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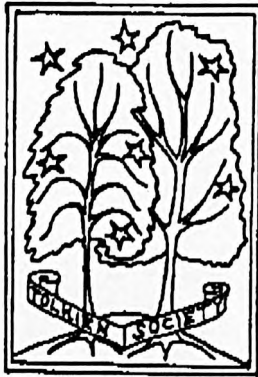
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The Tolkien Society



Founded in London in 1969, the Tolkien Society is an international organisation (registered in the U.K. as a charity-no.273809) dedicated to furthering interest in the life and works of the late Professor J.R.R. Tolkien, C.B.E. (1892-1973), who remains its President 'in perpetuo'. His daughter, Miss Priscilla Tolkien, became Honorary Vice-President in 1986.

In addition to *Mallorn*, the Society publishes a bi-monthly bulletin *Amon Hen*. In addition to local gatherings ("smials"), there are three annual national meetings: the A.G.M. and Dinner in the Spring, the Seminar in the Summer, and "Oxonmoot", a celebratory weekend held in Oxford usually in late September.

For further information about the Society, please contact the Secretary, Debra Haigh-Hutchinson, 17 Berkeley Mount, Harehills, Leeds LS8 3RN.

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As a general rule, prose items should be between 1,000 and 5,000 words in length (including notes); authors of longer submissions may be required to do some drastic cutting.

Quotations should always be identified; references should include the work's author (or editor), title, place and date of publication, and the publisher's name, together with part or volume number (where appropriate) and page number.

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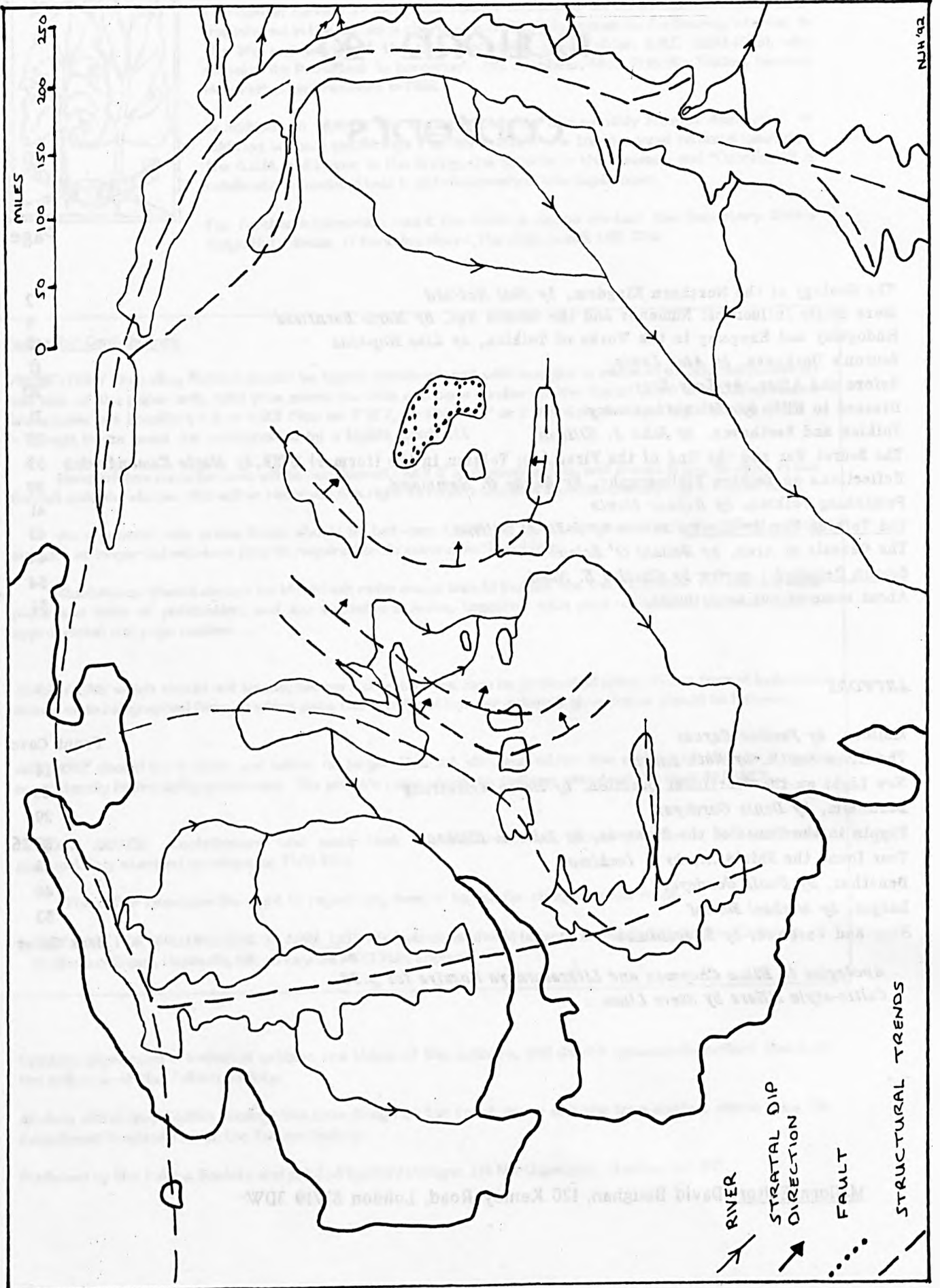
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The Geology of the Northern Kingdom and its implications for its people

by Neil Holford

Glimpses of the geology of Arnor can be seen in Tolkien's descriptions of the landscape. These glimpses together with observations from the maps of Middle-earth can, with a little guesswork and many assumptions, be fitted together to produce a broad overview of the region's 'bones'.

The hills in the area provide the bulk of the information about the regional geology. The various downs seen are perhaps the best described. Downs are produced by the erosion of fairly gently dipping layers of rock with contrasting resistances to erosion, perhaps chalk and shale. The more resistant of the two rock types defines a steep scarp and a more shallow lee-slope¹. A clue to the composition of Arnor's downs is given in Pippin's account of the roof of the Town Hole collapsing on Will Whitfoot - he emerged covered in *chalk* dust². Now Will, as Mayor, lived in Michel Delving on the White Downs, so it seems fair to assume that they were composed of chalk, and this is supported by the name of the downs. Vegetation on the downs would be sparse, with grass being the only significant component³. Due to the permeable nature of chalk, water would seep down through it and the extensive root system of the grasses would be far more effective at absorbing water than, say, the roots of trees.

Looking at the downs, it becomes apparent that the North and South Downs and the Barrow-downs are related⁴. Although the Barrow-downs are the only downs described in any great detail, some of this information is contradictory on the matter of the orientation of the scarps. Sometimes it suggests that they run east-west - for instance, when Frodo and Company were travelling *north* through the downs, they went 'over the shoulders of further hills and down their long limbs and up their smooth sides again, up onto new hilltops and down into new valleys'⁵, *i.e.*, they were crossing the ridges. Alternatively a north-south

orientation is implied in some places: 'Eastward the Barrow-downs rose, ridge behind ridge'⁶. Most points can be satisfied by scarps running northwest-southeast (a compromise, admittedly), and facing southwest. This would mean the rocks would be dipping northeast.

The North and South Downs are probably similar to the Barrow-downs, in that they consist of chalk with interlayers of shale or clay. The ridges of the North Downs would run southwest-northeast while those of the South Downs would run east-west. This would mean the rocks would all be dipping down towards the Midgewater Marshes and this could be a contributing factor to the lowlands found there⁷. If an impermeable rock base such as shale or an impermeable covering such as boulder clay is situated there then this would explain the presence of the marshes.

The Far Downs are obviously related to the White Downs, and the two sets of hills are probably two scarps running north-south. It is most likely that these downs dip in the same direction as those to the east, and it is perhaps fair to assume that the outcrop of chalk is arcuate in form as in the east. If this is so then it would pass through the hills to the south of Nenuial and that would suggest that they are downs as well. This would make the caves at Iargond fairly easily excavated⁸.

On the map of Middle-earth⁹, the Hills of Evendim appear to be more rugged than the downs so I suggest that they are composed of basement gneisses and schists together with folded sediments related to the deformation in the Blue Mountains to the west. This too may be the case for the Tower Hills which, even though they are adjacent to the Far and White Downs, are notably called hills and not downs. The Ered Luin themselves are a compressional tectonic feature composed of a complex thrust mass of metamorphic rocks and

sedimentary cover intruded by numerous igneous bodies. These bodies were responsible for the deposition of the hydrothermal veins containing the ores that the dwarves mined at Belegost and Nogrod and similar mansions.

This setting of a mountain chain to the west and another ridge of basement rocks to the east leads me to believe that the Lhûn Valley in between is a foreland basin, that is, an area where the underlying continental crust has been down-warped in the mountain-building process and the basin formed has been filled with sediments eroded from the highlands to the east and west. This situation is analogous to that in present day Europe where the Swiss Plain (the Lhûn Valley) lies between the Alps (the Ered Luin) and the Jura Mountains (the Tower Hills and the Hills of Evendim)¹⁰. The narrowness of Middle-earth's mountain chains can perhaps be explained by a phenomenon seen in some ancient primary world belts. This process involves the "drowning" of the marginal parts by sediment, thus reducing the apparent width of the chain.¹¹

Another analogy can be drawn between Middle-earth and the primary world landscape. This is between the Weather Hills and the Malvern Hills (in Worcestershire, England). The Weather Hills 'made an undulating ridge, often rising to a thousand feet and here and there falling again to low clefts and passes.'¹² 'The highest of them was at the right [south] of the line and a little separated from the others.'¹³ This ridge of hills seems to be similar to the Malverns¹⁴, which is a block of basement rocks upfaulted to lie between younger, relatively flat-lying sediments¹⁵. An explanation for the 'clefts' and the separation of Amon Sûl can also be found in the Malverns. The basement block is cut by faults¹⁶ and it may be that in the Weather Hills the faults have been more susceptible to erosion than the rest of the block and so the clefts have been produced. The separation of Weathertop could be due to more extensive fracturing and mylonitisation along a fault, making it even more susceptible to weathering. An alternative to this is that running across the basement block are dykes, that is, sub-vertical sheets of rock that were more vulnerable to weathering and erosion than the rocks around them.¹⁷ The separation of

Weathertop would then be due to a dyke wider than its counterparts.

The east-west orientation of the hills of the Shire is inconsistent with that of the downs, so it is probable that, like the Weather Hills, they are not of sedimentary origin. The northernmost of these heights are the unforested Hills of Scary. The Brockenbores (Badger Tunnellings)¹⁸ are located on their southern limits, and I propose that they are disused (?) dwarf (?) mine workings into hydrothermal mineral deposits associated with an igneous intrusion, most probably composed of granite¹⁹, lying under the hills.

The last group of hills to be considered are those of the Green Hill Country. The fact that the hills are only partially forested²⁰ suggests two different origins for them to me:

1) That they are the expression of metamorphic basement rocks with patchy sedimentary cover, the trees being concentrated on the sediments.

2) That the hills are near the roof zone of an intrusion and the uneven nature of the roof leads to part of the area being composed of granite and the rest of sedimentary country rocks, which are more welcoming to trees because of their better drainage.

The presence of another intrusion to the north, I think, makes the latter hypothesis more likely, the two groups of hills being outcrops of one larger intrusion. The moors to the north of the Shire may also be related to this body.

There are few other glimpses of the Northern Kingdom's geology save for the brown colour of the Brandywine²¹. This is most likely due to it carrying suspended clay from the lowlands upstream. The lowlands across the region are no doubt composed of a wide variety of sedimentary rocks such as clays, shales, marls, sandstones and limestones.

But what does all this mean for the Northern Kingdom?

Agriculture would have played an important role in the life of the Dúnedain; crop growing, livestock and woodland management all had their part. The lowlands had rich soils and areas such as the Shire and

the shores of Nenuial would have provided fertile land. The major hill ranges would have, on the whole, been grassy rather than forested due to either a lack of surface water on the highly permeable chalk downs or an excess of water on the rather boggy hills of impermeable basement rocks. These large grassy areas would have provided ideal grazing for livestock, leaving the lowlands free for crops. Large forests and woods were more the exception than the rule, so coppicing played a large part in providing wood for the people of Arnor.

Iron would have been an important resource both in peacetime and war. Where did it come from? Some undoubtedly would have come from the dwarves in the mountains but some could be found within the Kingdom. There were three primary sources:

- 1) Oolitic ironstones;²²
- 2) Precipitated iron nodules in lakes, bogs and marshes;²³
- 3) Ores deposited in hydrothermal veins on fault planes.²⁴

Hydrothermal veins would also yield useful ores of tin, copper and lead, among others²⁵, and perhaps more valuable metals such as silver and gold.²⁶

The blocks of basement rocks in the land would certainly yield semi-precious stones such as garnet, rock crystal and amethyst, and perhaps more precious gems such as emerald, sapphire or ruby. If these gems were traded, who would take them? The elves of the Grey Havens certainly would, perhaps in return for salt. The jewel-loving dwarves would not be at the back of the queue for the precious gems, but as for the semi-precious stones - that is debatable. The Blue Mountains would be rich in them, especially in garnets, so if they were to be interested then the stones would have to be special in some way: size or colour, for instance.

What else could the land provide for Arnor's people? The streams, rivers and lakes would, apart from being rich in fish, contain freshwater mussels which might yield up pearls, and if the Dúnedain did not keep them for themselves then no doubt the dwarves would have traded for them, perhaps in return for metals.

To conclude, it should be said that the land of Arnor was a rich country that was able to support its people, even through the hard times they suffered in periods of war, famine and sickness.

NOTES

1. Sparks, B.W. *Geomorphology* (2nd ed.) Longman, 1972; p.182 and pp.206-207.
2. *Fellowship of the Ring* (2nd ed.); p.168.
3. 'There was no tree nor any visible water; it was a country of grass and short springy turf ...'. *Ibid.*, p.147.
4. Map of 'The West of Middle-earth at the End of the Third Age' at end of *The Fellowship of the Ring and The Two Towers*.
5. *Fellowship* p.147.
6. *Ibid.*
7. 'The land had been falling steadily, ever since they turned aside from the Road ...'. *Ibid.* p.194.
8. Scribes of Annúminas *The History of the Northern Kingdom* Edinburgh, The Scribes, 1991; p.13.
9. Map of 'The West of Middle-earth at the End of the Third Age'.
10. Holmes, Arthur *Principles of Physical Geology* (3rd ed.) Oxford: V.N.R., 1978; p.675.
11. Watts, A.B. *Basin Analysis Lecture Course Notes* Oxford University Dept. of Earth Sciences, 1991; pt.6, p.6.
12. *Fellowship* p.197.
13. *Ibid.* p.195.
14. Sparks, *op. cit.* p.167.
15. Anderson, J.G.C. *Field Geology in the British Isles* Oxford: Pergamon, 1983; pp.194-196.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Sparks, *op. cit.* pp.187-188.
18. Lobdell, J.(ed.) *A Tolkien Compass* New York: Ballantine, 1975; p.193.
19. Granites are commonly fluid rich, and the escape of these fluids from the intrusions through fractures leads to the deposition of mineral veins as they cool.
20. *Fellowship* 'Map of Part of the Shire'.
21. *Return of the King* p.416.
22. Tucker, M.E. *Sedimentary Petrology* Oxford: Blackwell, 1981; p.186-187.
23. *Ibid.* p.187-188.
24. Evans A.M. *An Introduction to Ore Geology* Oxford: Blackwell, 1980; p.59.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.* p.145.

For some contrasting ideas and theories, see also:

Fonstad, K.W. *The Atlas of Middle-earth* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.



More Celtic Influences:

Númenor and the Second Age

by Marie Barnfield

The genesis of the legend

In my article on Celtic influences on the First Age (in *Mallorn* 28) I claimed that the Second Age was "worthy of separate study in its own right", despite the fact that it is dominated not by the encouragingly Arthurian-sounding Beleriand but by the island of Númenor, which owes its story to the Greek legend of Atlantis, its culture to ancient Egypt and its religion to the Hebrews¹. I shall start by stressing that Tolkien's purpose in beginning his island tales was not to invent a new Celtic mythology. The work that he planned was an Anglo-Saxon English mythology, needed, he felt, because England lacked "stories of its own (bound up with its tongue and soil) ... of the quality that I sought (and found) ... in legends of other lands. There was Greek, and Celtic, and Romance, Germanic, Scandinavian, and Finnish (which greatly affected me); but nothing English, save impoverished chap-book stuff."² The Numenor story as it finally appeared in *The Silmarillion* incorporates elements of *The Book of Lost Tales* originally connected either with Tol Eressëa, or with that remnant of Beleriand known in the Second Age as Leithian, Lúthien or Luthany. The island of Leithian itself was viewed as a fairy isle comprising what are now the separate islands of Britain and Ireland, which at that time, we are told, formed a single mass. Of the sundering of the two parts Tolkien wrote:

"Ossë is wroth at the breaking of the roots of the isle he set so long ago ... that he tries to wrench it back; and the western half breaks off, and is now the isle of Iverin."³

Quenya *Iverin* is clearly cognate with "real" names for Ireland derived from the tribal name *Iverni*, (such as Ireland, Erin, Hibernia). Elsewhere we learn that:

"... that part that was broken was called

Ireland and many names besides, and its dwellers come not into these tales."⁴

(I should stress that the concept of Britain and Ireland having once formed a single island has no historical validity; both were originally joined to the continental mass, and Ireland broke away much earlier than Britain.⁵)

The pre-Akallabêth legends all centre around the coming of a Saxon elf-friend, Eriol or Alfwine, to an Elvish island; in the earliest versions the story was to end with the Elves conveniently annihilated by other agencies and, in due course, the Saxons inheriting the land. So far we have a very anglocentric tale, with the *Brithonin* and *Guddin* dismissed as hostile mortal invaders who preceded the Saxons and had insufficient reverence for the fairies.⁶ However, the theme of mortals coming to reside in a land hallowed by earlier divine inhabitants is one that we find in Celtic myth; it is the same motive that lies at the heart of the Irish conquest of the Tuatha Dé Danann⁷, and as I demonstrated in my previous article it was very largely on the Tuatha Dé Danann that Tolkien's Elves were based.

And immediately we find a second Celtic link. In order to turn Tol Eressëa into England, Tolkien apparently planned a scenario under which it would be drawn by a great whale from its position far out in the ocean, coming to rest close to the Great Lands "nigh to the promontory of Ros"⁸, which Christopher Tolkien tentatively identifies as Brittany⁹ (*ros* is, incidentally, the Irish word for "promontory"). The great battle of Ros at which the Elves were to be attacked and defeated by the forces of evil may be a reference to the cosmic conflict upon Mont Dol christianised as a battle between St. Michael and the Devil.¹⁰

Perhaps Tolkien himself felt uneasy at

the way in which he had been forced to dismiss Britain's Celtic past and the Roman occupation as interludes inconveniently sandwiched between the Elvish days and the coming of his Saxons, particularly as England has in the Arthurian cycle a strong tradition of Celtic-derived myth. Anyway, he gradually abandoned the identification of Alfwine's elvish isle with England, though still retaining the notion that elves had once dwelt here. Instead, he sent his hero westward from England to a second island where the elves still dwelt.¹¹ But his purpose remained that of rooting his elvish "traditions" firmly in England's Anglo-Saxon past. Eriol/Alfwine's sojourn amongst the Elves, whether in England or the new place, was a device enabling him to commit to writing that which he had seen for the benefit of his own people: "thus it is that through Eriol and his sons the *Engle* have the true tradition of the fairies, of whom the *Iras* and the *Wealas* tell garbled things."¹²

In one sense this statement reinforces the view that Tolkien's mythology was to be specifically English and not Celtic. Looked at the other way, however, he seems to have been suggesting that he planned to tell the "true" version of the stories told in garbled form by the Irish and Welsh - *i.e.*, that the English mythology he is about to invent is to be at base a reconstruction of Celtic myth, which he was later to like to "a broken stained-glass window reassembled without design."¹³ Indeed, where else would he turn for inspiration for an English mythology? He himself bemoaned the fact that there was no English material to draw on save "impoverished chap-book stuff"; Germanic materials would be useful, but only to a limited extent: they were ethnically related to any tales the English might have told, but not "bound up with [England's] ... soil". The legends of the insular Celts would provide for these the ideal complement: they were not Germanic, but were sprung of the soil of Luthany and looked out upon the world from the same vantage point as Eriol Elf-friend.

Indeed, in adopting so whole-heartedly the vision of a happy Otherworld in the West, Tolkien was posing himself a problem. He had declared that the dwellers of Ireland "come not

into these tales", but Ireland, Wales and Cornwall all lie between England and the Atlantic. A mythology based on westward voyages from England which had no reference to these Celtic areas would seem a little false. Also, the tradition of the Land of Promise is at best only inferred in the British Celtic material: it was in the Irish *Imrama*, or voyage tales of mortals to a western Otherworld, that Tolkien found his garbled memories of Valinor.¹⁴ It was perhaps inevitable, therefore, that Ireland should eventually find its way into the Alfwine soup.

In the 1930s the development of the "island saga" took a new turn, for Tolkien made a bargain with C.S. Lewis to write a time-travel story, and he chose the theme of Atlantis. Thus was begun *The Lost Road*, in which the name *Númenor* appears for the first time. For this book Tolkien retained the story of Eriol/Alfwine's voyage to the West, but took him not to a fairy paradise but, via the lost Straight Road, back in time to a mortal island-kingdom located far across the Sea but yet east of the Elvish Isles. Tolkien's notes show that in fact he planned to work backwards to the story of Númenor via the voyages of several Alfwine figures. These included a twentieth-century father and son named Alboin (Lombardic version of Alfwine) and Audoin Errol, who seem to represent Tolkien himself and one of his sons (probably Christopher).

The Professor's other choice of westward voyagers to complete the tale altered as work progressed. The original conception seems to have been for a purely Germanic selection.¹⁵ However, as plans progressed, Irish matter began to intrude in the shape of an outline story of a Saxon father and son who fled from the Danish victory at Ireingafeld to Dyfed, and thence to Ireland. It was in Ireland that the pair were to hear tales of the Western paradise attained by Brendan and Maelduin (these two are the subjects of *Imrama*), and from Ireland that they were themselves to set out on the same quest. The outline of this story ends: "this leads to Finntan".¹⁶

Tolkien had apparently read of the story of Finntan (usually spelt *Fintan*), the Irish sage

who had survived the Deluge, in Magnus Maclean's *Literature of the Celts*.¹⁷ How he planned to use the testimony of "the oldest man in the world", his notes do not make clear, but presumably "Finntan" would have remembered the Isle of Númenor and its Downfall and the parting of Earth from the Straight Path to the West. Nothing came of these plans other than the poem "The nameless Land", reproduced in Christopher Tolkien's edition of *The Lost Road*. Nothing, that is, except for one small philological detail.

In his papers on the subject, the Professor glossed *Finntan* as "*Narkil* White Fire". "White Fire" would more normally be rendered into Elvish as *Narsil*¹⁹, so that it would be interesting to know whether Finntan had anything to do with the naming of Elendil's long-lived sword.

In the end, of course, Alfwine himself was discarded, together with any attempt to link - at least in print - the history of Númenor, or indeed any of the invented mythology, to the English or to a historically identifiable England. As Christopher Tolkien summed it up: "these notes were written down in his youth, when for him Elvish magic 'lingered yet mightily in the woods and hills of Luthany'; in his old age all was gone West-over-sea" The tales of the Four Ages belong, in their final form, merely to the north-west of the Old World, and that is the most that we can say.²⁰ Yet I hope that the summary I have given of the route by which Tolkien came to create this land has been more than mere digression. For I believe that it does cast considerable light on his intentions regarding the use of Germanic and Celtic material in his compositions. In its first conception, the mythology was to be purely Anglo-Saxon and to extol the origins of the English inhabitants of Britain at the expense of their Celtic neighbours. But Tolkien's weakness here was that he was smitten by the essentially Irish vision of a fair immortal race and their Otherworld paradise in the West. Yet I also believe that it was the abandonment of the early patriotic purpose that freed Tolkien to make use of a wider range of inspiration than had been evident in the early work, that range which gave to his invented world the sense of depth and

reality that has been so great a part of its appeal.

