quotations, I think, suggest the influence of "wyrð"; in general though I think one sees behind the events of Middle-earth not a blind inexorable force but a benevolent fate which shows the influence of Christianity. Thus Donald Reinken sees in "the Rings": 'A supreme poetic telling that Providence accepts the loyal, but insufficient, finite good of its creatures; weaves it with the vainly rebellious evil of others... and achieves good beyond human power or foretelling.' (16) As just one passage supporting this view, consider the words of Gandalf to Frodo about the Ring: 'Behind that there was something else at work, beyond any design of the Ring-maker. I can put it no plainer than by saying that Bilbo was meant to find the Ring and not by its maker. In which case you were also meant to have it. And that may be an encouraging thought.' (Fellowship, 88) (17)

Some More Specific Parallels

Not only does one find the reflection of Anglo-Saxon themes in "the Rings" but one can also detect echoes of particular Anglo-Saxon works. One can note the similarity between the "Lament of the Rohirrim" and lines 92-96 of "The Wanderer". The former begins:

Where now the horse and the rider? Where is the horn that was blowing?
Where is the helm and the hauberk, and the bright hair flowing?
Where is the hand on the harpstring, and the red fire glowing?
Where is the spring and the harvest and the tall corn growing?
They have passed like rain on the mountain, like a wind in the meadow;

The Latter read:

Where is the war-stead? where is the warrior? where is his
war-lord?
Where now the feasting places? Where now the mead-hallpleasures?
Alas, bright cup! Alas, brave knight!
Alas you glorious princes! All gone,
Lost in the night, as you never had lived.

One can also compare "In Moria, in Khazad-dum" with "The Ruin". Both poems describe a ruin that was once a splendid city and they contrast graphically the present with the past. In the former we are told how in times past :

Beneath the mountains music woke:
The harpers harped, the minstrels sang,
And at the gates the trumpets rang.

But now :

The world is grey, the mountains old,
The forge's fire is ashen cold;

In the latter we hear how :

....in times past many a man
Light of heart and bright with gold
Adorned with splendour, proud and flushed with wine,
Shone in war-trappings, gazed on treasure,

But time has taken it's toll:

Fate has smashed these wonderful walls,
This broken city, has crumbled the work
Of giants. The roofs are gutted, the towers
Fallen, the gates ripped off, frost
In the mortar, everything moulded, gaping,
Collapsed.

There are other possible parralels one could point, but perhaps enough is enough.

Superficial Influences

The most obvious examples of a more superficial influence are the names of the Rohirrim and the Rohirrim poetic style. Almost all the Rohirrim names are borrowings from Anglo-Saxon. Theoden, for instance, is an Anglo-Saxon word for "prince", "lord", or "king"; Brego has a similar meaning; Thengel is "prince", as is Aldor; Brytta means "dispenser", Walda "ruler", Freca "warrior" and so on. (18)

Similarly the Rohirrim poetic style is based directly on that of the Anglo-Saxons, which Tolkien recreates superbly. Anglo-Saxon verse almost never uses end rhyme, rather it makes use of alliteration. Each line in an Anglo-Saxon poem has four stresses; the third stressed syllable alliterates with the first, and sometimes with the second, but almost never with the fourth. This pattern of alliteration can be seen clearly in the last two lines of "Beowulf" quoted earlier, and it can be seen in the Rohirrim poems such as "The Lament of the Rohirrim" or "The Lament for Theoden" (Return, 92) or "The Song of the Mounds of Mundberg" (Return, 152)

One final example of this more superficial type of influence can be noted. In Anglo-Saxon writing the title "King" is always placed after the king's name. Thus King Alfred is "Aelfred Cyning"; similarly the Rohirrim speak not of "King Theoden", but of "Theoden King".

Text notes follow on page 28.



Notes

1. A number of articles point out the nature of the influence of Christianity on "The Lord of the Rings". Notable among these are Donald Reinken, 'A Christian Refounding of the Political Order', TJ 11-3, and in the Mankato College "Tolkien Papers": Alexis Levitin, 'The Hero in J.R.R.Tolkien's "The Lord of the Rings"', Dorothy Barber, 'The Meaning of "The Lord of the Rings"', and Jack Rang, 'Two Servants'. For the influence of Christian mysticism see Sister Pauline, 'Mysticism in the Ring', TJ III-4.
2. Alexis Levitin, 'The Genre of "The Lord of the Rings"' TJ IV-1.
3. Stanley B. Greenfield, 'A Critical History of Old English Literature', University of London Press, 1966, p.102.
4. These examples are taken from Clyde S. Kilby, 'Tolkien as Scholar and Artist', TJ III-1.
5. The following names are found in the Elder Edda: Durin, Dwalin, Dain, Bifur, Bofur, Bombur, Nori, Dori, Ori, Gandalf, Thrain, Thorin, Thrór, Fili, Kili, Fundin and Gloin. See Lin Carter, "Tolkien: A Look behind "The Lord of the Rings"", Ballantine Books, 1969.
6. George Anderson, "The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons", Princeton University Press, 1966, p.162.
7. I am unable to locate the source of these lines. They are quoted in the introduction of David Wright's translation of "Beowulf" (Penguin, 1966)
8. George Anderson, op. cit., p.158.
9. J.R.R.Tolkien, 'Beowulf : The Monsters and the Critics' cited in David Wright, op. cit.
10. The latter is also known as "The Exile's Prayer".
11. J.R.R.Tolkien, 'Of ermod' in "The Tolkien Reader", Ballantine Books, 1966.
12. Stanley B.Greenfield, op. cit. p.213.
13. W.H. Auden, "The Dyer's Hand", Faber and Faber, 1962, cited in Alexis Levitin 'The Hero in J.R.R. Tolkien's "The Lord of the Rings"'. .
14. David Wright. op. cit.
15. George Anderson, op. cit. p.110.
16. Donald Reinken, op. cit.
17. For some more quotes supporting this view see my letters in Middle Earthworms 14 and 15.
18. These examples are taken from letters by Karen Rockow and Dave Boersema in TJ III-3 and III-4 respectively.