Foundation and culture

Númenor, as the Drowned Land, carries echoes not only of Atlantis but of the foundered kingdoms of Celtic myth. The name Westernesse is reminiscent in form of *Lyonesse*, the sunken land beyond Cornwall of Arthurian legend²¹, and the motif of a deluge sent by God to end the influence of a demonic power over the ruling family is also to be found in the Breton legend of Is.²² The motif of the Land of Gift may have been derived from the wishful thinking of Irish myth, according to which the goddess Eriu ceded Ireland to the mortal Milesians with these words:

"To you who have come from afar this island shall henceforth belong, and from the setting to the rising of the sun there is no better land. And your race will be the most perfect the world has ever seen."²³

On the other hand, the culture of Númenor as described in *The Silmarillion* and *Unfinished Tales* shows little of either Celtic - or indeed Germanic - influence. The only significant cultural detail I have noticed that may have a Celtic inspiration is the custom that the King should abdicate and surrender his life before senility. According to ancient (particularly Celtic) tradition, the health and fortunes of the land were bound up with those of the king. In Arthurian legend the lands of the Fisher King were wasted because of his lameness²⁴; a well-known Irish myth tells of how King Nuada Airgetlam was forced to abdicate because of the loss of his hand in battle²⁵; in a related Breton tale the wicked Rivod deprives his young nephew of his rights to his patrimony by cutting off from the boy a hand and a foot.²⁶ Even in Christian times, it was the tradition in Gaelic Ireland that a chieftain must be of sound mind and body: this practice extended to some of the more hibernicised Norman families, and was responsible in the fifteenth century for the earldom of Kildare falling into abeyance for a period of approximately twenty years, during the lifetime of the sixth Earl's son, John Cam or "Crooked John".²⁷

Aside from the moral desirability of the King's voluntary surrender of his life, therefore, his abdication and death while in good health is mythologically necessary to maintain the fortunes of the land. It is notable that the coming of the shadow upon Númenor coincided with the refusal of the kings to surrender either power or life, clinging on until death took them "perforce in dotage".²⁸

Topography and division

If Celtic influence upon the culture of Númenor is slight, the physical structure of the island as described in *Unfinished Tales* shows by contrast an enormous debt to Celtic sources. In the following study of the topography and division of Númenor, comparisons with ancient Ireland and Wales are based on the analysis given in A. and B. Rees' *Celtic heritage*. Though I have no evidence that Tolkien was familiar with this book it is a major work on the subject and the similarities between the theories it propounds and the arrangements in Númenor are striking. Its publication in 1961 also coincides well with the time of writing of *A Description of Númenor*, which "was certainly in existence by 1965, and was probably written not long

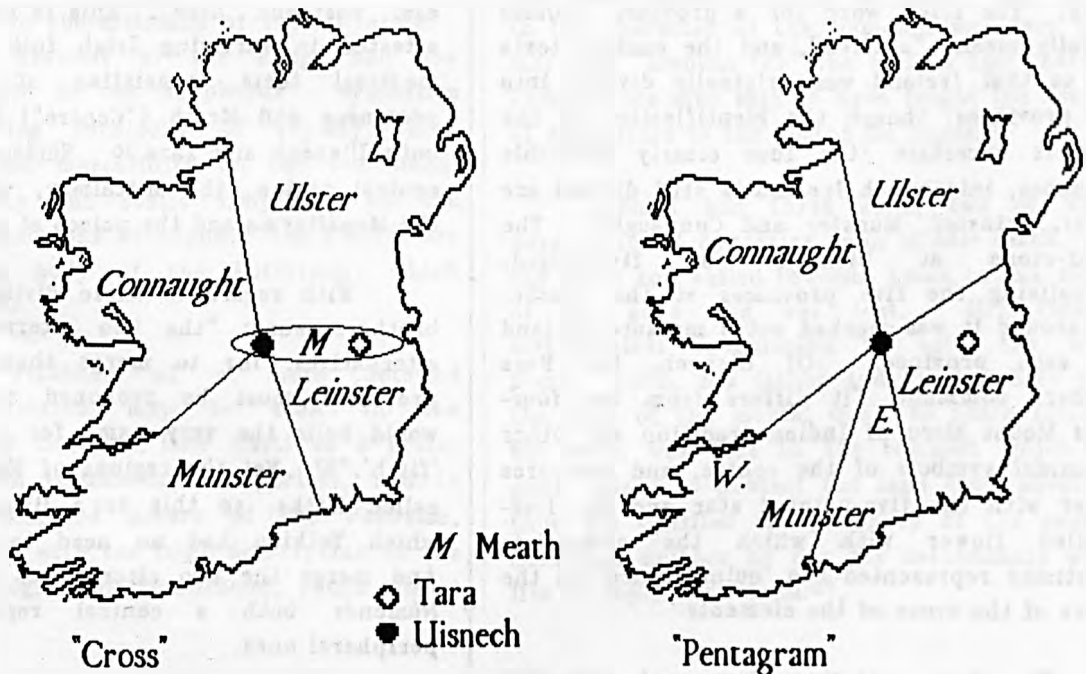
before that."³⁰

The Centre

In the centre of Numenor stood a high mountain, the Meneltarma, "and no other likeness of a temple did the Numenoreans possess in all the days of their grace."³¹ The Meneltarma was, in other words, the Sacred Centre of Númenor, that place familiar to ancient peoples and representing an axial or umbilical link with the Otherworld.

The Meneltarma was the source of the great river Siril that rose in springs underneath it. The other major river of Númenor, the Nunduine, is also shown as having had its source near the centre of the island, about fifteen miles from the mountain. The Centre as a source of the great rivers is a belief to be found in many cultures; according to Norse myth, for instance, eleven rivers flow from the Spring of Hvergelmir at the root of Yggdrasil.³² Of the twelve chief rivers of Ireland, a legend says that they were formed by a great hallstorm that fell upon the sacred centre, the hill of Uisnech. In Wales Pumlumon (Plinlimmon) is the source of the rivers Wye and Severn, and there is other evidence that this mountain marked the centre

The Provinces of Ireland



of the country.³³

The position of the royal capital, Armenelos, to the east of the Meneltarma, parallels the Irish arrangement, in which the High King's palace of Tara lay many miles to the east of Uisnech. The relative positions of Uisnech and Tara are almost certainly not accidental. If Tara belonged to the King, Uisnech seems to have belonged to the mother goddess, and was called "the navel of Ireland". The Rees brothers link these two sites with the stipulation in the Indian Brahmanas that every sacrificial site should contain two fires, one reserved for the consorts of the gods, and the other to the east of it for the worship of the (male) gods and representing their celestial cosmic world. In ancient Rome the hearth of Vesta and the *templa quadrata* to its east probably represented the same concept.

The divisions

Tolkien tells us that "the land of Numenor resembled in general outline a five-pointed star or pentangle ..." with a central portion from which extended five large peninsular promontories, each of which was regarded as a separate region.³⁴

The five-pronged form is similar to a method of division used in Ireland in ancient times. The Irish word for a province (*coiced*) literally means "a fifth", and the ancient texts tell us that Ireland was originally divided into five provinces, though the identification of the fifth is uncertain (the four clearly definable provinces, into which Ireland is still divided are Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connaught). The pillar-stone at Uisnech was five-ridged, symbolising the five provinces at the Centre, and around it was marked out a measure of land for each province. Of Uisnech, the Rees brothers comment: "it differs from the four-sided Mount Meru of Indian tradition and other pyramidal symbols of the centre, and compares rather with the five-pointed star and the five-petalled flower with which the alchemists sometimes represented the 'quintessence' in the centre of the cross of the elements.

The above quotation shows not only how

closely the conceptual division of Ireland resembled the structure of Numenor, but also how unusual a pentagram division appears to have been. T.F.O'Rahilly indeed assumed it to be due to pure scribal invention, and devoted a whole chapter of his *Irish History and Mythology* to demonstrating that: "In pre-Goidelic times ... the country was divided into four quarters, corresponding to the four points of the compass"³⁵ I would guess that Tolkien was familiar with O'Rahilly's book, first published in 1946, as its arguments are largely philological, but it seems that he rejected him on this occasion in favour of five points, which link in so neatly with the star symbolism already established for Numenor. The Rees brothers, unlike O'Rahilly, accept the fitness of the fivefold division on symbolic grounds, for in our world, as they point out, five is the number of completeness, of life.

The pentangle arrangement is stated in the *Book of Invasions* to be pre-Goidelic in origin and is implicit in most of the early Irish literature, which speaks of two Munsters, East and West. However, this pentagram arrangement would appear to be only one of two methods of fivefold division applied to Ireland in ancient times. The other represented the cross of the elements with its quintessential centre and may be equated with the Rig Veda's description of space in terms of north, south, east, west and "here". This is the arrangement attested in surviving Irish folk tradition and medieval texts, consisting of four modern provinces and Meath ("Centre") which included both Uisnech and Tara.³⁶ Numenor too had its central region, the Mittalmar, which embraced the Meneltarma and the palace at Armenelos.

With regard to these divisions, the Rees brothers warn: "the two alternatives ... are alternatives, for to merge them together six provinces must be reckoned with, and that would belie the very name for a province - a 'fifth'."³⁷ Yet the regions of Numenor are not called fifths, so this is a linguistic pit into which Tolkien had no need to avoid falling. And merge the two alternatives he did, giving Numenor both a central region and five peripheral ones.

Directional functions

The Rees brothers show that in Irish, as in Indian, tradition the five directions reflect the fivefold division of society. Fintan, whom we met earlier, described the functions of the directions thus: "knowledge in the west, battle in the north, prosperity in the east, music in the south, kingship in the centre." Also, as we have seen, the western (mountain) centre may be classified as feminine and the eastern capital as masculine.

Within Númenor, the Mittalmar, with its royal capital, certainly represents kingship. There is also a clear east-west division between materialism and knowledge and between the masculine and feminine functions. Both in *Akallabêth* and in *Aldarion and Erendis*, eastern Númenor, looking towards Middle-earth, is represented as concerned with deeds, riches, temporal glory, and even war; its people speak a mortal tongue (Adunaic). In contrast, the Westlands, facing towards Aman, represent spiritual values, wisdom and remembrance of old lore; its people speak an elven tongue.³⁸ This division of function is exemplified in the description of the two sons of Ar-Gimilzôr: "For Inziladûn [Flower of the West] the elder was beloved of his mother and of mind with her; but Gimilkhâd [Sword of the East?] the younger was his father's son"³⁹ In *Aldarion and Erendis* the two sub-divisions of the Mittalmar - the eastern Arandor of the Kings and the western Emerië of the Shepherds - symbolise the contrasting functions of royalty, high civilisation and masculinity on the one hand, and femininity and rustic simplicity on the other. The functions of Arandor and Emerië are unite in the body of the Mittalmar, which embraces both.

Some evidence of a more detailed functional division may be seen in the description of Orrostar (the East) as a grain-growing region (indicating Prosperity), and in the stony, deserted nature of the Forostar, which fits well with the Irish description of the North as a region of "hardihood, rough places"⁴⁰

The Narrative

We are told that the summer following the marriage of Aldarion and Erendis was particularly fruitful; there is more than ordinary symbolism behind this detail for, particularly in Celtic tradition, it is the King's marriage to the goddess that ensures the fertility of the land. A second detail of the story which may relate to Celtic myth is the decision of Aldarion's father Tar-Meneldur to abdicate in his favour when the threat of Sauron grows in Middle-earth. The Irish King Nuada likewise abdicated (albeit briefly) in favour of the youthful Lug, whom he believed to be better fitted to lead the Tuatha Dé Danann against the demonic Balar of the Evil Eye.

The early, beneficial visitations of the Númenoreans to Middle-earth may be seen as the "source" of many tales of culture heroes in European and Near Eastern mythology⁴¹, amongst which may be included the Irish belief that the home of the gods lay across the Atlantic. The Númenoreans' later tyranny, when "they laid the men of Middle-earth under tribute, taking now rather than giving"⁴², is also echoed in the Irish legend of the Fomorians, oppressors of both gods and mortals, who laid the Tuatha Dé under tribute and who had their abode either in or across the sea; they appear often as pirates. The change in the character of the Númenoreans over time may also "account for" the curious fact that the Fomoiri are also said to have taught the secrets of agriculture to the Tuatha Dé Danann.

Elendil had three sons, two of whom were to found dynasties upon Middle-earth. But the third son sailed towards Aman to ask mercy of the gods and was lost. His clearest mythological association is with the Irish Donn. Donn, his father and his brothers were the first of the mortal Gaels to reach Ireland, but Donn was lost in the tempest which the gods, raised to protect the land from invasion; thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the goddess Eriu that neither he nor his descendants would live to enjoy the island.⁴³

Of Ar-Pharazôn and the mortal warriors who embarked with him upon the shores of Valinor, Tolkien tells us that they "were buried under falling hills: there it is said that they lie imprisoned in the Caves of the Forgotten, until the Last Battle and the day of Doom."⁴⁴ Here we have echoes of Celtic legends regarding sleeping warriors under hillsides, many of which centre around the figure of King Arthur. About ten miles from my own home in Cheshire there is a sheer hill known as Alderley Edge, riddled with caves as the result of ancient copper working; according to local legend, King Arthur and his knights lie sleeping within behind a huge concealed doorway, ready to ride forth at the hour of England's need.

As for the Faithful and their westward gazing, Tolkien wrote of this in a way which echoes a haunting passage in Irish myth describing how the mortal Milesians (Gaels) in their original continental home first came to descry the island of Ireland:

"In this country Bregon ... had built a watchtower from which, one winter's evening, Ith saw, far off over the sea, a land he had never noticed before. It is on winter evenings, when the air is pure, that a man's eyesight reaches farthest ..."⁴⁵

In *Akallabêth* we read of the Númenoreans that:

"at times, when the air was clear and the sun was in the east, they would look out and descry far off in the west a city white-shining on a distant shore, and a great harbour and a tower."⁴⁶

And in *Of the Rings of Power and the Third Age* we are told that after the Downfall Elendil would repair to the Tower Hills:

"and thence he would gaze out over the sundering seas, when the yearning of exile was upon him; and it is believed that thus he would at whiles see far away even the Tower of Avallónë upon Eressëa."⁴⁷

Conclusion

I think it is plain from the above that as regards the actual story-lines specific debts to Celtic sources in the tales of the Second Age are present, but far from overwhelming. And yet the reason for this is not that sometimes

assumed - that Tolkien was choosing Germanic sources in preference. For whilst the Germanic motifs are certainly present in the early versions of Tolkien's myths, in the finished texts they are hardly more in evidence than their Celtic neighbours. For Tolkien's field of inspiration expanded: Númenor is culturally more akin to Athens or Luxor than to Uppsala or Tara, and Eriador includes the whole of modern France. Yet in one significant area it seems Tolkien may have borrowed a Celtic model lock, stock and barrel, and that is in the method of division he chose for the Land of the Star.

In general, however, the Celtic influence is, as with the First Age, one of vision more than of detail, and in this respect its pervasiveness is hard to overestimate. The reasons which may have drawn Tolkien towards the Irish vision of the Otherworld rather than, say, the Norse, are admirably summed up by the Celtic scholar Nora Chadwick:

"A beautiful dignity hangs over Irish mythology, an orderliness, a sense of fitness. All the gods are beautifully dressed and most are of startlingly beautiful appearance. It is only by contrast with other mythologies that we realise that the 'land of promise' contains little that is ugly. There is no sin and no punishment. There are few monsters, nothing to cause alarm, not even extremes of climate. There is no serious warfare, no lasting strife. Those who die, or who are lured away to the Land of Promise, the land of the young, leave for an idealised existence, amid beauty, perpetual youth and goodwill. The heathen Irish erected a spirituality - a spiritual loveliness which comes close to an ideal spiritual existence."⁴⁸

This is the ideal towards which the doomed Númenoreans looked in longing and envy, the vision of a fair immortal land descried from the top of a high tower at times "when the air is pure".



Notes

1. Tolkien's description of the Men of Gondor in Letters would apply equally well to their Island ancestors, particularly in the latter years of the kingdom: "The Numenoreans of Gondor were proud, peculiar and archaic, and I think are best pictured in (say) Egyptian terms. In many ways they resembled 'Egyptians' - the love of, and power to construct, the gigantic and massive. And their great interest in ancestry and in tombs. (But not of course in 'theology': in which respect they were Hebraic ...)" (*Letters* no. 211)

2. *Book of Lost Tales 1* p.22.

3. *Book of Lost Tales 2* p.283.

4. *Ibid.*, p.312.

5. McEvedy, C. *The Penguin Atlas of Ancient History*. Penguin, 1967; *The Course of Irish History*, ed. T.W.Moody and F.X.Martin. Cork: Mercier Press, 1967.

6. *Book of Lost Tales 2* p.294.

7. Squire, C. *Celtic Myth and Legend, Poetry and Romance*. Newcastle Publishing Co. Inc., 1975 (reprint of 1917 ed.) p.119.

8. *Book of Lost Tales 2* p.283.

9. *Ibid.*, p.285.

10. *Green Tourist Guide BRITTANY*. Michelin, (s.d.); Aubert, O.L. *Legendes Traditionnelles de la Bretagne*. Kerengwenn: Coop Breiz, (s.d.).

11. *Book of Lost Tales 2* pp.322 ff.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

13. *Letters* no. 19.

14. See: Rees, Alwyn, and Rees, Brinley *Celtic Heritage* Thames and Hudson, 1961. Chapter XVI.

15. *The Lost Road*, p.7.

16. *Ibid.*, p.80. In his own poem *Inram*, based on the Voyage of St. Brendan, Tolkien was to equate two of the Islands which Brendan visited with Numenor and Tol Eressëa (see: Kocher, P. *Master of Middle-earth*, Thames and Hudson, 1972. pp. 206 ff.

17. See Christopher Tolkien's discussion in *The Lost Road*, pp.82-83.

18. *Lost Road* p.82.

19. *Narsil* may in fact be simply a later development of the word *Narkil*, as "white shining" is rendered by *GL* in the 1930s Etymologies (see *Lost Road* p.358), but by *sa* in the Appendix to *The Silmarillion*.

20. The quotation is from *Book of Lost Tales 2*, pp. 327-328. J.R.R.Tolkien wrote in 1967 regarding *The Lord of the Rings*: "The action of the story takes place in the North-west of 'Middle-earth', equivalent in latitude to the coastlands of Europe and the north shores of the Mediterranean. But this is not a purely 'Nordic' area in any sense." (*Letters* no.294).

21. Senior, M. *British Myth Orbis*, 1979.

22. Aubert, *op. cit.*

23. Rees and Rees *op. cit.* p.125.

24. Senior *op. cit.* p.218; *The Mabinogion*, tr. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones. Dent, 1978.

25. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.78.

26. See the tale *Pied d'Airain et Main d'Argent* in Aubert, *op. cit.*

27. *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland and the United Kingdom*, ed. G.E.Cockayne, new ed. Vicary Gibbs.

Doubleday, 1910-1959.

28. *Unfinished Tales* p.221.

29. For details, see note 14.

30. *Unfinished Tales* p.7.

31. *Ibid.*, p.186.

32. Crossley-Holland, K. *The Norse Myths* Penguin, 1982.

33. See Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.175.

34. *Unfinished Tales* pp.165-6.

35. p.172.

36. Such a fivefold division is, of course, a natural progression from division according to the four cardinal directions, and was probably not uncommon in the ancient world. The Rees brothers point out (*op. cit.* p.173) that such a division is suggested by the English regional names Essex, Sussex, Wessex and Middlesex, and even O'Rahilly admits the existence of Meath as a separate province, at least at one stage of Gaelic history.

37. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.121.

38. See *Unfinished Tales*, note 19 to *Aldarion and Erendis*.

39. *Ibid.*, p.223.

40. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.123.

41. "...and when they had departed they called them gods, hoping for their return." (*The Silmarillion* p.263)

42. *Ibid.*, p.265.

43. Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* pp.126-131; MacCana, P. *Celtic Mythology*. Newnes, 1968. pp.36-38.

44. *The Silmarillion* p.279.

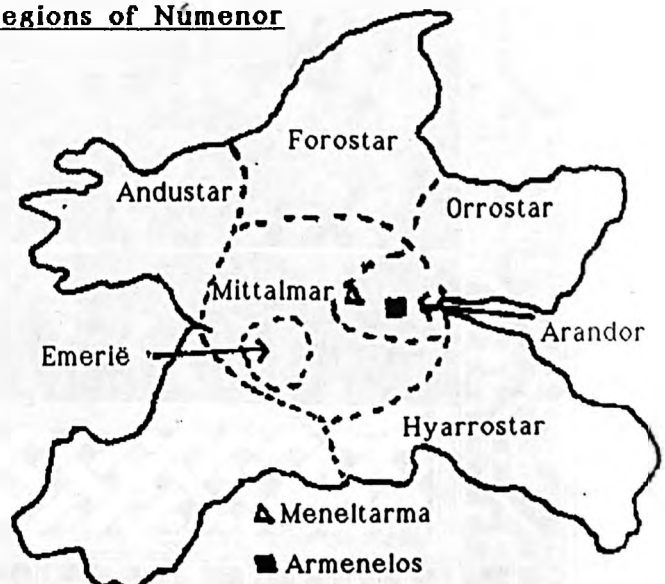
45. From *The Book of Invasions* as quoted in Rees and Rees, *op. cit.* p.121.

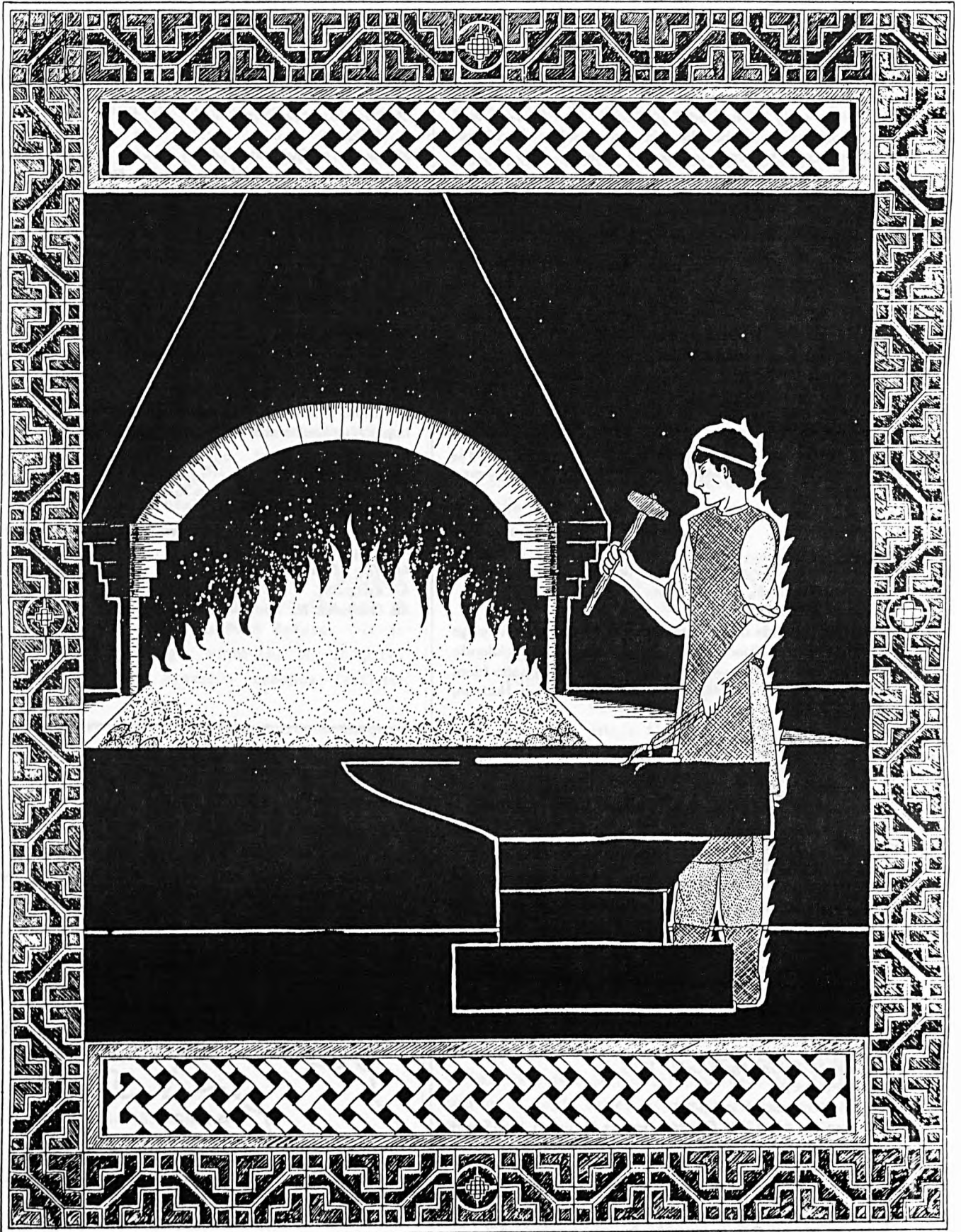
46. *The Silmarillion* p.262.

47. *Ibid.*, p.292.

48. Chadwick, N. *The Celts*. Penguin, 1979.

Regions of Númenor





The Elven-Smith (Q. S. Ch VII.)

Endogamy and Exogamy in the Works of Tolkien

by Lisa Hopkins

Anyone who reads the tragic tale of the children of Húrin, Túrin Turambar and his sister/wife Nienor, cannot fail to be struck by its marked resemblances to the classical legend of Oedipus, the subject of Sophocles' Theban trilogy. In each of the two stories the events are set in motion by the actions of the hero's father: in the tale of Túrin, it is the refusal of his father, Húrin, to reveal the whereabouts of Gondolin which calls down Morgoth's wrath on the family and initiates their tragic destiny, while in the legend of Oedipus it is the attempt by Oedipus' father, Laius, to obviate the prophecy which has told him that his child is destined to kill his father and marry his mother which leads to the terrible events which follow: the baby Oedipus is exposed on a mountainside to die, but is rescued by a shepherd who gives him to the childless king and queen of Corinth to bring up as their own. When Oedipus eventually discovers the prophecy, he runs away from his supposed parents, only to meet a strange man at a crossroads whom he falls out with and kills - who is of course, unbeknown to him, his own father, Laius. Oedipus then proceeds to Thebes, where he liberates the city from the curse of the Sphinx which is hanging over it, and as a reward is given the queen, Jocasta, widow of Laius and hence his own mother, as his wife. Oedipus and Jocasta produce four children before the awful truth of Oedipus' identity is finally discovered, upon which Jocasta hangs herself and Oedipus gouges out his eyes with her brooches.

That Túrin's unwitting taking of his own sister to wife because of a curse on his family is related to the Oedipus story is clear. Tolkien even refers repeatedly to Túrin's state of mind while in exile as 'blindness', which parallels the metaphorical blindness of Oedipus before he discovers his true identity and his literal blindness afterwards. There are other striking similarities between the two stories, too: Oedipus' exposure on a mountainside with his ankles riveted together to stop him crawling

away led to permanently deformed feet (hence his name, which means 'Swollenfoot'), while the *Tale of the Children of Húrin* features a character originally called Tamar Lamfoot, who later is renamed Brandir the Lamé; and even more interestingly, both Oedipus and Túrin are eventually seen as purged from the shame and sorrow of their unwitting crime and are elevated, after their respective deaths, to a status noticeably above that of ordinary mortals - Oedipus' body will keep the ground of Athens inviolate for ever in *Oedipus at Colonus*, while in the *Book of Lost Tales, Part II* we are told that 'Turambar shall stand beside Fionwe in the Great Wrack, and Melko and his drakes shall curse the sword of Mormakil'(p. 116). There is even a connection between the names the two adopt: on his return to Thebes Oedipus is given the title of 'Tyrannus', the Greek term for a *de facto* ruler who holds his power effectively by force, but of course the fact that he is in reality the only son of the last king means that he is actually the *de jure* hereditary ruler, for which the correct term would be the alternative word for king, 'basileus'. Similarly, Túrin in the *Lost Tales* arrogates to himself the title *Turambar*, 'Conqueror of Fate' (p.87), which is of course precisely what he is not, being rather the blind victim of the fate which pursues Húrin and his house.

There are, then, enough connections between these two tales of a king who inadvertently married his mother and a hero who inadvertently married his sister to make it reasonable to postulate a direct connection between the two, and that Tolkien was influenced in his writing of the story of Turin by the legend of Oedipus. This is not, however, simply a matter of literary influence. For the central strand of the narrative of both stories - the committing of incest - has an important place both in many major mythological cycles, especially those concerning creation stories, and also in the history of Middle-earth itself.

Most myths which attempt to offer any kind of account of the creation of the world have to deal, at some time or another, with the question of incest. This arises because a standard ploy of such creation myths is to postulate an original pair of founders or originators of the race; and this, naturally and inevitably, will automatically lead to incest. Who are the children of Adam and Eve going to marry, if not each other? And all animals, according to the Biblical account, must be the products of incest, since only two of each kind went into Noah's Ark. Incest must inevitably lie at the heart of all single-pair accounts of creation, as can be seen by its centrality in the Greek and Egyptian cosmogonies, where Zeus and Hera, and Osiris and Isis, are both brother and sister and also husband and wife; and it is important too in other myths, so that (in Wagner's version at least) the Germanic hero Siegfried is the product of an incestuous marriage. Incest features, too, in more recent, overtly fictional accounts of creation, such as the *Voyage to Venus* (originally entitled *Perelandra*) of Tolkien's friend C.S. Lewis, where the single man and single woman who are the sole inhabitants of Venus will not be enough to propagate a race without involving incest.

Tolkien, however, goes to considerable lengths to exclude the necessity for incest from his own creation stories. Instead of arising from an original primal couple, the Elves awake by the shores of Cuiviénen in such great numbers that there are already three separate kindreds established; instead of being descended from an Adam and an Eve figure, men too are produced in numbers sufficient to avoid any need for intermarriage amongst kin. The same applies to the Valar. So careful is Tolkien to avoid a primary creation dependent on incest that it almost looks as though the subject is of special interest to him, something that he was particularly anxious to avoid.

The idea that incest is absent from Tolkien's creation myth by design rather than by simple omission gains support from an examination of the important marriages in the history of Middle-earth. Anthropologists divide marriages into those which are endogamous - those which are within the tribe - and those

which are exogamous, where the marriage partner comes from outside the individual's own social grouping. It is strikingly notable that the central marriages of Tolkien's cycle are all markedly exogamous. The important realm of Doriath is founded on a marriage between Thingol, an Elf, and Melian, a Maia; in the greatest romance of all, their daughter, Lúthien Tinúviel, in turn marries a mortal man, Beren son of Barahir. Another Elven-princess, Idril Celebrindal of Gondolin, similarly marries a mortal, Tuor, and from their union is born Earendil, the mariner who eventually succeeds in reaching Valinor. *The Lord of the Rings* culminates in a marriage between a man, Aragorn, and an Elf, Arwen; and the hero of *The Hobbit*, Bilbo Baggins, is the product of an alliance between a stolid Baggins father and a more eccentric Took mother. Other examples could also be adduced, but the central point should now be clear: the exogamous marriage in Tolkien's works enjoys a special status, a power to bridge divides, and generate love that can transcend death². Endogamy, on the other hand, is determinedly avoided, and the extremest example of it, actual incest, is presented as the worst fated Morgoth can imagine to punish the defiance of Húrin. It is also notable that, whereas in other incest myths, the offspring of the forbidden union survives, and is indeed often gifted with unique or magical properties (Antigone, the daughter of Oedipus, and Wagner's hero Siegfried are two examples here, and Horus is remarkable even for a god), the child of Turin and Nienor is not allowed to live, but is destroyed in its mother's womb by her suicide.³ Instead it is the children of notably exogamous marriages, such as Earendil and Lúthien, who are perceived as special, fated, and endowed with more than ordinary portions of beauty, courage and luck. Almost alone of creation cycles, Tolkien's world needs exogamy to survive, and regards marriage between kin as the primal curse.

NOTES

1. See *The Book of Lost Tales, Part II*, p.134.

2. Marie Barnfield, in 'Celtic Influences on the History of the First Age', *Mallorn* 28 (September 1991), 2-6, p. 5, argues that 'the motive in Tolkien's work of the union of mortals with women of immortal race is ... intimately woven with that of the Celtic notion of kingship, and is therefore to be found in several Celtic tales. As the representation of the land, the goddess became symbolic of its sovereignty, and no king could claim the right to rule save that she had accepted him as her spouse.'

3. [An example of another "fruitless" incestuous union is that of Kullervo and his sister in the *Kalevala* (Runo 35), particularly interesting since the tale of Kullervo served as the starting-point for the *Narn i Hîn Húrin*. - Ed.]

Sauron's Darkness

by Alex Lewis

The environmental catastrophe of 1991 occasioned by Saddam Hussein's firing of the Kuwaiti oil fields is a disaster not comparable to any previously seen in terms of oil-related fires. The statistics make for grim reading: at one time, over 600 oil wells were burning, of which in July 1991 over 450 were still alight. Over a million barrels a day quite literally went up in smoke, and that smoke ended up in the lower atmosphere. Environmentalists originally predicted that the smoke particles might go up as high as 20 miles into the stratosphere and so affect the whole global climate. They were proven wrong, for it has been shown that the smoke has risen only some 5 miles before falling back earthwards again, and that the particles are excellent at nucleating water droplets, and so they come to earth within a much shorter distance than previously thought. Even so, smoke from the Kuwait oil fires has been discovered in the snow on the Himalayas.

So what has any of this to do with *The Lord of the Rings*, you might understandably ask? I have been living in Saudi Arabia during this environmental catastrophe, and have had a chance to get close-up experience of the phenomenon. I would like therefore in the light of this (no pun intended) to compare it to the darkness that Sauron released during the War of the Ring, and make some interesting observations in that regard.

In Appendix B of *The Lord of the Rings*, the dates of the major events are given:

March 9th: The Darkness begins to flow out of Mordor.

March 10th: The Dawnless Day (the day that Faramir returns to Minas Tirith).

March 11th: The first assault on Lórien from Dol Guldur.

March 12th: Frodo and Sam in Shelob's lair.

March 13th: The Pelennor Fields overrun.

March 14th: The Battle before the city gates.

March 15th: The Darkness breaks at dawn; the

Witch-King breaks the city gates at Minas Tirith. Second assault on Lórien.

March 22nd: The third assault on Lórien.

So the Darkness lasted from March 9th to the early morning of March 15th - a period of seven days.

From references within *The Lord of the Rings* one can calculate that the Darkness covered a vast region of Middle-earth, extending at the very least 500 miles from Mount Doom, and possibly as far as 800 miles. This statement can be corroborated from evidence within *The Lord of the Rings* as follows:

In the *Muster of Rohan*, Hírgon of Gondor says: "It comes from Mordor, lord. It began last night at sunset. From the hills in the Eastfold of your realm I saw it rise and creep across the sky, and all night as I rode it came behind eating up the stars. Now the great cloud hangs over all the land between here and the Mountains of Shadow; and it is deepening. War has already begun."¹

At this point Theoden and his Rohirrim were at Dunharrow, and that is some 450 miles from Mount Doom as the Nazgûl flies. But in order for the sky to be darkened, it would have to go much further, at least another 50-100 miles, in order to stop the light of the evening sun coming in from the West.

Like a smoke pall, this darkness affects them too: "The world was darkling. The very air seemed brown, and all things around were black and grey and shadowless; there was a great stillness."² Yet unlike a fire or a product of some volcanic outburst, nor yet like a true storm cloud, it has no movement due to heat effects or swirling of clouds, for Tolkien has described it to us through Merry's eyes: "No shape of cloud could be seen Overhead there hung a heavy roof, sombre and featureless, and light seemed rather to be failing than growing."³ And unlike the smoke from the burning oil wells in Kuwait, there is no smell of

burning. Had there been, the Rohirrim would not have detected the burning smell of Minas Tirith as they approached it: "A smell of burning was in the air and a very shadow of death."⁴ Also, unlike a volcanic eruption, where one would expect sulphurous smells, Tolkien did not describe any. This was a darkness without smells, it seems.

And, unlike the effect of the Kuwaiti oil fires, the blotting of the sun was extended far further. One hundred miles, or even fifty, away from Kuwait and its oil wells, the sunlight was dimmed, but one could see. There seemed to be a black fog that obscured buildings 250 to 500 metres from your vision. The only places where "day became night" were right in Kuwait and on its borders with Iraq and Iran - i.e., within twenty miles or so of the burning oil fires. Yet in *The Ride of the Rohirrim* Théoden says: "All is night now," and Ghân-buri-Ghân replies: "It is all dark, but it is not all night When sun comes we feel her, even when she is hidden. Already she climbs over East-mountains."⁵ Now, this is still something like 300 miles away from Mount Doom! The effect of Sauron's Darkness seems to have been perhaps ten times more concentrated than all the Kuwaiti oil fires burning together; an awesome thought! Let us compare the real world, and we see that in Riyadh in July 1991 it was a bit fuzzy, but hardly the same foggiess as in Dammam or Bahrain. Dubai also had essentially clear skies. The darkening effect almost clears after 100 miles. In Khafji, which is in the neutral zone between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, it was like a very overcast day, but not quite dark enough to use car lights. Colour could still be seen, unlike night-time. The smoke can be detected up to 300 miles away, but only as a slight effect of darkening of the air - a haziness of sunlight, but nothing more. There is a chemical dilution effect with distance that follows the inverse square law, so that concentrations of smoke diminish rapidly.

In Minas Tirith, the darkness was even worse, and here it is likened to a cloud: "It was dark and dim all day. From the sunless dawn until evening the heavy shadow had deepened Far above a great cloud streamed slowly westward from the Black Land, devouring light [The

great pall had now stretched far into the West, and only as it sank at last into the Sea did the Sun escape to send out a brief farewell gleam before the night, even as Frodo saw it at the Cross Roads touching the head of the fallen king. But ... the fields of the Pelennor ... were brown and drear."⁶ And here we have the first indication that the darkness was not only directed towards Minas Tirith and Gondor beyond, but also down towards the sea.

Some of Tolkien's characters discuss the darkness. Pippin thinks it is due to the weather: "The very air seems thick and brown! Do you often have such glooms when the wind is in the East?"

"Nay," said Beregon, "this is no weather of the world. This is some device of his malice, some broil of fume from the Mountain of Fire"⁷

So we have Tolkien's characters voicing different opinions. Yet I believe that Beregon's thoughts concerning the device of Sauron's malice to be closer than his other guess of it having its origins in Mount Doom. Gandalf too was quick to question Faramir about when the darkness began, indicating that he thought that Sauron might have regained the One Ring and begun a sorcerous darkness with his regained strength, a prelude to his devouring the world itself in a second darkness.

Comparing Sauron's Darkness to my real life experience with Eastern Saudi Arabia and the Kuwaiti oil fires: the smoke oomes down to ground level and produces a black fog; it does not stay high up and blot out the light the way an eclipse would. It is just like a foggy day, or at the most a heavily overcast day. We can be certain that Sauron could not have altered the course of the moon to produce an eclipse for seven days running - he did not have those sort of powers.

If the Darkness of Sauron was caused by volcanic means, the health problems from such a smoke would be enormous and many would have died of lung diseases thereafter. For instance, back to the Middle East: a report produced by Saudi authorities has shown that for people living in Dammam (about 250 miles from the oil fires) it was equivalent to smoking

20 cigarettes a day, and living in Kuwait was the equivalent of smoking 2,000 cigarettes a day! Indeed, people in Kuwait wore face masks when walking outside to stop the smoke getting into their lungs, and when I was there the smoke darkened the white car we were driving to a deep yellow colour with dark black spots over it that a car wash found difficult to remove satisfactorily. It is quite clear that the health implications of such vast oil fires in Kuwait will be great, and so a similarly caused darkness in Mordor stretching over most of Gondor and parts of Rohan would dot the same to its people, but we know that there were no wholesale deaths.

"The Pelennor lay dim beneath him, fading to the scarce guessed line of the Great River."⁸ It should have been possible for Pippin to see the river Anduin, but the darkness prevented it. And shortly thereafter, when Gandalf stabs out with his white light, the darkness is again described as a cloud: "the Nazgul ... passed away eastward vanishing into the lowering cloud above."⁹ We also know that the darkness extended south of the White Mountains, for Legolas telling of the Paths of the Dead said as much: "One day of light we rode, and then came the day without dawn, and still we rode on, and Ciril and Ringlo we crossed; and on the third day we came to Linhir above the mouth of Gilrain."¹⁰ The stone of Erech is also at least 450 miles from Mount Doom, and on the other side of a formidable range of mountains - a colossal natural barrier to a smoke plume, but in this case it did not stop the darkness. So I believe there was more to this darkness than Mount Doom spuming forth its gases and fumes. Had it been such an eruption, Frodo and Sam (as well as all the Oros in Mordor) would have died of asphyxiation long before reaching the foothills of Mount Doom. So, for instance, did many die in Pompeii, not from lava or ash, but from lack of oxygen. I do not even believe Mount Doom to have been the focal point of the darkness at all, otherwise Frodo and Sam would not have even *seen* the fiery mountain from a distance, not with such great activity. I believe it may have come directly from Barad-Dûr, due to some massive sorcery.

And in its dissipation there was an air of unnatural causes: "The darkness was breaking too

soon ...", and so the Witch-King left the gates of Minas Tirith, and returned astride his winged steed, and...[t]he new morning was blotted from the sky."¹¹ And yet this darkness had stretched a hundred miles at least beyond Minas Tirith! How quickly it dissipated! Far too quickly for it to be natural. In *The Land of Shadow* the transformation is even clearer: "Day was coming again in the world outside, and far beyond the glooms of Mordor the Sun was climbing over the eastern rim of Middle-earth The easterly wind that had been blowing ever since they left Ithilien now seemed dead"¹² So now we know what drove the darkness westwards, and that the driving force had stopped. Soon after, things change: "Look at it! The wind's changed! Something's happening. He's not having it all his own way. His darkness is breaking up out in the world there."¹³

In Eastern Saudi Arabia, the prevailing wind direction is from the north-east, which drove the smoke down that way, but if the wind changes direction as it did on one day, the sun then came out as normal, although the process took some hours and tended to be patchy. And most importantly, the smoke did not "disappear", but was pushed elsewhere, waiting ever to return with a another change in wind direction.

So what caused Sauron's Darkness to fail? My guess is that Galadriel had much to do with it.

The first assault on Lórien occurred on March 11th from Dol Guldur, and the Darkness was by then two days old. It seems fairly reasonable to think that the darkness may even have stretched as far as Lórien. If so, then Galadriel would have found some way to counteract it, for, according to Appendix B, "the power that dwelt there was too great for any to overcome, unless Sauron had come there himself."¹⁴ Then, on the following day, March 12th, Sam and Frodo used Galadriel's phial in Shelob's lair. I believe that this may have alerted Galadriel to the fact that they had a chance to complete their quest. On the very day the Darkness was broken, Sam and Frodo used the phial of Galadriel to break through the Watchers in the Tower, and spoke Quenya, which

Sam certainly would not have known, and one feels that these words might have been placed in their mouths - by whom? I guess again that it might have been Galadriel. Later on Sam wished for light and water, and he got both. "If ever I see the Lady again, I will tell her! ... Light and now water!"¹⁵ So Sam Gamgee certainly believed that Galadriel was actively helping them. The second assault on Lórien on March 15th coincided with all this, as if Sauron perhaps realised that something was working against his Darkness. But it could not avail him. The Darkness dissipated in a matter of hours.

This examination of the darkness of Sauron leaves the impression that this was no darkness that could be accounted for in purely physical terms, such as an eclipse, smoke from a volcano, or storm clouds. It was something far more potent. It was something that was

probably at least ten times greater in effectiveness and range than the 600 Kuwaiti oil fires, which just goes to show that Sauron, even without his Ruling Ring, was no easy person to defeat. Rightly did Gandalf the White fear him: White is mighty, but Black is mightier still.

Notes (References are to the 1968 one-volume edition of *The Lord of the Rings*).

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|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. p.832. | 9. p.841. |
| 2. <i>Ibid.</i> | 10. p.909. |
| 3. <i>Ibid.</i> | 11. pp.872-873. |
| 4. p.864. | 12. p.952. |
| 5. p.865. | 13. p.954. |
| 6. pp.838-839. | 14. p.1131. |
| 7. p.839. | 15. p.956. |
| 8. p.840. | |

Before and After

BEFORE

*Caught in time, held between two worlds
Nothing now to do but wait and listen
For the moment when the banner is unfurled
And on the spears and swords the blood will glisten.*

*Looking out beyond the city walls
Straining eyes to pierce the growing gloom -
The dark fog creeping through the ancient halls
Drifts like a silent messenger of doom.*

*Above, the darkened sky that once was blue
Where in other days the sun shone clear
Where swollen evil swallows light and truth
In heavy hanging clouds of night and fear.*

*The hot and heavy air still presses down
Close around, and catches laboured breath.
The city waits without a word or sound
For fate to bring it victory or death.*

*For many years the threat has slowly grown
Creeping in the shadows, gaining power.
Now it stretches out, its full strength shown,
To bring the free world to its final hour.*

*Now at last there comes an end of waiting.
The horns are sounding loud across the land.
Breaking through the clouds, one bright ray shining
To light the city's final glorious stand.*

*Within all hearts, a song that has no ending -
Beyond this moment no-one can foresee.
Either light or dark will reign forever.
All will die, or all be now set free.*

By Lucy Bray

AFTER

*Silent and soft, the evening gently falls,
A cool wind bringing peace and grey half-light.
No watchmen now need guard the city walls.
No more need to fear the coming night.*

*After so long, so many bitter years
The peace and victory seem so unreal.
Forgotten birdsong once more meets all ears,
And soon the war-torn land will start to heal.*

*In a short time the victory bells will ring
And joy and laughter fall like golden rain,
Fear cast away, and all the land will sing
Rejoicing in its freedom found again.*

*Yet mingled with the joy, the grief and weeping -
For every victory a price is paid:
Tears for those who lie forever sleeping
Beneath the land they gave up life to save.*

*Nor can all the living share the laughter.
Not for all eyes is the future bright.
Some hearts will be scarred for all time after,
Dark memories return to cloud the light.*

*As the new age dawns, the world must change,
And some fair things must be forever lost.
For others' healing some must pay with pain,
Sacrificing all they treasured most.*

*The future dawns, and some must journey far
Beyond the sea to seek the healing lands.
Those who stay take up the precious flame
To burn forever in new keepers' hands.*

Dressed to Kill

*Mrs. Daisy Fallohide-Mugwort,
Gribley Hole
Nr. STOCK
The Shire
Pictures don't bend (please)*

Transcribed, translated and collated by
Hibemia the Balrog Bureau Services

Photography - Journalism - Stable-cleaning

10 October 3018

Dear Mum,

Here is our latest reel. We edited bits together, and a friend of Mr. G's (he's the one that gave us that lift that time) did the voice-over. He added some stuff that isn't in the pictures. Then some friends of his got at it and started writing bits to put at the end. They call them 'credits', but I don't think they are, really. Rhodri from the stables did the drawing when she was supposed to be working. She says not to let G or A see it or she'll be in real trouble. Sorry the camera is a bit wobbly. Mr. Elrond says the climate isn't too good outside the valley at the moment, so we might stay for bit. Blanco sends his greetings and asks you to give Aunty Pearl his love, he'll write next time.

*Your loving son
Marcho*



In his former existence he indulged his love of the goldsmith's art. Not that he practiced it; he had a different job. But under his eye, artists of the City slowly fashioned - grew, rather than made, as it always seemed to him - his weapons and armour, cutlery and plate, jewels and adornments, gifts for his kinsmen, household and friends, even his curtains.

But now he was a guest, and good guests travel light. He had lived in this quarter of the map for longer than all his years in the City, but he had not put down the same roots. Time had passed; still something of the camp mentality remained here and, as for him, he was just a guest, a guest under the sun and moon, never mind in the House. With the exception of a handful of kids, everyone here had been turfed out of their homes at least once, and nearly everyone was an orphan, one way or another.

But the oldest habits die hardest. He pulls his long yellow hair back over his shoulders, and hies him off to the tack room.

On its wooden tree among a lot of other fancy stuff is Asfaloth's working harness. The saddle is standard cavalry design, but heavens forbid it should be only pragmatic. You wouldn't see it from the door, but the sand-coloured leather is stamped with quite unnecessary gold, in curls, like markings on a hide. Down along the edges of the pommel and cantle are gold threads, sewn and beaten into vines. The margins of the red woollen saddle-pad are worked in trailing patterns of flowers. He looks at it when he saddles up, and runs his fingers along the bright tracks. It pleases him, it satisfied its maker, the eye that rests on it is entranced. Asfaloth finds it comfortable. It is good work, and behaves as good work should.

Still it is plain enough, for a saddle. In the bridle, he has let his imagination run riot. Bridles, you don't have to sit on. Some - those who don't remember his curtains - might talk about lapses of taste¹, but there once had been time to work a thousand flowers into a square foot of leather, and one collects the habit of intricacy. With the help and irreproachable hand and eye of Malvegil the Stoneworker, Asfaloth's headstall was made into a studded mosaic of tiny flowers, petals, twining stems and leaves in green, pink, yellow and white. The handstitching was gold thread, the detachable lining cerise silk on rawhide, and there were bells on it.

Further, the crown piece could - when required - carry a heraldic plume. A steel chassis lies between the leather and the lining, over the crown and all around the cavasson. The gilded cheek-pieces are of tempered steel. This gaudy thing is a cavalry hackamore, and the nose inside it must follow the rider's hand without word or thought, when minds are occupied with other things.

All is present and correct, and now he goes to find his horse and pass an hour with him. He is expected. Asfaloth is waiting on the lawn with Elrond's palfrey, Morgil; one white, one black.

In the City, his charger and the chargers of his household had been gold. The chargers of the household of Ecthelion were white, the King's chargers were pale grey and the favourite chargers of Rog were black. These were scarce. A

stallion and a mare came with Rog from Aman², so much he loved them. His rage, when the ships of Feanor carried them away, was towering; his joy when they were restored to him, extreme. Dark horses were always rarer than pale ones, gold than grey, and black the most elusive of all.

Or pink. The last horse he bought in the City was a roan. So much for house style. He was a friend of Morgil's, they would go out together as a foursome. Poor Rhodonite, eaten now.

Not one horse had escaped the fall. We closed up the gates, he thought, and Idril's tunnel was too straitened, the retreat too desperate. Only the black one had got out, who has seen three ages in the West of the world, with their many defeats and many fruitless victories: born in Gondolin, Elrond's palfrey, Gil's road-companion. Of all of them there is now only Morgil, who up and went long before, escaping against all the odds and all the regulations, coming, all unknowing, a last survivor to Brithombar³.

Then Idril had married Tuor, and Earendil came; and he took the high road, leaving Elrond, as it were, to Gil-galad, who eventually left Elrond the horse.

And here we all are, he thinks, on a ranch in a rift-valley. No stranger than a castle in a caldera. He takes the stiff brush and begins to push steadily with the grain of the white one's hair. Grooming was no more his job than goldsmithing, but Asfaloth likes it. Asfaloth has a black bridle, as well. Years ago, in the

The Credits

1. Talking of lapses of taste - bells on a light charger on open-country detail? Plumes? A great soul, but likes not cats, and thinks elves and hobbits need pointy ears, may have an occasional failing of judgement.

However, to the point: plumes can be made from peacock feathers, or ostrich, or cockerel; these are tropical birds, but they could have come from Aman, or more recently from little men with Concessions in the South. Alternatively the plume can be personalised with horse- or elf-hair. The effect is eye-catching - rather like Mandi the Smith in her early prime.

The purpose of this decoration is not certain, but it may be that young horses enjoyed nightclubbing, and did not object to attracting the attention of a celebrity patron. Glorfindel's first meeting with Asfaloth was not actually reported in the Lindon Anor⁴ but late-night rave-ups (even ours) are averagely less noisy, less dangerous, less likely to separate you from your purse - and normally attract a more sedate type of client - than most horse-fairs.

2. We already had cavalry in the First Age (cf. QS: Of The Fifth Battle) but after the early years most of our armies seem to have fought on foot. Gondolin in its last defence is particularly noted for this, although there were chargers in the City. Why? This policy must not be ascribed to unsophisticated horselfship. Maybe the closely-guarded hidden kingdoms did not have the grassland for many horses, or the wish to risk them among the orcish hordes. Horses' legs are very vulnerable in a packed melee of foot-fighters. Further, there were in those days high concentration of balrogs and dragons. Howsoever brave a steed may be (stop reading over my shoulder, animal), its overwhelming instinct, when presented with a bulk order of things it has no means to outface, is to get off the board as fast as possible. Which can (present company excepted, but this is a matter of record) make things difficult for the rider.

dark and a long way from home they had been cut off - he reckoned - by a hunting party from the mountains. Taking ash from the fire and oil of Thrigroot, he had quickly mixed a paste to disguise them. The horse could go like a ghost in the dark, but the moon that night had been high and bright, and they were nervous. They slipped away without a fight, as it happened, but it had taken two grooms a day to get the black patches out of Asfaloth's coat, and Malvegil, returning the bridle cleaned and reassembled a week later, had suggested with pursed lips that he should have one made up in jet. It had the same motifs. He preferred the sparkly one, but the work had kept Malvegil quiet for weeks.

Personal preferences go hang in the end; a saddle and a bridle are only engines of war. The bond between elf and horse breaks hard, but an axe in the midriff works wonders. The recoil of his lance makes the rider grateful for something to grip over and under the thigh, a cantle behind him, the extra security of stirrups. Reins on neck and noseband speak faster and more surely than a voice in the din. Lives depend on it. It is no coincidence that the bridle hand is the left hand, the hand that holds the shield.

So Morgil knows that game's afoot, because Asfaloth is getting dressed and, more than that, he is standing still. An ordinary day would

present a different scene. It is Asfaloth's job - on an ordinary day - to make getting on board difficult for master, short of actually killing him. With no pommel and no rein to get hold of, master must feint and jump and convince the horse that he is going this way when he is going that. Day by day, Asfaloth walks backwards with his head held high. If master gets ahold of his tail, master will be up, and stay there. Fingertips rest on Asfaloth's withers, but master will get no closer. Asfaloth's shoes strike sparks from the yardstones. Hoof is harder than head, and master will run under his belly. It makes people nervous, but master likes his workout. Visitors hear the racket from the front of the house and are told "'Tis Glorfindel and the Balrog.'" They laugh uneasily. But this one, master wins, usually.

So, he thinks, I am nearly ready. He pulls on his hip-high waterproof boots, dumps a handful of uncut beryl into a pocket, and takes provisions, miruvor, a fresh tinder box. In his saddle-roll he ties two or three torch-faggots. He buckles on his sword and throws a cloak over all. This time - when it comes - he must see and be seen, but not too soon. So he goes alone, he and the others like him, with no household or battalions; this time, we have a cast of two, or three, or nine. There is no City to fall, but only a whole world, if they get it wrong, this time.



The Credits (cont.)

3. Morgil was - sorry - is an offspring of Rog's originals. Too small to be Gil-galad's war charger⁵, he remained in the King's nominal ownership, and passed ultimately, along with some other personal effects⁶, to Elrond Halfelven. Morgil (Stop pushing. And get off my foot.) could have borne the High King in armour, but Gil-galad would then have appeared a full two heads shorter than most of his Captains, and positively needed a megaphone to converse with Elendil the Tall.

4. Not entirely true. A few lines at the bottom of Niggle Dumpstar's column hinted that one of the King's Captains had been seen around town with a black eye, and that large sums would be available for further information. We think Rhodri from the stables is negotiating.

5. Seers however state that King Robert Bruce of somewhere called Scotland found this arrangement an advantage. See the library: Future History, 4th Age 1066 AD, Sellar/Yeatman.

6. Additionally one crown, well worn; one ring; one lance, crumpled; one pair boots, slightly smoking; his address book; and Lindon Palace Library. Not much else. The crown was made for the King, and had acquired considerable antique value, but we think Elrond put it in the attic. He wouldn't talk about the boots at all. (Morgil. Come back. I told you ...

Hi THERE,
TALL BOY

Celebrity Bar

INERUWE
ALL OTHERS

Cocktails

- Betermond
- Sling
- Bloody
- Barntail
- Blade
- Balrog
- At! Ai!
- Long slow
- poetry
- recital
- up against
- the wall
- Maigret's
- Snake
- Brand
- Kingston

SITUATIONS
VACANT
HORSE
LUNATIC
HORSE E.P.

1042

DRESSED TO KILL
- ASFALOTH IN LINDON -

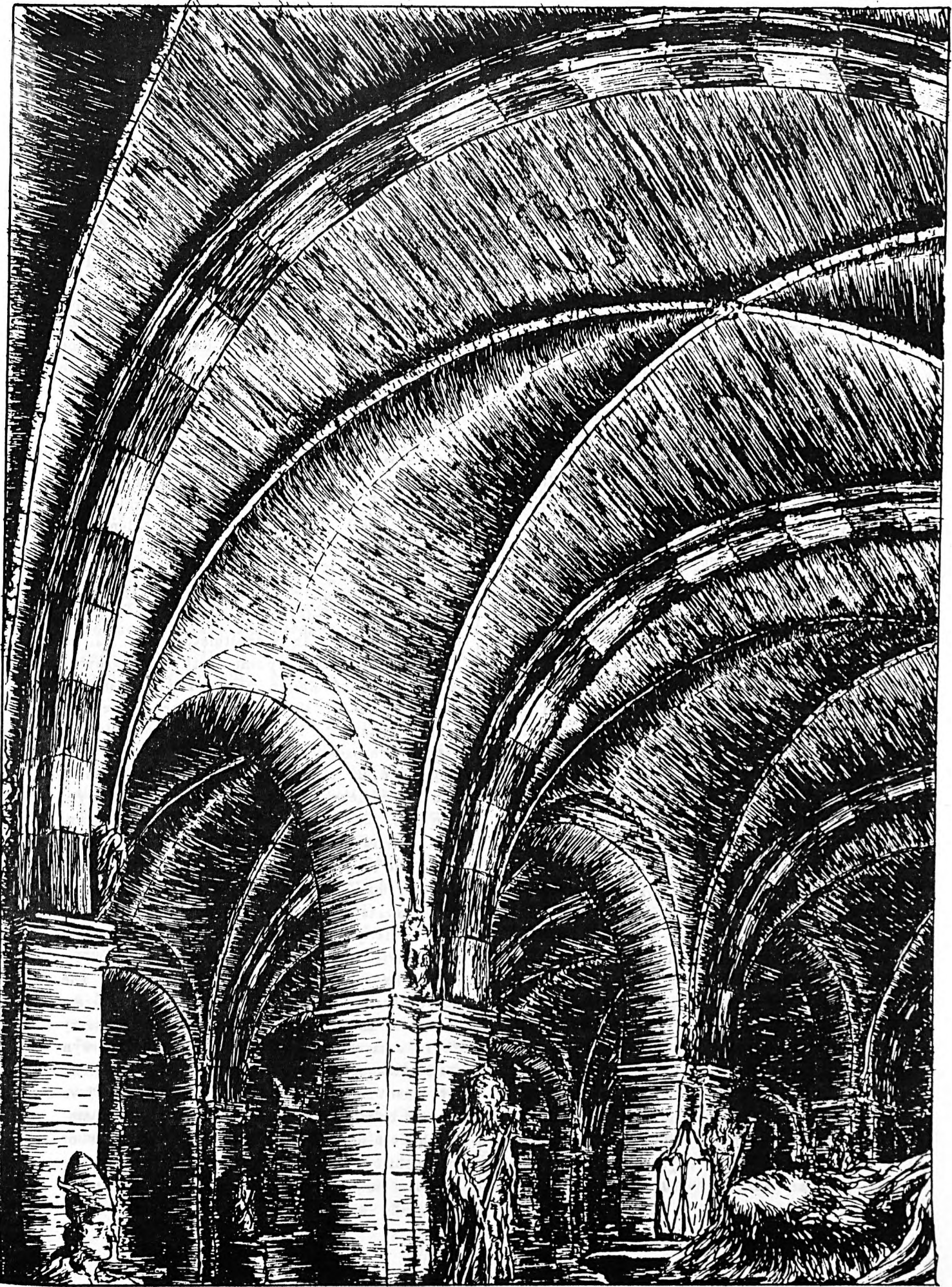
You don't have
to be mad to
be mad for mad,
but it helps

Hobson 1991, 1992



Green





PIPPIN IN THE HOUSE OF THE STEWARDS ,

THE RETURN OF THE KING V-IV



Tolkien and Beethoven

by John A. Ellison

"Even as they reached the Cross-Roads, and took the path to the ghastly city of Minas Morgul, a great darkness issued from Mordor, covering all the lands." So runs the prefatory synopsis before *The Return of the King*. The onset of the Great Darkness, as first perceived by Frodo and Samwise as they reach and then leave the Cross-Roads, clearly has symbolic as well as descriptive and dramatic significance. It reaches Minas Tirith, and Gandalf's immediate reaction to it seems like a momentary expression on his part of absolute despair. "There will be no dawn." The power of evil seems to have got beyond control, and the despair that momentarily touches Gandalf then engulfs Denethor. But the cock crows, as in a later age of the world it will do for St. Peter, and the dawn arrives. In saluting the destruction of the evil power, and the commencement of a Fourth Age, on the Field of Cormallen, "a great Shadow has departed". Gandalf evokes the imagery of darkness dispelled by light, in the same way as Mozart's Sarastro evokes it to salute the "Age of Enlightenment", the passing of the *ancien régime* and the dawn of romanticism, as the evil power of the Queen of Night and her servants is destroyed at the end of *The Magic Flute*. There is no more typical instance of "eucatastrophe", as Tolkien calls it, than this, unless it be the opening of the last movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, which has been interpreted often enough as a symbol of the dawn of the "Age of Enlightenment", of which it is one manifestation. Every music-lover knows the passage: how the first section of the third movement returns at the end of it damped down into a spectral parody of itself, to be followed by "the great darkness" spreading itself like a pall in the strings while the kettle-drum

pulsates softly in the distance. Then from afar the key brightens to C major and a sudden crescendo precipitates the listener into the blaze of sound with which the triumphant finale opens.

Everyone who knows Beethoven's fifth symphony also knows how the same passage comes back in a different form in the middle of the last movement, to be swept aside again by the great crescendo and the triumphant opening music of the finale. This time the feeling evoked is a memory of past terror, not its actuality; one cannot experience the same dramatic crisis twice in the same way. Strange to say, Tolkien, in recapitulating the fall of Barad-dûr in counterpoint with the growing comradeship of Éowyn and Faramir, watching on the walls of Minas Tirith, does something very similar. "Another vast mountain of darkness arose, towering up like a wave that should engulf the world [...] 'Then you think that Darkness is coming?' said Éowyn. 'Darkness Unescapable?' But a few lines later, "the Shadow departed and the sun was unveiled and light leapt forth, and in all the houses of the City men sang for the joy that welled up in their hearts from what source they could not tell." This passage represents one of Tolkien's most original formal devices. The reader cannot experience the emotions aroused by the fall of Barad-dûr and the passing of "the great darkness" in the same way twice. The memory of it comes back while Faramir and Éowyn themselves confront it directly. Thereby their subsequent rapprochement and falling in love become believable. Because we have seen them, as they think, together facing the prospect of imminent death, there is no sense of the author's having resorted to an external device

as a means of tying up an inconvenient loose end in the plot.

These two pairs of instances of Tolkien's writing and Beethoven's music, seen as analogues, illustrate a community of interest they share as artists. They adopt certain well-defined moral and ethical points of view, and in so doing they appeal to and arouse straightforward emotions of a very similar kind. They are both working, one could say, towards the same ends. This is not to imply that one can, or ought to try to, set up some kind of direct comparison between them as artists. Beethoven is acknowledged as one of the supreme masters in the history of the arts, because for upwards of a century and a half educated people everywhere have concurred in regarding him as such. On these terms, it is too early, historically speaking, to try to predict what Tolkien's eventual status may turn out to be. On the other hand, it is possible to cite instances which lead one to suppose that his status will become established as significant and important, one day. The recapitulation of 'the great darkness' as a means of making real the love of Éowyn and Faramir surely is such an instance, a "stroke of genius", and one of a decidedly Beethovenian cast.

Tolkien, both in his letters and in his imaginative writings, frequently makes his own love of music evident. There is no need for any attempt to establish or identify any sort of direct "influence", but it may all the same be instructive to look for the kind of musical experience he may have had - indeed, in one direction, must have had. Experience, that is, apart from the music of his Church, in particular, Gregorian plainchant, which he seems to have regarded as a real-life equivalent of "Elvish song". This would represent, rather, a "foreign" or "exotic" element in the musical world of Middle-earth, in the same sense as "foreign", or "exotic" idioms of which composers of the classical and romantic periods have frequently made use in order to define particular atmospheres; the ancient "liturgical" chants that frequently appear in Russian opera, for example. The significant fact is the extent to which, before and between the two world wars, and even after the second one, Beethoven's

music dominated the musical scene in England and the experience of the musical layman. This is difficult to recall today. It is equally difficult nowadays, just after Mozart's centenary year, to recall a time when his music was still regarded as "Dresden china stuff", pretty but superficial, unworthy in comparison with the high seriousness and sublimity of the three giants, Bach, Beethoven and Brahms (the latter's first symphony was sometimes spoken of as "Beethoven's tenth"). The reverence accorded to J.S.Bach was of a different, quasi-religious kind, attendance at Passions or oratorios ranking as a sort of secular substitute for attendance at church. Haydn was treated more as an advance-guard for Beethoven than as a great master in his own right; Schubert's music was often hopelessly misunderstood, and in any case, few of the general musical public were acquainted with more than a handful of his works.

How might Tolkien have related to all this, and how far could Beethoven's music have formed part of his experience? In one field - the piano sonatas - it must have done. Edith Tolkien, so Humphrey Carpenter tells us¹, was, prior to her marriage, at one time set for a career as a piano teacher, and possibly as a soloist. If she was able even to contemplate the latter option, she must have been an unusually gifted player, something far more than an enthusiastic and talented amateur. Carpenter goes on to say that though in consequence of her marriage she had to give up any thought of a professional career in music, "she continued to play regularly until old age, and her music delighted Ronald."² The mainstays of the pianist's repertoire then were, firstly, the waltzes, nocturnes and ballades, etc., of Chopin, and secondly, the sonatas of Beethoven. It is interesting to note that these two composers are mentioned in Tolkien's published letters, together with - by implication, not by name - Verdi (so also are Elgar and Walton, but not a propos of their music). It is also difficult to believe that Tolkien, as an avowed music-lover, was unfamiliar with at least some of the standard orchestral works of Beethoven, such as the *Eroica* and *Pastoral* symphonies, or the fifth or the seventh. Obviously he was not a consistent

listener and concertgoer as C.S. Lewis was; we know quite a lot about Lewis's musical interests from the diaries kept by his brother Warren Lewis.³ There were probably at this time more opportunities available in Oxford for hearing music of various kinds performed than in any other place in Britain with the exception of London, particularly after the Oxford Subscription Concerts were re-established in the 1920s through the generosity of Sir Thomas Beecham. Most twentieth-century music, however (other than that of British composers led by Elgar and Vaughan Williams) remained very much off-limits as far as the British musical public was concerned. It seemed to be difficult, discordant and cacophonous.

It may possibly be that the *Ainulindalë* reflects something of this whole background. Probably such composers as Bartók or Stravinsky (assuming that he ever encountered them) would have appeared to Tolkien like real-life counterparts of Melkor, sowers of discord and tumult in the midst of the Music of the Ainur. The whole concept of "the themes of music" propounded by Iluvatar and then developed by the Ainur, hints at an intelligent layman's understanding of musical form, presumably derived from commentaries or analytical programme notes. The best known of such sources was (and in many ways still is) represented by the essays of Donald Tovey. These started life individually as concert programme notes, mostly dealing with standard orchestral or choral works; eventually these were collected and published as a whole.⁴ In that form they have become enormously influential and widely quoted; Tovey's brilliance as an expositor and the wit and clarity of his style have resulted in their being widely read by laymen as well as musicians (it was Tovey, incidentally, who applied the phrase "the great darkness" to the passage at the end of the third movement of Beethoven's fifth symphony). Edith Tolkien would no doubt have been familiar with Tovey's analyses of Beethoven's piano sonatas, but we cannot, of course, know if Tolkien himself ever dipped into any of his writings. There are one or two turns of phrase in the published letters, which nevertheless lead one to suspect that this could have been the case. Had he ever wanted to read any kind of

commentary on music which he heard or expected to hear, they would have provided exactly what he required.

There was one twentieth-century composer whose music proved an exception, as far as the "isolationist" state of the British musical public was concerned. This was Sibelius, a composer Tolkien is known to have admired, although how much of his music he actually heard is not clear. Sibelius of course is the outstanding representative in music of that "Northern-ness" which is so much a part of Tolkien's artistic make-up. His particular significance in the present context is that English writers on music at the time tended to see him as a lineal descendant of Beethoven, the only one of their contemporaries deserving of such an accolade. Bernard Shaw indeed described him as "carrying on Beethoven's business". The two most popular symphonies of Sibelius, the second and the fifth, the only ones frequently played at that time, are the very two that clearly display the same progression from conflict and doubt to triumph, from darkness to light, as Beethoven - especially in his fifth symphony - evokes, and as Tolkien evokes in *The Lord of the Rings*.

The progression "from darkness to light", as the outcome of a conflict between the power of good and the power of evil, provides Tolkien's history and mythology with a moral foundation, and *The Lord of the Rings* with a dramatic focus. It also provides an underlying background for the whole "classical" period in music (that is to say, music of the age of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven) and affects a very large proportion of the music written subsequently up to the middle of the twentieth century (the proportion of "classical" and "romantic" works which end in doubt, tragedy or defeat, as for instance Brahms's fourth symphony does, is relatively small). This is because it is "built into" all tonal music, that is to say music written in keys related to each other in a specific order, in effect comprising nearly all the music written between the late seventeenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Major keys and simple harmony equate with positive values, with "good"; minor keys with sadness or tragedy; dissonance with the forces of evil: the

most dissonant interval in tonal music, the augmented fourth, was called *diabolus in musica* in the Middle Ages. Wagner widened the range of dissonance that could be accepted within the boundaries of tonal music, and in doing so greatly increased music's scope for expressing evil specifically. Tolkien in the *Ainulindale* is, in effect, presenting all this in the guise of a parable. When Ilúvatar speaks of the "secret thoughts of [Melkor's] mind" as "but a part of the whole and tributary to its glory", the parable may be said to take on a Wagnerian dimension.

The theological implications of Tolkien's imagery of light amidst darkness have been instructively explored by Verlyn Flieger in *Splintered Light*, relating the mythology, particularly as presented in *The Silmarillion*, to Tolkien's religious faith. In this connection it is worth bearing in mind that Beethoven's faith in a personal God, unconventional though it may have been in a doctrinal sense, is as essential to an understanding of his music as Tolkien's is to his mythology. The characteristic response of the artist of the period of "the Age of Enlightenment", of Haydn in *The Creation* and of Beethoven in the Mass in D, the *Missa Solemnis*, to the requirement of presenting the essential articles of their faith, is to do so in the most dramatic terms possible. Beethoven's statement of what to Tolkien is the ultimate "eucatastrophe", the *Et resurrexit* of the Mass in D, is one sentence only, a single shaft of blinding light into the darkness; by contrast, its equivalent in Bach's B minor Mass is a large fully developed formal movement.

The defeat and destruction of the power of evil may be expressed at one level in abstract terms and at another in theological ones. In *The Lord of the Rings* it comes about, not exclusively through the operation of divine providence, but as a result of divine providence working through and interacting with the human attributes of faith, courage and endurance that are called "heroic". These attributes belong, of course, not just to the likely "heroes", such as Aragorn and Éomer, but to the unlikely ones, Frodo and Samwise, Éowyn, Merry and Pippin. They also provide the subject-matter of Beethoven's one opera, *Fidelio*; as this work is

a drama concerned with a particular story, it defines the identity of Tolkien's and Beethoven's aims in much more detail. I do not know whether Tolkien knew the opera or ever saw it, but on internal evidence alone one would be at least as justified in deducing some kind of influence or link as one would be in regard to most of the works, literary or other, which have at one time or another been put forward as possible influences on his works. At this point I will outline its plot briefly:

Florestan, the "hero" of the opera, has been illegally imprisoned for political reasons. The person responsible is his political opponent Don Pizarro, the governor of the prison in which the action is set. Florestan is kept in solitary confinement and semi-starvation, below and away from the cells in which the other prisoners are housed. Leonora, Florestan's wife, in order to obtain access to the cell in which she believes her husband to be held, disguises herself in men's clothing and enters the service of the prison in the character of an assistant to Rocco, the head gaoler. A message is brought to Don Pizarro that a Minister will shortly arrive on a visit of inspection on behalf of the state authorities. This will result in the illegal action's being exposed. He has not so far nerved himself to attempt Florestan's murder, but now plans to carry it out before the Minister's arrival. He gives orders for a trumpeter posted on the tower gateway to signal the Minister's approach as soon as this is seen. Rocco is ordered to dig a grave under Florestan's cell.

The second of the opera's two acts shows us Florestan alone in his cell, the entry of Rocco and Leonora, who commence to dig the grave, and then the appearance of Don Pizarro, intent on murder. In the quartet which provides the opera with its dramatic climax, Don Pizarro advances on Florestan, dagger in hand, is checked by Leonora, who darts forward to confront him, points a pistol at his head and throws off her disguise, exclaiming, "Tod' erst sein Weib!" ("Kill his wife first!"). Before Don Pizarro has time to recover from his amazement, the trumpet fanfare sounds offstage, signalling the Minister's arrival. Don Pizarro's scheme collapses and he is ushered out. In the



final scene of the opera, set in the prison courtyard (it should be brilliantly lit in contrast to the scene before it), the Minister enters, proclaims universal justice and brotherhood, and recognises an old friend in Florestan. Don Pizarro is removed to await such punishment as may be thought suitable, and everyone else on stage, the other principals, the released prisoners and the local populace, join in "praising with great praise" the courage and heroism of Leonora as the saviour of her husband's life.

One or two features of this tale are easily recognisable as being reminiscent of scenes or episodes in *The Lord of the Rings*. Likewise the relationship of the hero and heroine may perhaps be thought to mirror that of Beren and Lúthien, notably as regards the episode of the rescue of Beren from Tol-in-Gaurhoth. In general terms it is, to start with, clear that the tale is almost intentionally non-realistic

(incidentally, the opera as it is now known and performed is a re-working of an initial version called *Leonora*, in which a number of "realistic" features were eliminated). The precise timing of the Minister's arrival, at the point at which the crisis of the action takes place, is of course an outrageous coincidence; so is the timing of the moment of the Ring's destruction to happen after the battle of the Morannon has begun, but before it has had time to do any serious damage to the Gondorian-Rohan force. The details of Florestan's "political" offence are left in obscurity, as are the nature and constitution of the apparently benevolent state of which the Minister is the visible representative. The story is a means of symbolising positive and negative human attributes; good and evil are starkly opposed, much more simplistically than in *The Lord of the Rings*. Florestan and Leonora are unrelievedly "good", and Don Pizarro is unrelievedly "evil", and it is not their business to be anything else.

The completeness with which Tolkien, through Éowyn's disguise as "Dernhelm", takes over the well-known operatic convention of "the woman dressed in man's clothing", is particularly striking. No doubt it is the product of common ancestry; Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* is almost a handbook of operatic conventions before they became established as such. I am not simply referring to the incident at which Éowyn, like Leonora, throws off her disguise and reveals her femininity at a crucial point of confrontation. The crisis that occurs at this point in the story embraces the confrontation of Gandalf with the Nazgûl-Lord, during which the latter's threats are uttered in very much the same sort of language as Don Pizarro employs while advancing upon Florestan. It occurs, as does the crisis of *Fidelio*, at the finish of a race against time. The horns of Rohan strike in at cock-crow with the same kind of timing, and the same kind of emotional effect, as does the trumpet-blast from behind the scenes, cutting through the tumult in Florestan's cell which results from the revelation of Leonora's identity. The race against time has been in progress, in *The Lord of the Rings*, from the moment of the arrival of the messenger of Gondor before Théoden at

Dunharrow, and in the opera, from the point, midway through the first act, at which Don Pizarro received the dispatch warning of the Minister's impending arrival.

Both the opera and *The Lord of the Rings*, in the way they each employ the imagery of darkness in opposition to light, intensify it as crisis draws near. In the latter, this is particularly evident in the section which describes the passage of Frodo and Samwise through Shelob's tunnels, where the palpable nature of the darkness, more intense than anything the hobbits have yet experienced, is vividly evoked. Its equivalent in the opera is the orchestral introduction to the second act which "paints" the shifting darkness in Florestan's cell, on which the curtain rises. The opening words of Florestan's solo "Gott! Welch Dunkel hier! ..." ("God! What darkness here! ...") accurately reflect the emotions of horror and loneliness experienced by the hobbits in their desperate extremity. In the final section of the aria which follows, he imagines himself to be seeing a vision of Leonora as a hope and inspiration bringing light amid the darkness, as Frodo lifts the phial of Galadriel and beats off Shelob and the demons of doubt and despair which she symbolises.

The ordeal which Frodo and Samwise undergo, after the breaking of the Fellowship, is a particularly private one, and seems to become even more so after they have parted company with Gollum, complex and ambiguous as their relationship may have been. The ceremonial scenes on the Field of Cormallen and the crowning of King Elessar throw this, by contrast, into relief, particularly when, in the first of them, much to their confusion and embarrassment, the hobbits are publicly honoured. These scenes are like set pieces which provide the action of *The Lord of the Rings* proper with a ceremonial finale; the rest of the book fulfils, in a structural sense, the function of an epilogue⁵. Their purpose is to give the eucatastrophe, the defeat and destruction of Sauron's power, time and space in which to realise its proper emotional impact; likewise the opera ends with an oratorio-like final scene, in which the chorus hymns Leonora's courage and endurance, supplying an

exact counterpart of the host's "Praise them with great praise!" as the hobbits are led before them. Not everyone has been able to take these scenes in the spirit in which they were originally intended. An early German commentator on Tolkien⁶ complained that the tone of the second of these scenes was over-optimistic, being full of what he was pleased to call "party rally bombast". Present day producers of the opera likewise seem unable to resist the temptation to meddle with the finale in an effort to cast doubt and depression over its mood of triumphant optimism. This parallelism of the two finales, of the opera and of *The Lord of the Rings*, is nevertheless highly significant as regards the latter. It brings to the fore one of its major themes, one that so far does not seem to have received much attention from writers and commentators on Tolkien's work generally. This is the theme of human freedom, which is to be developed in his "structural epilogue".

It has long been commonplace for scholars and writers dealing with Beethoven's life and music, to regard the theme of human freedom, and his known sympathy with the "revolutionary" ideals of his time, as being of cardinal importance. There is the well-known story (though doubts have been recently expressed as to its authenticity) of how Beethoven tore up the title-page of the *Eroica* symphony, with its dedication to Napoleon, after hearing that Napoleon had had himself proclaimed Emperor. The association has remained ever since. During the Second World War the fifth symphony was seen throughout occupied Europe as symbolising the world-wide hope for the eventual defeat and destruction of Nazism. Much more recently the destruction of the Berlin Wall was celebrated by a special performance of the ninth symphony by players drawn from the orchestras of the former East and West German states.

"As for me, I pity even his slaves." The immediate outcome of Sauron's passing and the destruction of Barad-dûr is that far and wide the human slaves of Mordor are released from their servitude. The theme had already surfaced in *The Silmarillion*, with the destruction of Sauron's power in Tol-in-Gaurhoth: "Then

Lúthien stood upon the bridge, and declared her power; and the spell was loosed that bound stone to stone, and the gates were thrown down, and the walls opened, and the pits laid bare; and many thralls and captives came forth in wonder and and dismay, shielding their eyes against the pale moonlight, for they had lain long in the darkness of Sauron." In the last chapters of *The Lord of the Rings* the universal nature of the theme of freedom is demonstrated by the way in which it is related to local events and happenings on a small scale. The corruption and enslavement of the Shire is one local result, seen in close-up, of the world-wide threat which the Ruling Ring had represented. The Scouring of the Shire results, among everything else, in the release of the prisoners confined in the Lockholes, who come stumbling out of their dark and gloomy cells into the sunlight, just as does the chorus of prisoners in one very famous passage in *Fidelio*, in which they are released temporarily from their cells, and the music describes their shuffling forward gradually into the sunlight. The opera relates the local and humble to the universal, exactly as does *The Lord of the Rings*. The prison is a small local lock-up in a remote district; the first act opens on a scene of everyday domestic activity; Leonora's resolve to save the life of her husband, before she has identified him, becomes a resolve to save another's life "whoever you are". It is precisely this relation of the local and particular to the universal, shared by *Fidelio* and *The Lord of the Rings*, that renders the theme of freedom, common to both, so powerful. It is an especially contemporary theme, with Tolkien as Beethoven, during a time which has so recently witnessed the spectacle of the vassal states of Eastern Europe achieving independence, and the collapse and disintegration of the monolith of power and tyranny within the former Soviet Union itself.

"O.K., Ilúvatar - my turn now."



Notes

1. Carpenter, H. *J.R.R. Tolkien: a biography* Allen and Unwin, 1977 p.158.
2. *Ibid.* p.153.
3. *Brothers and friends: the diaries of Major Warren Hamilton Lewis* ed. C. S. Kilby and M.L.Mead. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1982.
4. Tovey, D.F. *Essays in musical analysis* (6 vols.) Oxford University Press, 1935-9.
5. In a structural sense, i.e. not in the sense of an "epilogue" as Tolkien uses the term to describe the passage following the end of the work (but originally left unpublished) in which Sam is shown, years afterwards, in his family circle.



The Secret War and the End of the First Age

ТАЙНАЯ ВОЙНА И КОНЕЦ ПЕРВОЙ ЭПОХЕ
by
**Maria
Kamenkovich**

Tolkien in the (former) USSR

The history of Tolkien translations into Russian, and the history of Tolkien's ways of seizing the minds of Russian readers, are really very engaging and could be made into a novel which could easily be written some day, sooner or later. In this article I am just trying to underline the main themes of this hypothetical novel.

Before 1982 there was no Tolkien in Russian except *The Hobbit* and *Leaf by Niggle* - shortened and changed so as to please the censor. That is why Tolkien was read only by rare lucky ones especially marked with destiny: you had to know some foreign language, if not English itself (for example, many people read it in Polish), and to have friends abroad to fetch the books. And there were few people who had foreign friends during the period of the Iron Curtain. But Tolkien's books got through all the same. To give an example: one of our main Tolkien sources in St. Petersburg (then Leningrad) was the poet and rock singer Boris Grebenshchikov, who had plenty of friends of the sort required. So friends of his friends made a queue to receive a well-worn copy of *The Lord of the Rings* for a one-night reading ... So let us describe the wild planet where Tolkien had landed, with many difficulties, and even some damage (for both sides as you shall see).

An educated man (or a man who had educated himself because he couldn't enter university for political or national reasons - e.g., Jews in the USSR had extreme difficulties in entering) and, what is more important, an honest and intelligent man, in our country for the most part belonged in those times to some sort of opposition (either organised or not) - at least he didn't approve of the Communists who ruled the country. The consequences of their rule were such that we found ourselves living in a real Mordor - only it was not Sauron who ruled it, but rather Saruman - less strong, more

shallow than Sauron. While reading Tolkien we felt ourselves hobbits who many years ago failed to overthrow Saruman and changed so that it would be almost impossible to recover. But Tolkien was definitely on our side and we were grateful.

Secondly, the hunger for 'fantasy' literature: it was exceedingly cruel. Even now some badly written second-rate book could become a memorable event in our lives. And our lives were dull as a rule, though we tried hard to help it. Books of fantasy were shining for us like mysterious jewels through a misty November night. That is why Tolkien proved to be even *a bit too much for us, just like the rich doll in the shop window for poor Cosette*. It was not just the message of the free world: it was *the Free World Itself*, as in one of the Russian fairy-tales, when you open a little box given you by a fairy - and find yourself in the middle of a great town which you do not know how to put back again. *We* didn't want to put it back though, but the authorities did ...

Thirdly, the lack of general culture and the lack of normal literature to read. The books we could get (with great difficulty!) formed a strange collection. There was the sophisticated poetry of the beginning of the 20th century - but there was no simple trust worthy book on the history of the same century. We didn't know, for example, about the Holocaust during the war. There was Dante, but there was no Bible. We could find a learned book on the history of Byzantium, but we couldn't buy even a little leaflet explaining the rules and traditions of our national church which derived from Byzantium ... and so on. So we learnt how to find out simple things by reading between the lines of more complicated ones. We didn't know what the real world is, what universal good and universal evil are. But naturally one wants to find out about it, so on

opening a book we always asked it to answer the basic questions. Add the characteristic feature of the Russian mentality, that is, to think about basic problems and discuss them at the most inappropriate times and places, and you will guess that prohibitions only doubled this unhappy ability (especially unhappy for the authors, who didn't mean to propose any answers for that sort of question!). As for religion, we were in an extremely strange situation, and it will be enough to say that Tolkien played for us the role of a Christian apostle! Please wait for an explanation and you will understand. We were completely ignorant in the field of religion, but our background was extremely rich. Russian religious culture is an enormous treasure-box, but we had had no access to it whatever. One could live all one's life through without having heard the name of Christ. Churches were ridiculously few. The Old Slavonic language of the church service was not easy to understand. So we had to find out about God in rather crooked ways. For example, we used Bulgakov's novel *The Master and Margarita*, which was published [at last! - ed.] in the 1960s, and which is about a visit of the Devil to the Communist Moscow of the twenties. The Devil retells the gospels from his point of view. One can imagine the result: *The Screwtape Letters* read by a person who had never heard about God! But *The Master and Margarita* is much more complicated than *The Screwtape Letters*, and not so straightforward. All the same, for twenty years it remained the main source of knowledge for the vast majority of the population. When the rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* reached us, it explained many mysteries! The turn of the Gospels came much later So we were accustomed to find out the truth through something only slightly related to it: through fiction, through symbols, through images. Those in opposition to the Communist regime were very different from each other. They resisted at different levels: religion, politics, culture, mode of life, but normally all mixed together. The direction you preferred mostly depended on the sort of books you managed to get. For example, Grebenshchikov mirrored this mixture in his songs, such as *Ivan Bodhisattva* (Russian folk motives plus Buddhism), *The Silver of My Lord* (Christianity), *The Victory Song of the Irish National Hero N.*

who Imprisoned Joseph Stalin (politics?)....

This was the milieu where Tolkien arrived and was welcomed. He was soon suspected of being a Christian - you remember that we could read between the lines. So when it was learnt that he *had* been a Christian, those who knew it from the first received support for using Tolkien for Christian purposes, and those who just liked Tolkien without knowing much about Christianity received a great shock. It is always a shock when you (being brought up in an atheistic society where even Christmas is not celebrated) learn that in our times you can still find serious people - not just illiterate old women - who do believe in God and go to church! The effect is still more powerful when this churchgoer is your favourite writer, guide and teacher, as Tolkien was for many. For all I know, the consequences were serious. As for me, I received my first *Lord of the Rings* from the hands of an Orthodox monk. By the way, we were surprised, in Britain, not to find Tolkien in Christian literature shops! Tolkien literally had become an apostle in his own special way, because many of his adepts converted under his influence. What is interesting is that Tolkien got in touch not with Catholics, and not with Protestants; he was forced to meet with the Orthodox. And they got on very well together. One can doubt if Tolkien ever visited an Orthodox church in Oxford, but now the hour had struck and the meeting took place. Ancient Orthodoxy helped us to understand Tolkien, and Tolkien helped us to understand Orthodoxy. Perhaps this subject deserves special investigation. For my part, I can suppose that the ancient Orthodox atmosphere, the spirit of freedom from modern times, the Orthodox writers' heritage (they seem to be engaged in deciding the same ethical problems as Tolkien for ages and ages) - all this did nothing but help us to feel Tolkien not alien to us at all. We were glad, for example, to find in Tolkien's writings the concept of nature sanctified by God's grace and man's loving labours (the gift of Galadriel to Sam) and spoiled by evil deeds and unholliness (the mountains near Shelob's lair). Orthodox rites lay great stress on the possibility of sanctifying everything on earth, and this is performed by man as he is a priest for nature.

This is not just an abstract concept of theologians - it is a part of everyday thinking; an Orthodox Christian is surrounded by holy things and spoiled things, blessed lands and cursed lands. He can see only too well that the land of Russia had been destroyed through the years of the godless regime, and he could visit the likeness of Ithilien - the Baltic states where the Soviets only arrived just before the Second World War; they positively preserved some of the blessedness of previous times. We could also go to some old fortress of a monastery which was full of life and beauty inside - just like Lórien; and when one left it, one immediately saw dreary, grey, empty land beyond. And this was not the only concept which seemed familiar to us. So even some of the strictest Orthodox fundamentalists fell in love with Tolkien, and sometimes one could observe funny things. For example, I saw a man who kept his Tolkien under his pillow, but didn't recognise C.S.Lewis, because Lewis seemed to be 'too Protestant' in his eyes! On the other hand, people who hadn't yet acquired the subtleties of Orthodox thinking, just because they never went to church, were drawn there ... by Tolkien. You see, many people do not like entering a church because they do not understand the Old Slavonic language of the church, sometimes they are even angry with it, and they do not understand what on earth is happening during the service. After reading Tolkien they passed to another level of understanding: they felt the meaning of beauty, they longed for the memory of the First Age, and they understood the importance of the White Tree and the importance of courteous speech and behaviour - in short, they took this package to their hearts and changed from modern barbarians to real citizens of Gondor. After that, they felt themselves at home in the Orthodox Church and could not help being converted!

But this strange affinity between a Catholic writer and his Orthodox readers was not decisive for these new converts. *The Lord of the Rings* proved to be a proof of the power and the conclusive force of Christian grace, which changes all things, even a fantasy novel or a fairy tale, but not from outside - from within, without even mentioning God. It has

shown us that Christianity is not just the sullen black robe of a monk, but creativity and freedom (which you can receive, as in my case, with the help of this very monk!). So we went very far in reading Tolkien. But we were few. And the change came only with the first translation of Tolkien into Russian.

The first translation of *The Lord of the Rings* appeared in 1982. These were also the years when the intellectual readers of Tolkien retreated a little, giving place to a younger generation. It was a time when Soviet hippies flourished (a bit late compared with the rest of the world, but it took time to penetrate the Iron Curtain) - mystics, philosophers and travellers from 15 to 25. They seldom if ever knew any languages, so they applauded the translation enthusiastically, though it was far from perfect: shortened, changed (partly through misunderstanding, partly deliberately), and what is more, only the first part (*The Fellowship of the Ring*) appeared. But the text itself was bright, readable, and contained some words and phrases lucky enough to suit slang. Some tricks of translation were approved of even by intellectuals; for example, 'precious' was translated as 'prelest', which is an Orthodox term meaning 'false longing, false joy, the state of the mind when enchanted', but the meaning 'treasure' is also preserved.

Hence the explosion! Tolkien became very popular. Hippies used to go on their ritual hitchhiking with *The Fellowship of the Ring* in their embroidered bags. The elite circles lost their privilege of interpretation. Tolkien went to Siberia, to the Far East, to the Ukraine ... but there was no continuation. The reason was simple.

Mordor, seemingly, had realised that a mistake had been made. All further publication was stopped. The true motives of this are not clear. One can with high probability suppose that the KGB had learned at last about the extreme popularity of Tolkien with the opposition (the opposition was for the most part humble and silent, but no matter - our Lugańsk had a volume with documents and photographs for almost every hippy). Or maybe one of the censors read Parts II and III

and was shocked by the impudent behaviour of Frodo and his friends towards Sharkey's regime, which was ours as well. Even the most stupid of our enemies could discern our realities through Tolkien's sarcastic description. But it was not an allegory. It was probably the same thing, that's all. Western readers must understand that for us Tolkien was never any kind of 'escape'. When hobbits laughed at the absurd 'distribution', we didn't laugh at all, because the same thing caused millions of deaths among the peasants in the USSR in the 1920s. When Aragorn held up the elf-stone at the parting with the hobbits, we felt desperate because we did not have any hope of winning our battle at home without him. But we had to do it. By the way, you probably know that we have our own king in exile who is the heir of the Tsar Nikolai Romanov killed during the Revolution. By some chance or irony this lawful king lives not far from the heir of J.R.R. Tolkien So we can be sure that the idea of any king returning could not please the Communist authorities. But let us put it otherwise, in the manner of a fairy-tale. Maybe the evil that ruled our Muppet Show of a government just recognised its deadly peril in that little book - the shadow of utter defeat (and it was right). Fearing the growth of the sense of inner freedom in the hearts of the slaves of Mordor, it gave orders to double the watch at the Morannon. And *The Lord of the Rings* stopped being a book and became a living hero - a part of the Great Creation, and used by it. The myth implanted itself in reality. That is why the movie *The Neverending Story* was a great success with Tolkienists in the USSR.

To read the continuation, deprived readers were even willing to go to Shelob's lair. But professionals officially engaged did not want to translate that huge novel without any guarantee of money. So the task passed into the hands of enthusiasts - more or less skilled. They used their old typewriters, and other people made more copies, and you could buy one at the black market of books. These translations seldom were of high quality. You must remember that additional materials were not available, so it was hard even for some great underground translator to make an adequate text. Also there appeared sometimes a

lack of respect towards the text itself. Translations were shortened, rearranged, etc. I do not mention the names of Tolkien's heroes, because the translation of them is a very subtle matter. But worst of all was the changing of key places: the places which reveal Tolkien's philosophy, links with *The Silmarillion*, etc. So the Evil penetrated the ranks of the defenders. But it proved difficult to spoil Tolkien: miraculously, he was always stronger than the corruption.



From the cover of the 1989 Raduga edition ... what's the Quenya for "Godfather"? [- Ed.]

But probably the worst attack of all was the attack of the occult adepts. They knew nothing of Tolkien's biography and equally nothing about his views. So they felt themselves free to declare him a Freemason, a disciple of Hindu teachers, and so on. These people represent a type of thinking which has existed in Russia for ages and ages: people who cannot take literature as literature and always seek a literal truth in its images. These interpreters compare Tolkien with a contemporary who lived in Russia: Danil Andreyev, a mystic who can be compared with Swedenborg.¹ The writings of Andreyev bear some surface resemblance to Tolkien's *Silmarillion*: a great pantheon of evil and angelic powers, their interrelations, etc. But in fact Andreyev is rather the opposite of Tolkien. He writes poems and novels only to give a readable form to real visions and revelations given to him. He also foretells that his mythology will be taught in schools as the only adequate one. He explains all that is happening on earth (remember Tolkien's dislike of seeing an allegory of real events in his books). Tolkien insists that his books belong to Secondary Creation; Andreyev tries to interpret the Primary one. Tolkien does not pretend to create a new religion in his *Silmarillion*, just a new mythology; Andreyev tries to. 'Andreyevists' try to find parallels between these two writers, declaring Tolkien to be a second Andreyev, only a less conscious one: he did not discern the real nature of his inspiration. The Holy Grail is woven into their scheme, and Shambhala of the Hindus, and so on. Of course they pray to the Valar and try to speak with elves telepathically. Without judging this particular opinion, I must add that it is becoming more and more fashionable according to the situation in the country as a whole.²

Let us continue our story. We stopped at the point of underground translations. Thanks to the prohibitions, the name of Tolkien became a legend. Then *perestroika* fell from above, and in three or four years we had a number of free publishers who wanted to publish Tolkien and only Tolkien. To publish a legendary author is a profitable affair indeed! It seems that at the end we shall have nearly ten different translations published, but the hope that at

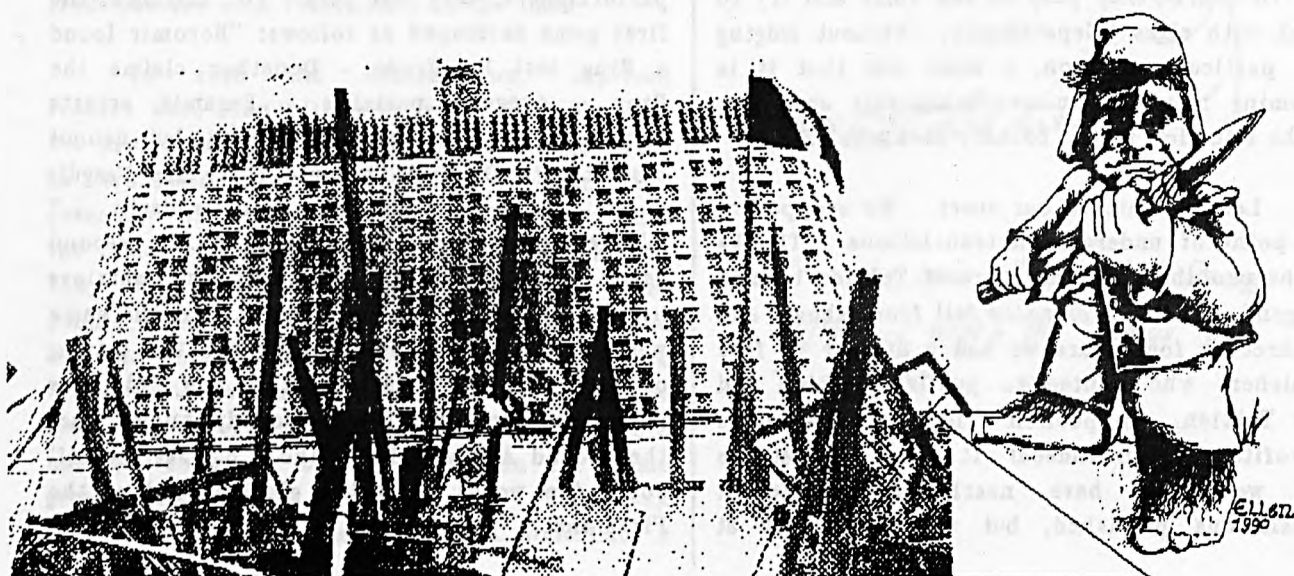
least some of them will be satisfactory is very faint, because those publishers are interested in speed, not in quality - just as most translators are. The decrease in quality is a result of the change that came with *perestroika*. People are tired, hungry and discouraged. They spend all their time struggling to survive and feed their families. The years of oppressive quietness and thoughtful laziness have gone. The opposition companies have ceased to exist. Fellowships have been broken: everyone has taken his particular Ring and gone to his own Orodruin - Christians to reconstruct churches, Buddhists to reconstruct pagodas, Jews - to reconstruct synagogues, politicians - to reconstruct parliaments, entrepreneurs - to reconstruct stock exchanges. Only Boris Grebenshchikov never joined the reconstruction: he made a video with a song which called to go and reconstruct all that it is possible to save - and he went to explore (and conquer if possible) the West. Life stopped being dull but began being rather heavy, and most people began to look for 'escape'. Plenty of second-rate fantasy and detective books appeared in the shops and Tolkien was lost among them. The new reader who is about to appear knows nothing of the legend. He doesn't look for truth under every stone near the road - he just wants to have a good rest. Tolkien societies are being formed, but they also are losing their previous intellectual character step by step. Their main activity at the moment is to involve young people to take part in great costumed performances based on *The Lord of the Rings*. They do not try to follow Tolkien in these performances; they just play. For instance, the first game developed as follows: "Boromir found a Ring lost by Frodo - Denethor claims the Ring - Aragorn perishes - Faramir arrests Denethor - Frodo regains the Ring, but cannot cast it into Orodruin because there are Nazgûls on it - so he casts the Ring into Orodruin" (the evidence of a participant). The second game took an unexpected turn: the warriors began to behave a bit too cruelly, and the game was stopped. Very non-Tolkien was the cutting of trees to build fortresses - and this was illegal cutting, too. Well, nobody knows what the Second Age will look like. But let me tell you a few words about the glorious end of the First one.

As I have said before, Tolkien was involved in the real war of Good and Evil in the USSR. It is interesting indeed that the last battle of these two forces (though probably it was not the last one) was really reminiscent of battles in *The Lord of the Rings*. The Siege of the White House in Moscow turned out to be the Siege of the White Tower of Gondor for many young people - or rather the Battle of the Green Fields in the Shire, which haunted Communists long before *perestroika*. Western friends of Russia know what happened in Moscow on 19-22 of August 1991, but I doubt that they were informed that many people remembered Tolkien when they made barricades from trolley-buses (just like hobbits from country wains!). It is important to note that the first [complete] translation officially published went on sale only a few days before. Moscow members of the Tolkien Society spent all those fearful thunderstorm and rainy nights near the White House holding a defence. The war machines got as crazy as Oliphaunts and stamped down three young archers. And Gandalf stood before the King of Angmar saying: "You shall not pass". And the Black Rider went away for some unknown reason. And at three o'clock in the morning the underground radio broadcast (the girl who spoke just wept) that the tanks had gone away for some unknown reason. And what about the fall of the Dark Lord which happened all at once - with all the fortresses and buildings and monuments? Tolkien never meant to describe any real events either in the past or the future. But he certainly *added* something to

earthly events. It just cannot be helped. One can say that it is only natural that chance and a willing fantasy can make miracles, making people see things that do not exist. We do not argue. C.S.Lewis also in his time thought that a myth is just a fruit of the imagination 'breathed through silver' (though Tolkien managed to reassure him if not others). In any case we are dealing here with the *fact* of public awareness. Tolkien helped us to regain freedom and to return to the common sources of the human spirit. He helped us to overthrow the rule of Sharkey (though outside we could possibly find only ruins and desolated land). The First Age ended gloriously. What will happen next, even the Wise cannot tell.

Notes

1. See my article on Andreyev in *Frontier: the Keston Research Magazine*, June 1991.
2. See my article 'The Dawn of Magicians in the USSR', in the same issue of *Frontier*.



Reflections on Tolkien Bibliography

by Wayne G. Hammond

Hobbit-lore, said Gandalf, is an obscure branch of knowledge, but full of surprises. Descriptive bibliography is of the same sort: (seemingly) obscure, with its cancels and collations, issues and states, rectos and versos, cross-references and quasi-facsimile transcriptions; and sometimes surprisingly revealing, when the physical structure of a book is closely examined, or printing records are interpreted, or multiple copies of a book are compared. Readers of *Mallorn* are familiar with examples of *enumerative* bibliography - checklists and catalogues. Among these are Appendix C to Humphrey Carpenter's *J.R.R. Tolkien: a biography* (revised in the 1987 Unwin Paperbacks edition principally by Tolkien Society Bibliographer Charles Noad), *Tolkien Criticism: An Annotated Checklist*, by Richard West, and Åke Bertensam's excellent *En Tolkienbibliografi 1911-1980* and its supplements in *Arda*. Useful lists have appeared recently in *Beyond Bree*, and Gary Hunnewell in Missouri is preparing what will surely be the definitive bibliography of Tolkien fanzines. Johan Vanhecke's catalogue for the Tolkien exhibition in Antwerp is also to be commended. *Descriptive* bibliography employs the same methods of list-making and annotation found in enumerative bibliography; it is concerned, however, especially with the description of the physical characteristics of books and other published materials - title pages, order of contents, bindings, dust-jackets - the distinguishing of variations (if any) within an edition or impression, and the description and explanation of their printing and textual history.

J.R.R. Tolkien: a descriptive bibliography, written by myself with the assistance of Douglas A. Anderson, will be published at last in late 1992, by St. Paul's Bibliographies of Winchester. Like *The Lord of the Rings*, it was written between interruptions over many years, and it "grew in the telling". In 1979, I optimistically thought that a

descriptive bibliography of Tolkien could be completed by 1982. The magnitude of the job became apparent only when it was well under way. Even in (early) 1979, *The Silmarillion* seemed to be the conclusion of Tolkien's works, and Humphrey Carpenter seemed to have provided a complete checklist of the canon in Appendix C of his *Biography*. The identification of additional early works by Tolkien, and the posthumous publication of so many of his manuscripts, was at the time merely to be wished, and not (at least by me) expected. All praise to Christopher Tolkien's labours, but they have added considerably to mine! The Tolkien Centenary has provided a catalyst to bring my work to a close, if not to absolute completion, for new works or editions by Tolkien continue to appear, and there remain a few dust-jackets and significant impressions that I have not been able to see (among the latter, the 1966 Allen and Unwin "fifteenth impression" *Hobbit*, i.e. the first impression of the third hardcover edition, and the possibly reset twenty-fourth impression of the Houghton Mifflin *Hobbit*, 1967).

The *Bibliography* is arranged in seven sections: books written entirely or principally by Tolkien, including separate publications of works (such as "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics") first published in periodicals or collections; books edited, translated, or with contributions by Tolkien; Tolkien's contributions to periodicals; his published letters and extracts from letters; his separately published art; miscellanea, including interviews and recordings; and translations of Tolkien's works. The last five sections for the most part are checklists, though with annotations. Full bibliographical descriptions are given in the first two sections. Here, for example, is the description of the first edition of *The Hobbit*. ↓

The *Hobbit*; or, There and Back; Again; by J.R.R. Tolkien;
London; George Allen and Unwin Ltd; Museum Street

312 pp. + 1 plate. Collation: (A)BB-TBU4. 19.0 x 13.5 cm.

(1-2) blank; (3) "The Hobbit"; (4) illustration; (5) title; (6) "FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1937 / All rights reserved / PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY, UNWIN BROTHERS LTD., WOKING"; (7) table of contents; (8) blank; (11)-310 text and illustrations; (311)"OVERLEAF; particulars of publications; of similar interest; issued by; (publisher's square 'St. George' device with lettered border); GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD; (7 addresses, London to Sydney)" (312) publisher's advertisement of *Čapek, Fairy Tales and Dashaenka*, and *Huxley, At the Zoo*.

Black and white illustrations, by Tolkien: *The Hill Hobbiton across the Water*, p. (4); *The Trolls*, p.49; *The Mountain-path*, p.68; *The Misty Mountains Looking West from the Eyrie towards Goblin Gate*, p.117; *Beorn's Hall*, p.126; *Mirkwood*, half tone plate facing p. 146; *The Elvenking's Gate*, p.177; *Lake Town*, p.196; *The Front Gate*, p.209; *The Hall at Bag End, Residence of B.Baggins Esquire*, p.307. Maps, by Tolkien, in black and red: *Thror's Map*, front endsheet; *Wilderland*, back endsheet.

Wove paper. Bound in light green cloth over boards. Wraparound decoration by Tolkien (mountains, moon and sun) stamped at top of covers and spine in dark blue. Decorations by Tolkien stamped at foot of upper (dragon looking left) and lower (dragon looking right) covers in dark blue. Stamped on upper cover, between the wraparound decoration and dragon, in dark blue: "The; Hobbit". Stamped on spine, below the decoration, in dark blue: "The; Hobbit; by; J.R.R.Tolkien;

(TH rune) ; (D rune) ; (TH rune) ; George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Wave endpapers (maps). No headbands. All edges trimmed, top edge stained light green. The publisher's cost book records 152 copies in "paper cover binding", i.e. wrappers (not seen), presumably for distribution to reviewers.

Dust-jacket, wave paper. Wraparound illustration by Tolkien, in black, green and blue, of the Lonely Mountain and neighboring mountains and forest, with a dragon flying near a crescent moon on the lower cover, eagles and the sun in the sky on the upper cover, the whole bordered by an inscription in runes read anticlockwise from lower left: "THE HOBBIT OR THERE AND BACK AGAIN BEING THE RECORD OF A YEARS JOURNEY MADE BY BILBO BAGGINS OF HOBBITON COMPILED FROM HIS MEMOIRS BY J.R.R.TOLKIEN AND PUBLISHED BY GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN LTD". Lettered by Tolkien on upper cover: "(in white) THE HOBBIT; by; (in black) J.R.R.Tolkien". Lettered by Tolkien on spine: "(in black) THE; (in white) HOBBIT; (in black) TOLKIEN; (against a white panel outlined in black and shadowed at bottom) GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN". Printed on front flap: "(in black) THIS COVER AND THE DRAWINGS: IN THE BOOK ARE BY THE AUTHOR: 7s.6d." Blurb printed on back flap, "Dodgson" misspelled "Dodgeson".

Published 21 September 1937 at 7s.6d.; 1,500 copies printed. Bound in lots through December? 1937.

The advantages to collectors, librarians and booksellers of such detailed information will be readily apparent. But this entry for *The Hobbit*, and others like it, does not end with a physical description and publication figures. Much is also said about the history of the production of Tolkien's books, about his relationship with his publishers, about subsequent printings, and about the illustration of his books, by Tolkien himself and other artists - even about illustrations that never appeared. (Maurice Sendak was once to illustrate *The Hobbit*, but produced only one sketch. Trina Schart Hyman was suggested by a publisher to illustrate *Mr. Baggins*, but Tolkien's own illustrations prevailed.) The description printed above is followed in the bibliography by extensive notes, including (if the Tolkien Estate permits) previously unpublished extracts from Tolkien's letters with Allen and Unwin. *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings* and other works are also textually analysed. For example, the texts of "On Fairy-stories" as they appeared in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams* and in *Tree and Leaf* are compared and their many differences noted. Scholars will be guided thereby to the most authoritative texts for their research.

In the course of writing *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Descriptive Bibliography*, many interesting features of Tolkien's books have come to light. Some are minutiae, interesting only to bibliographers, but others are of greater moment:

▷ Why, collectors have wondered, is the first impression of the first three-volume Unwin paperbacks edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (1974) so difficult to find? Publisher's records revealed that the entire first impression was sent outside of Britain, to other parts of the Commonwealth. Only a few copies have returned, secondhand, to the country of their making. And by the time the second impression was issued domestically in Britain, the rising cost of paper had made necessary an increase in the cover price of the books.

▷ Why are there two first American editions of *The Book of Lost Tales Part I*? Both have the Houghton Mifflin

imprint, and were issued simultaneously; but one was printed in Great Britain, and the other in the United States, the latter with corrections. The answer to this question helps us to gauge the level of interest in J.R.R. Tolkien in America, greater than his American publisher expected. The Houghton Mifflin Co. originally ordered a modest 4,000 copies of *The Book of Lost Tales Part I* imported from Allen and Unwin, then received advance orders exceeding 18,500 and quickly printed 30,000 copies domestically, using for their reproduction copy a now corrected version for the Allen and Unwin third impression.

A much more significant discovery is that the first impression of *The Fellowship of the Ring*, published on 29 July 1954, and the second impression, published in December 1954, are two completely different settings of type. The "second impression", actually a new edition, on the one hand corrected a few errors of the original (single) impression, but also introduced new errors, some of which have not yet been corrected in the standard British and American hardcover editions. For example, this is where the infamous "bride-piece" misprint, for "bride-price" (of Lúthien), entered Book I Chapter II. Recently I spent hours comparing the two impressions, documenting their differences if not (yet) fully explaining the circumstances under which they occurred. I did so, however, only after fellow Tolkien Society member Eric Thompson noticed some minute variations in the typesettings (the printer, Jarrold and Sons, very nearly matched the two settings line for line) and mentioned them to Christina Scull, who brought them to my attention. My friend John Rateliff (now hard at work writing the history of *The Hobbit*) then lent me his copy of the first impression of *The Fellowship* to place alongside my copy of the second impression. Thus *The Fellowship*, one might say, gave up its secrets because of fellowship.



Publishing Tolkien

by Rayner Unwin

I am sometimes asked, most recently by *Mallorn's* editor, to write about publishing Tolkien. My first response, like that of Professor Joad, is to say 'it depends what you mean by publishing'. Some aspects of the publishing process are deeply influenced by the relationship between the author and various individuals in the organisation to which he has entrusted his work, especially his editor who, like a ship's officer of the watch, is the captain's representative on deck. But many other publishing functions are semi-mechanical as far as the author is concerned, and to that extent Tolkien publishing was very much the same as publishing for any other author. Rather than write a blow-by-blow account I think it might be better to highlight under the broad headings of normal publishing procedures some of the ways in which the Tolkien relationship was unusual.

ACQUISITION AND CONTRACT

The story of how first *The Hobbit* and later *The Lord of the Rings* came to be published by Allen and Unwin is already well-known. But once his publisher had demonstrated commitment and reasonable efficiency Tolkien in turn demonstrated the old-fashioned virtue of loyalty. He once compared our relationship to that of Rohan and Gondor, and declared that for his part the Oath of Eorl would never be broken. Nor was it. At any time, but especially nowadays, this is unusual. One element that, I believe, added to our sense of partnership was the profit-sharing, as distinct from the normal royalty, agreement. This form was sometimes used when the publisher needed no persuasion about the merit of a book but was dubious about its marketability. It was an old-fashioned type of agreement even then, but personally I believe it has many virtues. No advance is paid; the publisher recovers the costs of production and promotion as a first charge against earnings; and thereafter the author and publisher share the results equally. If the book is a failure, the author gets nothing and the publisher is out of pocket. If the book is a success (as, eventually, was *The Lord of the Rings*), the author would get the overall equivalent of a generous royalty, though often earned in irregular lumps. Once the profit-sharing concept is agreed no haggling over contracts need take place. The difficulty in Tolkien's case was not getting an agreement signed but getting a date for delivery. He was reluctant to hand over a finished manuscript. Anyone remotely interested in Tolkien's writing knew about the existence of *The Silmarillion* for a decade or two before it was finally and posthumously brought into print. Even more extraordinary was the time taken to polish and perfect his translation of *Pearl*. When I was working at Blackwell's in 1943 Sir Basil Blackwell showed me galley-proofs he had set, but could not get Tolkien to pass for press. He never did. It was 1975 before it finally got published. All very frustrating for a publisher eager for new product, but nothing happened faster by fussing.

And Tolkien at least never indulged in the intolerable habit, for which Churchill was notorious, of re-writing the whole book several times in proof.

PRODUCTION

One of the peculiarities of Tolkien hardbacks is their size. It is known as Medium 8vo, and it was chosen in order to accommodate more print on the page than was reasonable on the largest normal size for novels, Demy 8vo, but without scaring off fiction buyers by using Sm Roy 8vo which was then the conventional size for solid non-fiction. Tolkien took great interest in the physical appearance of his books, and his views were vehemently expressed. He had particularly strong feelings about display types. Fancy lettering, gothic, sans-serif or 'black-letter' (which he denied was anything of the sort) all met with total disapproval. Once, when challenged to say what he *did* like, he told us that the nearer to the lettering on Trajan's Column in Rome that we could get the happier he would be. And we tried to keep it like that thereafter. However the designers of paperback covers in particular do nowadays have a tendency to stray. The text, when eventually it was delivered, was of course inviolate. We learned early on (and Puffin to their cost learned for ever) that one tinkered with what appeared on the typewritten page at one's peril. Not that he was 100 accurate, but the sort of thing the average copy-editor might have been tempted to alter was usually precisely what he intended should remain. Even so plenty of mistakes crept into print, and some are being corrected still. And there were unexpected hazards with Tolkien's invented languages. Quoting back at us Frodo's quavering remark on first seeing the inscription on the Ring - 'I cannot read the fiery letters', Tolkien dryly remarked, 'Of course the poor chap couldn't; you've printed them upside down'. And years later he remarked with amusement that because no-one at Houghton Mifflin could read runes the covers announced that their books were published by George Allen and Unwin.

I think Production had the toughest time of any department, because the author had an acute visual sense and knew exactly what he wanted to achieve. Sometimes this was impossible. The moon-runes on Thrór's map, or the emblems on the Doors of Dúrin - which were wrought of *ithildin* that mirrors only starlight and moonlight - were, not surprisingly, beyond the technology of reproduction in print. Technology also bunkered the first single-volume paperback of *The Lord of the Rings* in 1968 which proved to be too thick for the existing binding machines, and caused us to have to drop the appendices. Tolkien was never unreasonable in the face of such obstacles, but he liked to be involved and hated any suspicion of being steam-rollered or bounced. Who can blame him?

As we know Tolkien was a very private person, and consequently that aspect of the publishing process that interests and attracts most successful authors was, for the most part, the area that Tolkien was happy to let his publisher get on with, and in which he expressed very little curiosity and held few strong opinions. Of course he was always delighted to be told about particular successes in selling his books, and he was not indifferent to the increase in his earnings. Even though in those days there was less of the *razmataz* that afflicts popular authorship now, he was a reluctant publicist. He especially hated the personalising aspects of publicity. During his lifetime he refused to let us use more personal detail than was contained in his entry in *Who's Who*, and he dodged or declined almost every chance of interview or appearance. There were a few exceptions, perhaps to oblige friends, but he usually regretted having weakened in his resolve. There were of course unwritten rules that we quickly learned to observe. Insofar as licensing abridgements, adaptations into other media, illustration and the like, which we were probably entitled to do under the contract, we always consulted Tolkien first and most often were turned down, especially if there was a whiff of cheapening the product. It was a balance that both sides happily accepted. Once the form of the book had been established the publisher could get on with the job of selling the product (but not the author) without the slightest interference. In return the publisher did not exploit fringe rights if the author was at all unhappy.

All this was made possible by something that hardly exists today - continuity. Just before I left Unwin Hyman a quite separate author, more in sorrow than in anger, pointed out that he had already had three editors looking after his book and it had not yet been published. I think he was right to complain. The larger the publisher becomes the less senior and more liable to disaffection its commissioning editors seem to become. I was fortunate to grow up in a world of comparatively small, owner-managed publishers, and if we got on with our authors they stuck with us. It was, I think, good luck for both of us that Tolkien and I hit it off together; but today I doubt if such a long and trusting relationship could occur. Perhaps for a decade or so, but eventually, as head of the business in today's commercial climate I would never have had enough time to spend on the detailed concerns of even the most prestigious author. Delegation in management terms is a virtue, but it spells doom for the association between author and publisher. An author needs one person with time and authority within the business to deal with his book as a unique product. The size of his publisher concerns him very little, though he might acknowledge that when buying print or selling product the big battalion has the greater clout. But if editorial continuity is lacking authors quickly lose heart, and will quickly shelter behind a surrogate editor, the literary agent. If big, plc publishers are going to survive they need to recognise and respect the one-to-one relationship between their authors and their editors. Small publishers have always known this, and that in essence is what publishing Tolkien has been about.



REVIEW

Tolkien, John and Tolkien, Priscilla *The Tolkien Family Album* HarperCollins, 1992. £12.99

Review by John A. Ellison

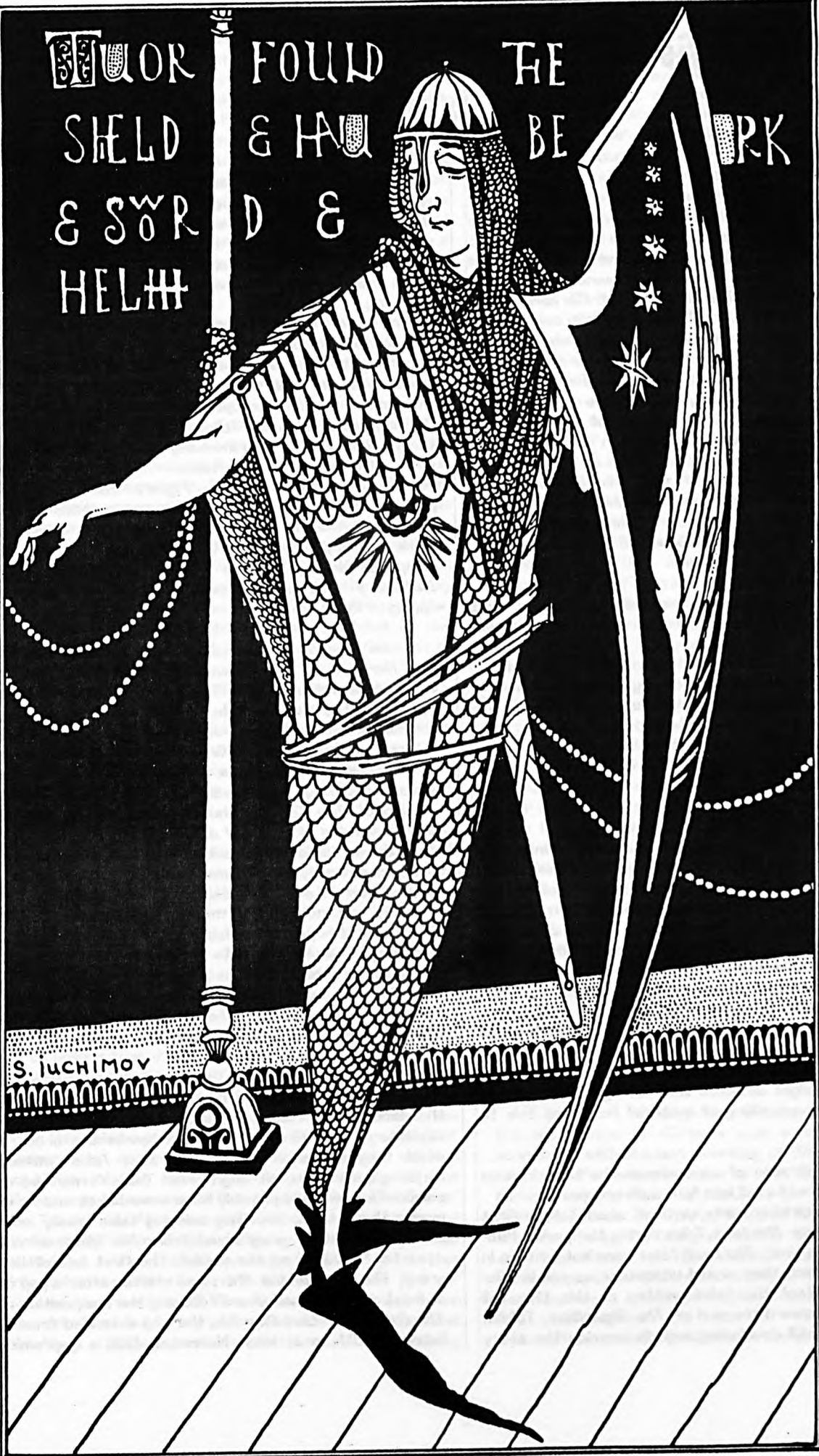
The "life-in-photographs" has become quite a frequent form of tribute in recent years, providing a supplement to formal biography, if not an alternative to it. It can be particularly helpful and revealing in relation to writers or other creative artists, whose works take on added significance when accompanied by visible reminders of the atmosphere of the times through which they were created. So it is with this very attractively produced memoir. Collectors of "Tolkieniana", in other words the majority of us, will not find any substantial added information not already available to the reader of Carpenter's biography. They will encounter quite a number of interesting sidelights, however; we learn, for instance, that as one result of his visit to France as a young man, he was prone in later years to entertain his family and friends "with his expert mimicry of the accents of Paris errand-boys and their gutter talk". That certainly highlights his linguistic expertise, as it was employed through the medium of a language which *didn't* particularly appeal to him!

The photographs which intersperse the text, because of the accelerating pace of social change as it has occurred over the last half century, now serve to remind us of an age which seems to have become quite remote, even up to and including the Second World War. At the same time they emphasise the essential ordinariness of the life that Tolkien lived with his family, the same kind of life that was lived by many thousands of middle-class families in Britain at the same time. Ordinary, that is, until it was disrupted from the outside, as the group of pictures devoted to the First World War period strikingly confirms - notably a famous image, reproduced here, of the devastated landscape by Ypres. The collision between normal life's daily round and external changes and catastrophe provided the subject matter of Tolkien's life, as it did of his art. It must have been just the starkness of this contrast that gave him the impulse, after his return from the war, to pursue his imaginative concepts with such energy and persistence.

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The Genesis of Arda

by Donald O'Brien

A. Introduction.

Intent on doing research on *The Silmarillion*, I have found it necessary to understand how Tolkien's earliest writings culminated in *The Silmarillion* and how they stand in relation to it, how to place *The Silmarillion* within the evolutionary context of *The Hobbit* and of *The Lord of the Rings* which it preceded and followed both in composition and revision as well as in publication, and how Tolkien's evolving perception of mythopoeisis and subcreation impinged upon *The Silmarillion*. Hence I embarked on this study solely, at the outset, for private purposes, to understand the chronological evolution of Arda from its first beginnings on the Western Front in 1916 to Tolkien's death in 1973. I here present a portion of this study, a reconstructed chronology of when Tolkien wrote or revised works pertaining to Arda in the hope that this chronological framework may be of some use to others seeking to understand how Tolkien's diverse works might stand in relation to one another.

Two chronologies are presented in this paper. The first chronological chart reconstructs the complex evolution of *The Lost Tales*, and the second chart, Tolkien's writings from 1910 to 1973. *The Lost Tales* have been granted their own chronology because of the complex manner in which they were composed. The second chronology is intended to provide a synoptic view of the sequence of composition of Tolkien's works, including works of art, pertinent to Arda.

B. The Lost Tales.

In the first chronological chart the horizontal axis defines the temporal framework from 1916 to 1920 during which *The Lost Tales* were written. The vertical axis orders the tales themselves from top to bottom according to their narrative sequence in *The Silmarillion*. The box codes used in the table to represent the state of composition of the different works are as follows:

Single outline: pencil text

Double outline: ink text

Triple outline: ink text over a wholly erased pencil text

The slant of the boxes is meant to suggest composition over time. Straight directed lines linking boxes indicate the transfer or rewriting of material from one tale to another.

For the purpose of convenience the tales can be broadly considered to fall into four main groups:

1) A group comprising early writings when Tolkien first began to compose *The Lost Tales* during the period 1916-1917. During this time *The Lost Tales* were not written in the order in which they would ultimately appear in *The Silmarillion*. In fact the tales written at this time fall predominantly toward the end of *The Silmarillion*. Tolkien was doubtless still developing and discovering the story

of Arda. The three other groups of tales would fall earlier in the narrative sequence or would be developments of tales already written during the early phase with the purpose of being integrated into one long narrative about the Noldoli and their relationships with Melko and the Valar. These three groups consist of the following.

2) The tales from *The Music of the Ainur* to *The Flight of the Noldoli* were probably written one following the other according to the narrative sequence of the story, at least in their final stage of composition, apparently without any major interruption.

3) Some tales which now follow *The Flight of the Noldoli* in the published *Silmarillion* involving an interlocutor named Ailios in the links joining the tales.

4) Some tales that follow *The Flight of the Noldoli* in the published *Silmarillion* with Gilfanon replacing Ailios as tale-teller. The early writings fall within the period of Tolkien's army service and the three later groups were composed during Tolkien's work on *The New English Dictionary* at Oxford from November 1918 to the spring of 1920.¹

As regards the earliest group, *The Fall of Gondolin* and *The Tale of Tinúviel* were composed, according to Christopher Tolkien in 1916-1917². According to Humphrey Carpenter the earliest tale, *The Fall of Gondolin*, was composed sometime during January-February 1917, during Tolkien's convalescence at Great Haywood, and *The Tale of Tinúviel* at Brooklands Officers' Hospital in Hull sometime during April-November 1917.³ The earliest version of *The Tale of Tinúviel* is not extant, but the original version of *The Fall of Gondolin*, called *Tuor A* by Christopher Tolkien, is an extant pencil manuscript that was subsequently heavily emended. *The Cottage of Lost Play*, whose date of composition "could have been, but probably was not, earlier than the winter of 1916-17"⁴, exists in both a pencil manuscript and a fair ink copy in a notebook displaying the date "Feb. 12th, 1917". This tale provided the context for the alleged transmission of *The Lost Tales* to our modern times through an intermediary Eriol/Alfwine presented in the "links" that join *The Lost Tales* together into a coherent narrative.

The Lost Tales from *The Music of the Ainur* to *The Flight of the Noldoli* were possibly first written during the time when Tolkien worked on *The New English Dictionary*, and were probably written in the order in which they appear in *The Book of Lost Tales*⁵ without major gaps in time, although given Tolkien's method of composition he could possibly have moved back and forth among these tales, rewriting existing tales wholly or in part as the story progressed from *The Music of the Ainur* to *The Flight of the Noldoli*. The first tale of this group, *The Music of the Ainur*, was written after a gap of at least one and a half years following the composition of *The Cottage of Lost Play* (i.e., the gap extended from 12 February 1917 to at least November 1918, a gap which

Christopher Tolkien describes as "some two years or more"⁶). The tales are extant in various manuscript states, ranging from pencil to ink and to ink over wholly or partly erased pencil versions as indicated in the accompanying first chart⁷. It would appear that Tolkien systematically planned to revise and rewrite the pencil manuscripts into ink texts, but did not complete the task, for approximately the last forty per cent of this group of tales, apart from a rider "written carefully and legibly in ink on separate sheets at how great an interval of time I (= Christopher Tolkien) cannot say"⁸ to replace a rejected portion of the pencil text of *The Flight of the Noldoli*, are extant as pencil manuscripts.

The relationship of the remaining groups of *Lost Tales*, which are referred to in the first chart as the 'Ailios phase' and the 'Gilfanon phase', with the other *Lost Tales* within the framework of the order of composition is somewhat difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty. Christopher Tolkien has described the relationship between the various tales at this juncture as follows: "The development of *The Lost Tales* is here in fact extremely complex."⁹ The extant version of *The Tale of Tinúviel* is preceded by an introductory link which was subsequently rewritten as the introduction to *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*. This link naturally refers back to the subject matter of *The Flight of the Noldoli* and, as Christopher Tolkien has suggested, his father probably intended at one time to place *The Tale of Tinúviel* after *The Flight of the Noldoli*, thus choosing at least at one stage of the composition of *The Book of Lost Tales* not to place them in narrative sequence.¹⁰ Christopher Tolkien has also written after *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*:

"There is nothing in the manuscripts to suggest that the tales that follow *The Music of the Ainur* to the point we have now reached were not written consecutively and continuously from *The Music*, while my father was still at Oxford."¹¹

and:

"That the rewriting of *Tinúviel* was one of the latest elements in the composition of *The Lost Tales* seems clear from the fact that it is followed by the first form of the 'Gilfanon interlude', written at the same time: for Gilfanon replaced 'Ailios', and Ailios, not Gilfanon, is the guest in the house in the earlier versions of *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon* and *The Hiding of Valinor*, and is the teller of *The Tale of the Nauglafring*."¹²

The first statement by Christopher Tolkien had initially led me to believe that *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon* was written immediately after *The Flight of the Noldoli*. This conclusion made it difficult for me to fit *The Tale of Tinúviel* into the temporal framework of these tales: how could this tale be one of the last written if *The Hiding of Valinor* was apparently written continuously on the completion of *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*? The dilemma can be resolved if it is assumed that *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon* was not written "consecutively and continuously" immediately following *The Flight of the Noldoli*, but rather that the writing of the latter tale was followed immediately by a link introducing *The Tale of Tinúviel*, the rewriting of *The Tale of Tinúviel*, and by an interlude intended to introduce *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*. The page numbers of the notebook containing

The Tale of Tinúviel are reported to follow the pagination in the notebook containing *The Flight of the Noldoli*¹³ Tolkien must then have decided to reorder *The Lost Tales*. He revised and recopied a part of the link introducing *The Tale of Tinúviel*, and then recopied the 'Gilfanon interlude' that originally concluded *The Tale of Tinúviel* with considerable revision, and then appended these two links together in tandem to the end of *The Flight of the Noldoli*. He then possibly proceeded to rewrite *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*, after the hiatus devoted to *The Tale of Tinúviel*, appending it in narrative sequence to *The Flight of the Noldoli*.

As Christopher Tolkien states in the second quotation above, Gilfanon replaced Ailios as tale-teller. Ailios and Gilfanon respectively characterise earlier and later phases of the composition of the *Lost Tales* that follow *The Flight of the Noldoli* in narrative sequence, as indicated in the accompanying first chart. Gilfanon appears not only in the revised interlude subscribed to *The Flight of the Noldoli*, removed from *The Tale of Tinúviel*, but also in the link introducing the latest version of *The Hiding of Valinor* and in *Gilfanon's Tale and the Travail of the Noldoli*. *The Hiding of Valinor* was probably written in its last version shortly after the last version of *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*, and *Gilfanon's Tale* probably shortly after *The Hiding of Valinor*; the pagination of *Gilfanon's Tale* follows consecutively the last manuscript of *The Hiding of Valinor*.¹⁴ Tolkien ceased work on *The Lost Tales* while working on *Gilfanon's Tale*¹⁵, and this phase in the evolution of the material of *The Silmarillion* came to an end at this point. *The Tale of Tinúviel* in its last rewriting was probably the fourth to last tale among *The Lost Tales* Tolkien worked on.

To define a temporal boundary between the earlier Ailios and later Gilfanon phases of the tales is impossible. We can be sure only that Gilfanon replaced Ailios as tale-teller and that links containing Gilfanon are later than the same links containing Ailios. It has been impossible to place the manuscripts of *The Fall of Gondolin* with accuracy into the accompanying first chart. As regards the Ailios-Gilfanon phases, the *Tuor A* version was first written in 1916-1917, and, according to Christopher Tolkien, the emendation of *Tuor A* and the writing of *Tuor B* belong to the Oxford period (November 1918-Spring 1920)¹⁶, and in fact "it is virtually certain that a good deal of the revision of *Tuor B* was made before my father read it to the Essay Club of Exeter College in the spring of 1920."¹⁷ I have arbitrarily assigned the revision of *Tuor A* and the first or B extending into the Gilfanon phase.

I suspect, although the evidence is wanting, that the emergence of Gilfanon was a late development, associated with the last rewriting of *The Tale of Tinúviel*, and that if the composition of the tales in their last forms from *The Music of the Ainur* to *The Flight of the Noldoli*, and then *The Tale of Tinúviel*, *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*, *The Hiding of Valinor* and *Gilfanon's Tale and the Travail of the Noldoli* was more or less continuous, then the replacement of Ailios by Gilfanon may have been a late development associated with the last rewriting of *The Tale of Tinúviel*, and that manuscripts containing Ailios as interlocutor precede the

last rewriting of *The Music of the Ainur*. The accompanying first chart has been drawn based on this assumption.

It is an interesting fact that Tolkien's vision of the order of the tales evolved as he worked on them. As mentioned above, not long before he abandoned the tales he had at one time planned to insert *The Tale of Tinúviel* between *The Flight of the Noldoli* and *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*. Moreover the link introducing *The Fall of Gondolin* found at the end of *The Tale of Turambar* and containing Ailios as an interlocutor was not altered in order that Gilfanon replace Ailios. During the Ailios phase Tolkien had also intended at one time to place *The Tale of Turambar* after *The Hiding of Valinor*.¹⁸ This somewhat puzzling disregard for the narrative sequence of *The Lost Tales* was probably due to the fact that the stories were not 'invented' or written according to their narrative sequence as published in *The Silmarillion*; in fact, the Earendil tale was the first story to evolve even though it would never be fully written during the period 1916-1920 as a Lost Tale and should naturally have fallen last in the narrative sequence.¹⁹ It appears that Tolkien was working toward a narrative sequence in the Gilfanon phase amid the complex detailed evolution of the contents themselves of the tales, but halted at Gilfanon's tale, before *The Lost Tales* were brought to completion.

I have assumed that the Turambar manuscript postdates *The Hiding of Valinor* because the link at the end of the latter tale was inserted at the beginning of the former. The temporal relationship of other tales in the Ailios phase is difficult to disentangle. I have arbitrarily placed the tale of Tuor later than *The Tale of Turambar*, and *The Tale of the Nauglafring* later than *Tuor A*, although there is no evidence to substantiate these assumptions.

Doubtless this reconstruction of the order of composition of *The Lost Tales* has been somewhat simplistic because I have not had direct access to the original manuscripts. Certainly the evidence that Christopher Tolkien has excellently presented in *The Book of Lost Tales I* and II, and in the three subsequent volumes of *The History of Middle-earth* has demonstrated how difficult and complex a task it has been at times for Christopher Tolkien to disentangle his father's manuscripts.

C. A Literary Chronology of J.R.R. Tolkien

The second chart, as specified above, presents a chronology of Tolkien's work from 1910 to 1973. The focus in this chart is on those works directly related to Arda and Middle-earth. The chart also includes those works revealing Tolkien's concept of sub-creation and mythopoeisis, such as *On Fairy-Stories* and *Smith of Wootton Major*, and important academic works, such as *Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*, both because of their relevance to Middle-earth and because they also provide a temporal context of the significant academic work that Tolkien was engaged in during his years at Oxford University. The chart proceeds vertically

downward from 1910 to 1973. Each work is enclosed within a box. The location of the upper edge of each box is intended more-or-less to represent the time at which Tolkien commenced the work relative to the upper edges/starting dates of the other boxes/works. I have attempted, but without any degree of consistency, to have the lower temporal edge of each box represent roughly the time when Tolkien ceased work on that particular box/work. An upper/lower edge of a box which is not closed indicates that the commencement/termination date of composition of that work is unknown. Dashed directed lines lead from a box/work to its later revision, drawn either continuously to the revision, or, when the revision is separated from the earlier version by a large time span, referring to the revision by the date of the revision. The publication dates of works are inserted at the right hand side of the chart.

Notes

1. Carpenter, Humphrey *J.R.R. Tolkien: a biography* Allen and Unwin, 1977, pp.100-102.
2. *The Book of Lost Tales I* p.10, II pp.3, 146-147.
3. Carpenter, *op.cit.* pp.97-99,265; *The Book of Lost Tales II* p.45.
4. *The Book of Lost Tales I* p.13.
5. *Ibid.* p.203.
6. *Ibid.* p.45.
7. *Ibid.* pp.45,52,64,94,130n.8,140,162,163.
8. *Ibid.* p.163.
9. *Ibid.* p.202.
10. *Ibid.* p.203.
11. *Ibid.* p.203.
12. *Ibid.* p.204.
13. *Ibid.* p.203.
14. *Ibid.* p.231.
15. *Ibid.* p.231.
16. *The Book of Lost Tales II* pp.146-147.
17. *Ibid.* p.147.
18. *The Book of Lost Tales I* pp.229-230.
19. *The Book of Lost Tales II* p.252.



Chart I: The Evolution of the 'Lost Tales'

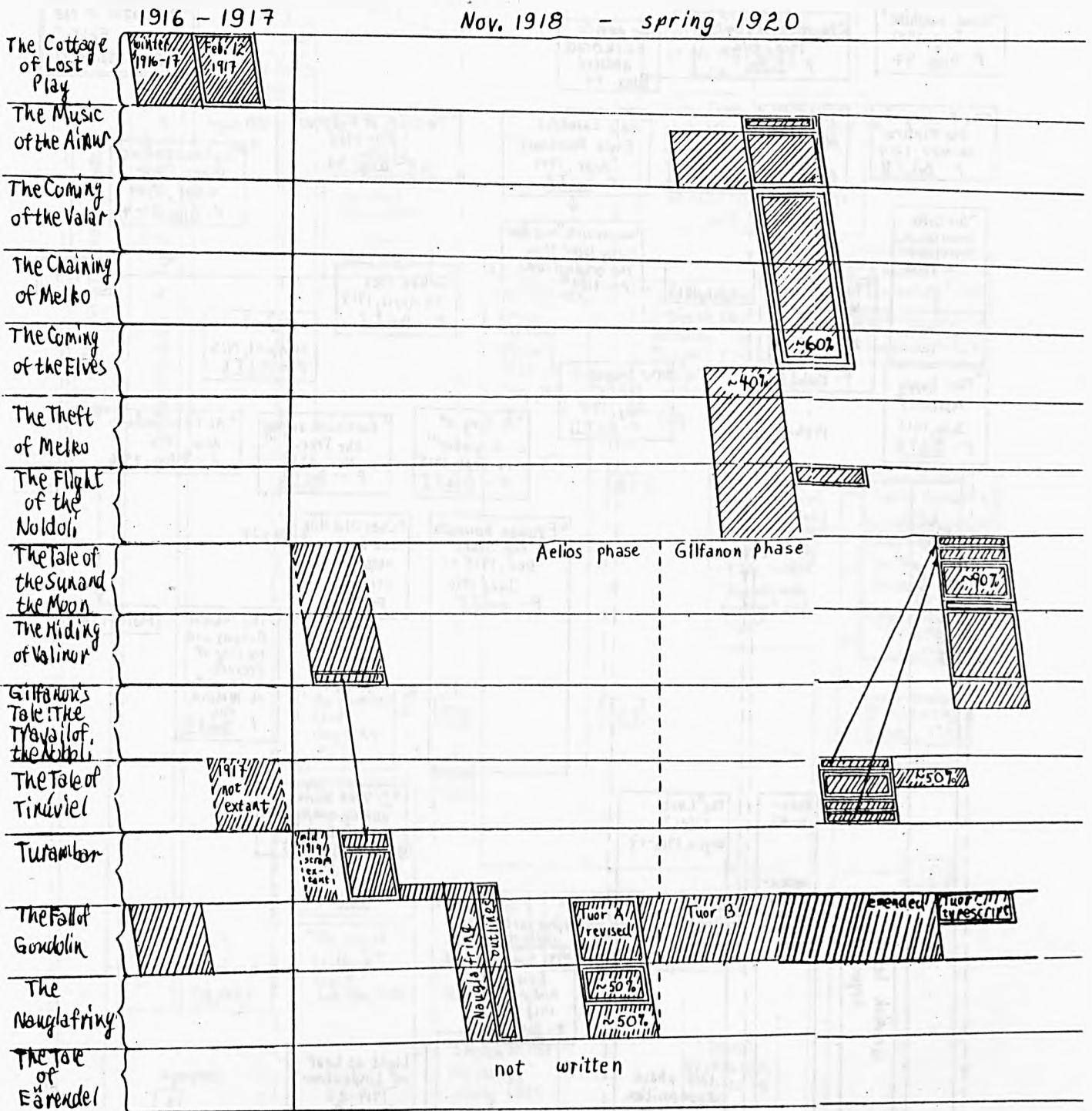
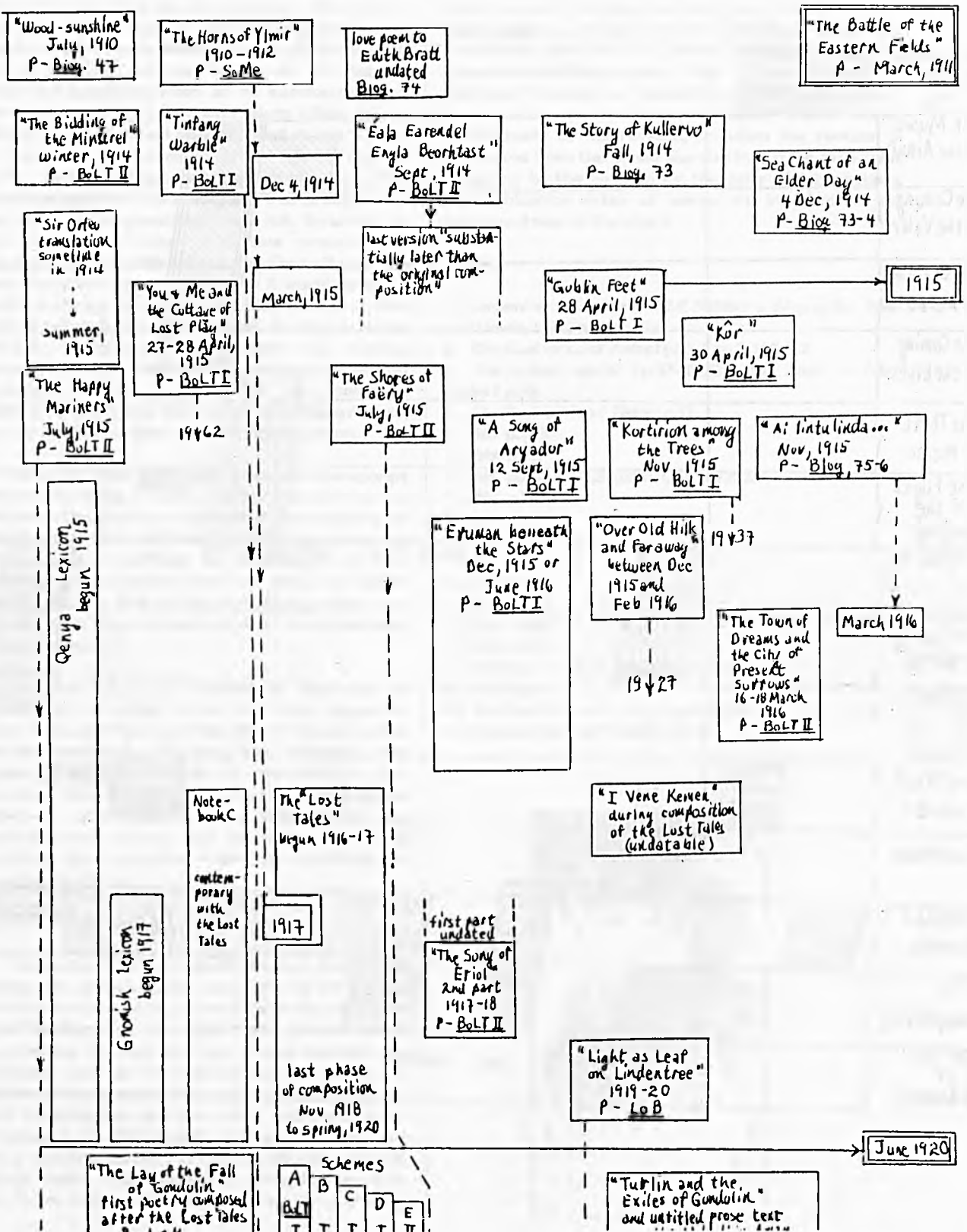
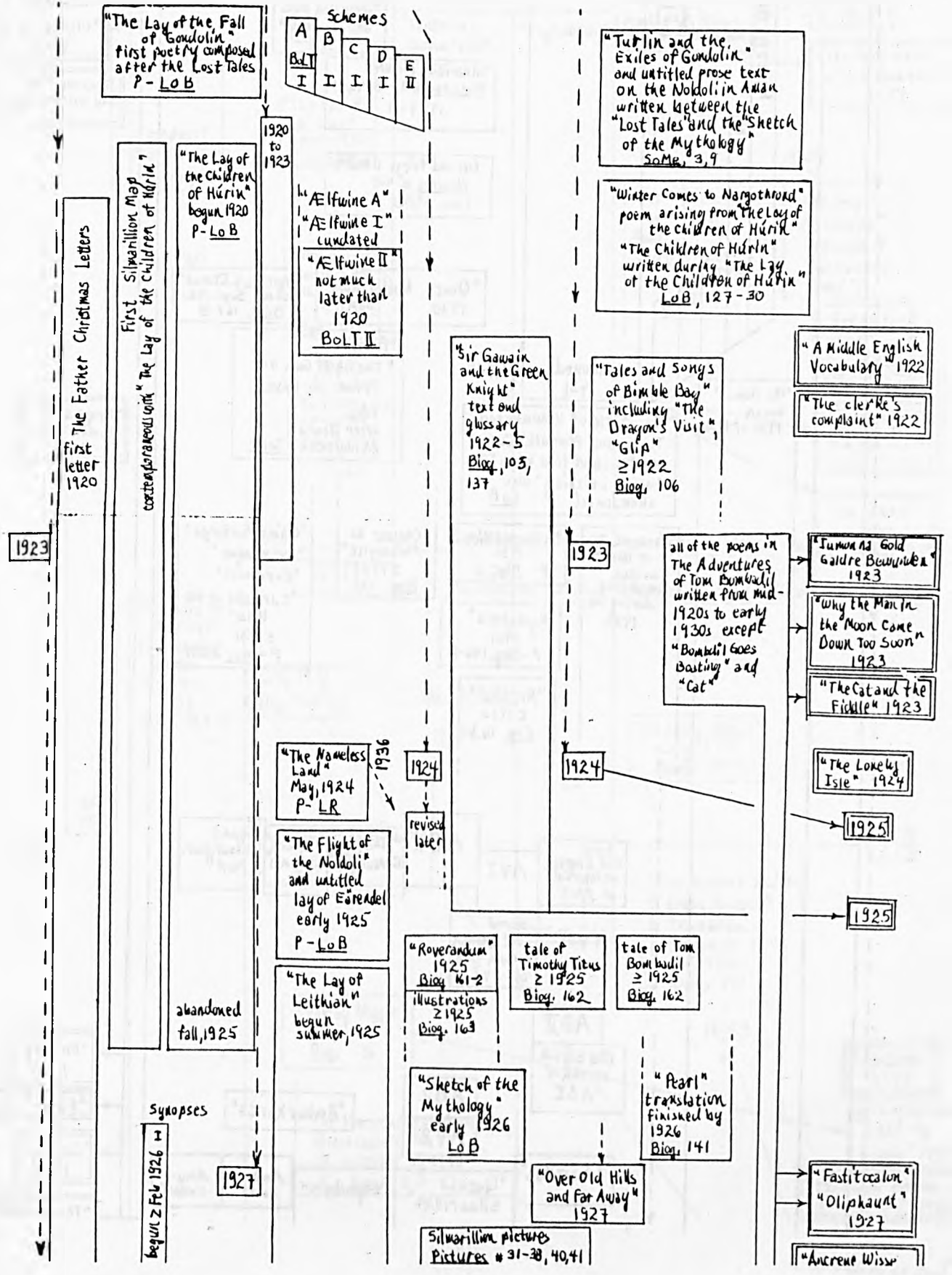


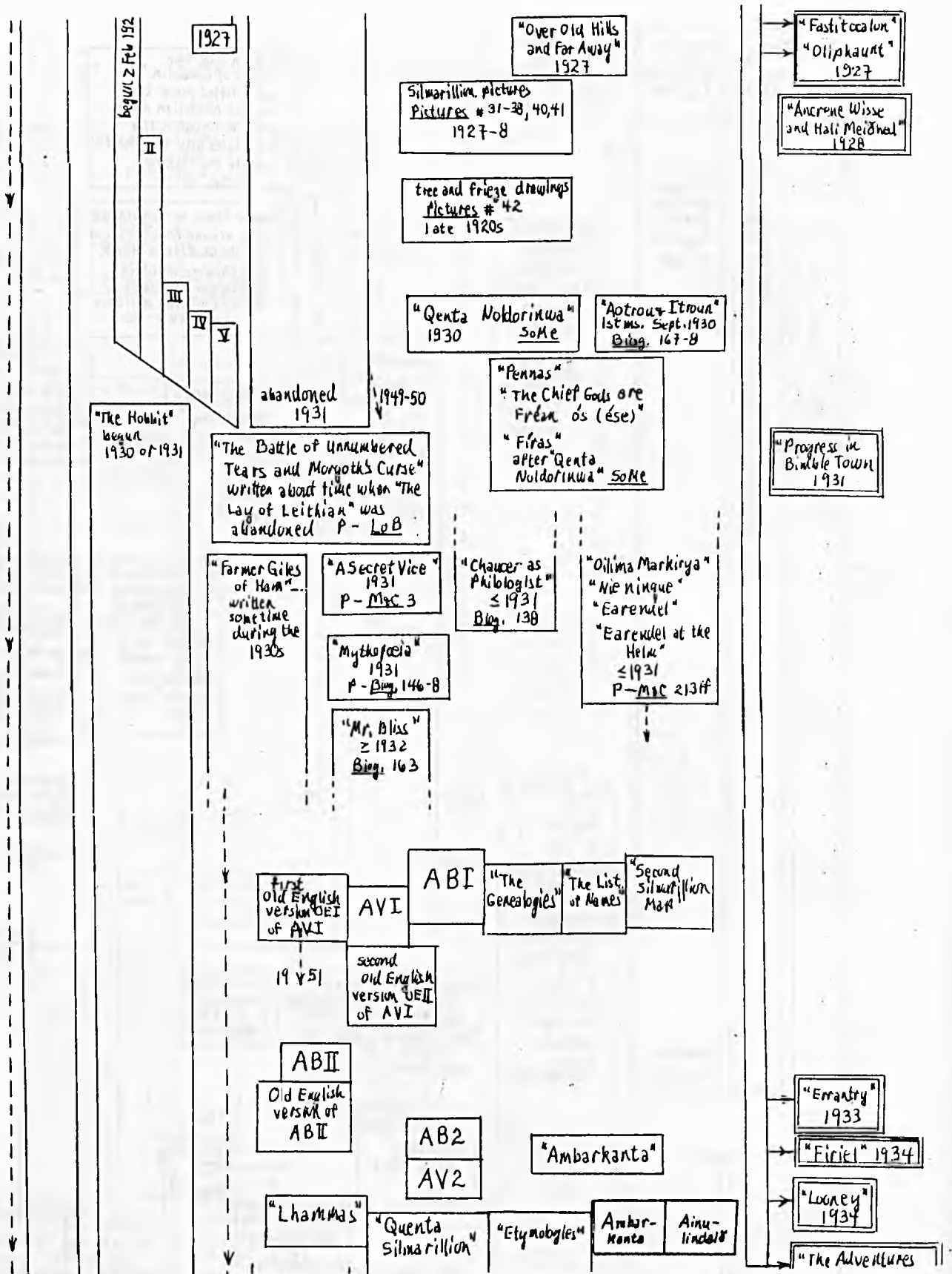
Chart II: The Evolution of the Mythopoeisis of Arda



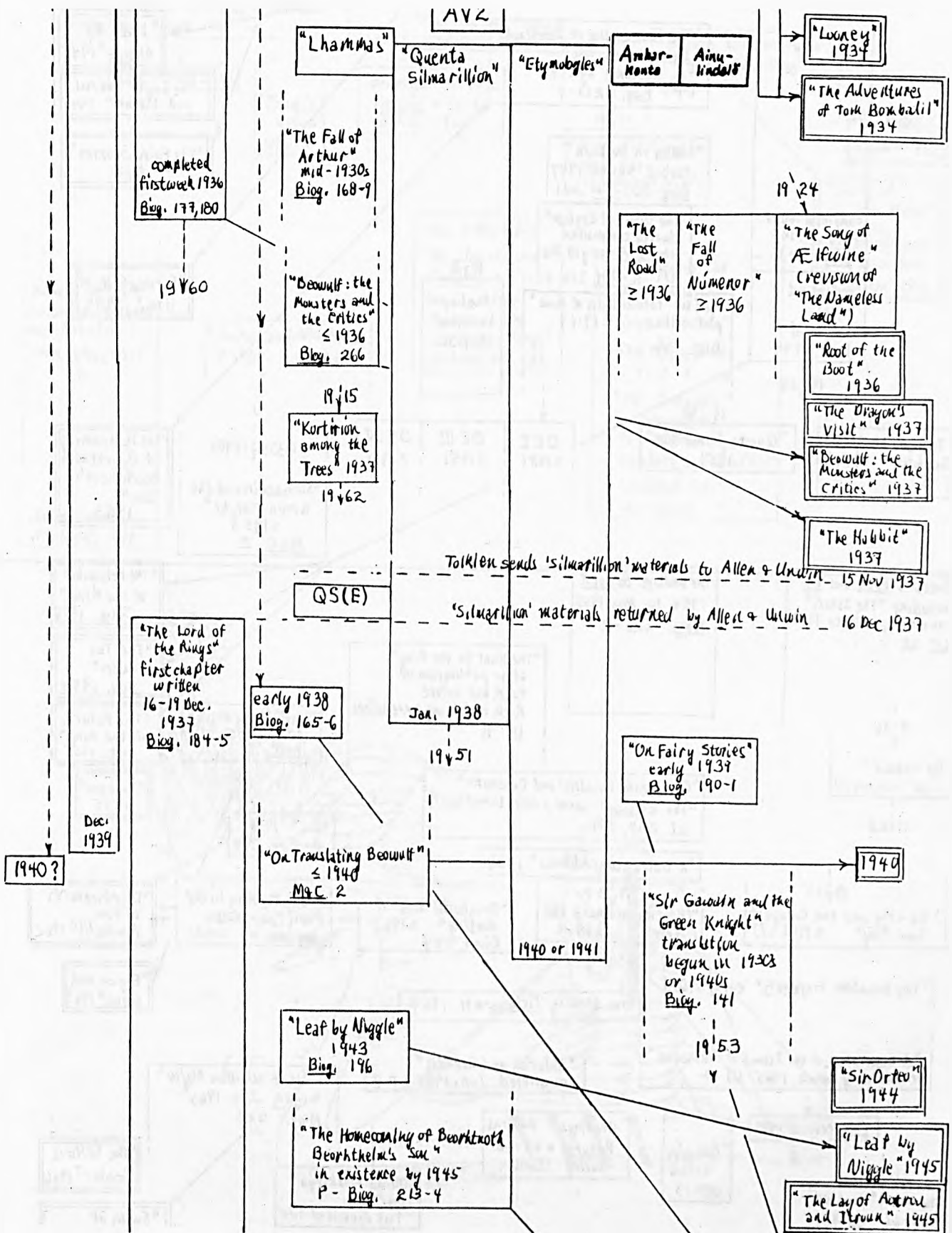
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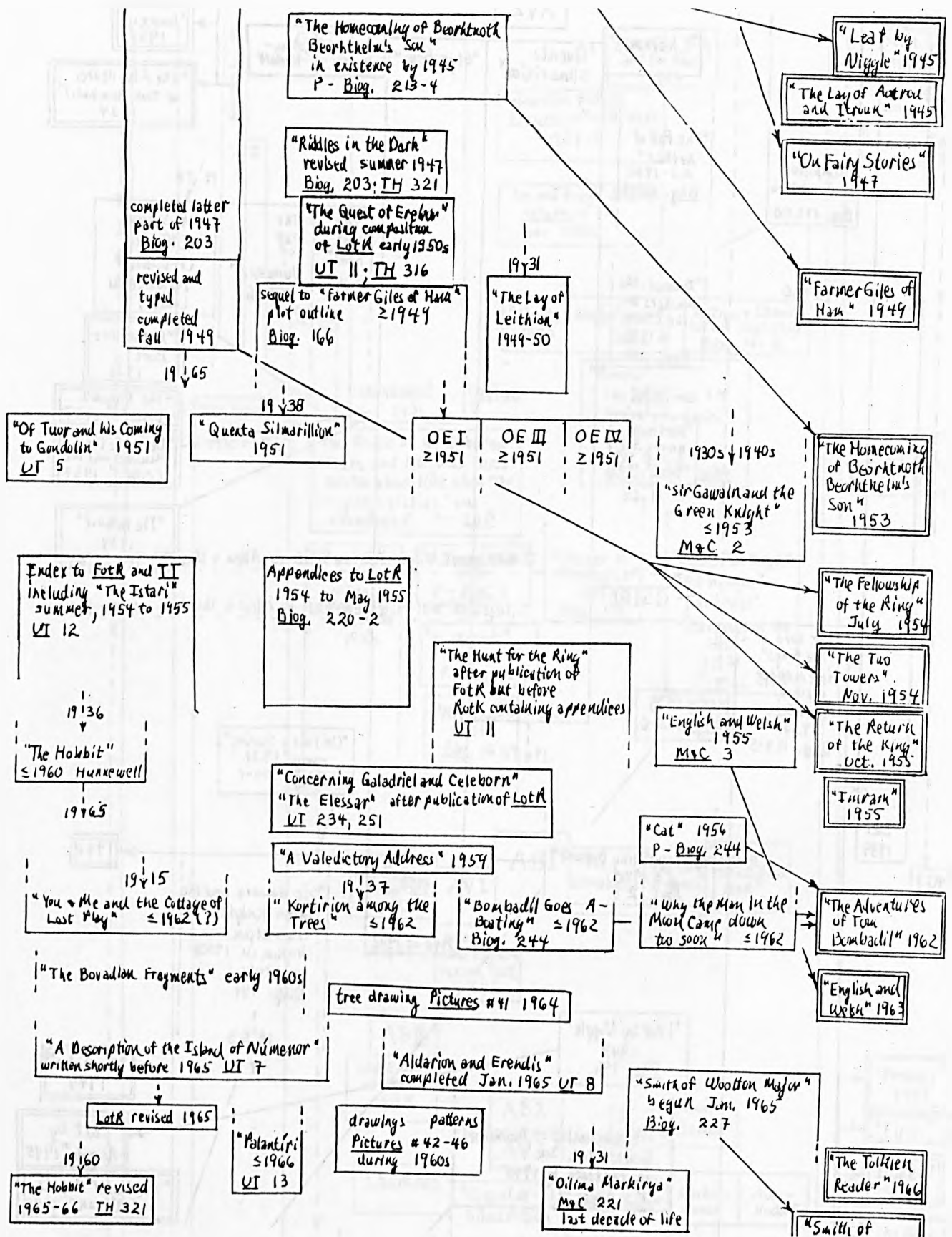
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"A Description of the Island of Númenor"
written shortly before 1965 VI 7

LoTB revised 1965

"Palantíri"
5 1966
VI 13

"Aldarion and Erendis"
completed Jan. 1965 VI 8

drawings patterns
Pictures # 42-46
during 1960s

"Smith of Wootton Major"
began Jan. 1965
Bio. 227

1973
"Olimo Markirya"
MOC 221
last decade of life

"The Tolkien
Reader" 1966

"Smith of
Wootton Major"
1967

"The Road Goes
Ever On" 1967

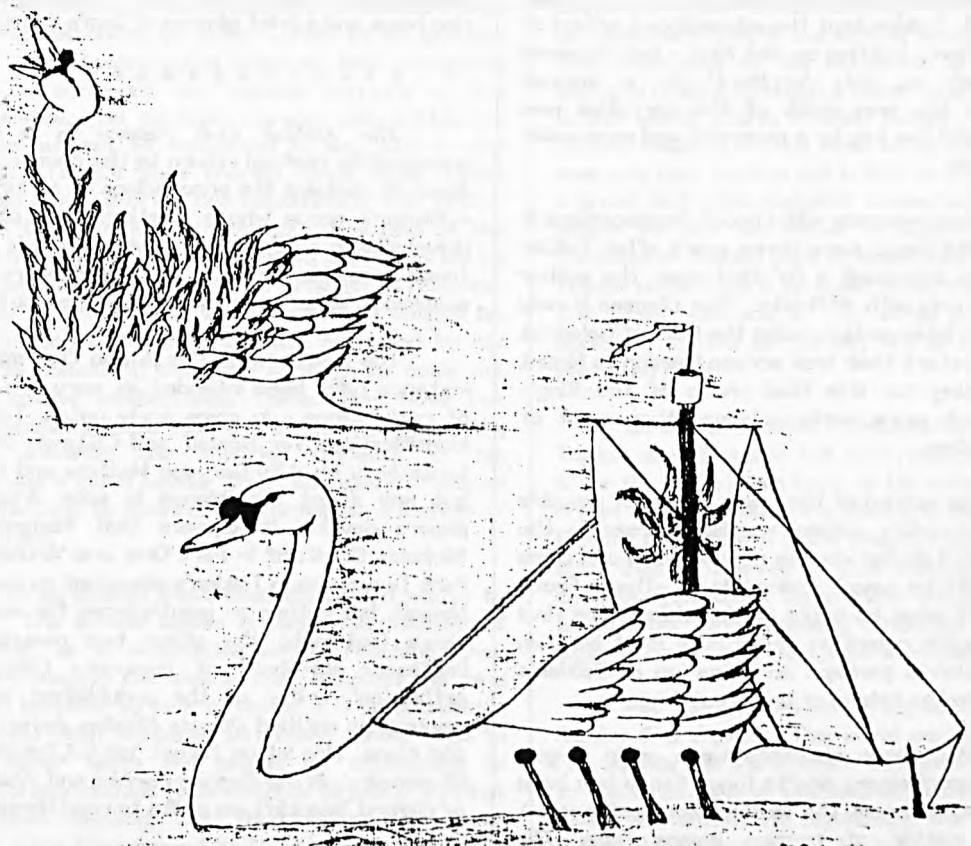
"Narn i Hîn Húrin"
"The Line of Elrus"
Pictures # 47-48
"Guide to the
Names in The
Lord of the Rings"
undated, post LoTB

"The Disaster of the
Golden Fields"
"Cirion and Eorl"
"The Battles of the
Fords of Isen"
"The Druedain"
philological essays
in "The History of
Celebrim and Galadriel"
undated 'late'
narratives

material in "The
History of Celebrim
and Galadriel"
from before 1969
to

"Amroth and Nimrodel"
≥ 1969 VI 240

the last month
of Tolkien's life



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Review

Sauron Defeated, by J.R.R. Tolkien, ed. C.R. Tolkien, HarperCollins, 1992. £20.00. Review by Charles E. Noad

Sauron Defeated, the ninth volume of *The History of Middle-earth*, contains the fourth and final part of Christopher Tolkien's exploration of the writing of *The Lord of the Rings* as well as two other pieces belonging to this period, *The Notion Club Papers* and *The Drowning of Anadûnâ*. The Appendices are not covered, although they might be given attention at some later time. It is unfortunate that the history of *The Lord of the Rings* could not have been described in three volumes, but that is due to the size-limitations imposed by the publishers.

Although the destruction of Bilbo's Ring in the depths of the Fiery Mountain was always present, there is an interesting difference between the earlier story-outlines (which are discussed first) and the final text. At the entrance to the Chamber of Fire Frodo hears the Necromancer's voice offering to share the power with him, in response to which he puts on the Ring to claim it for himself. But this presents a problem: if Frodo is to be tempted *before* he puts it on, the Sauron must already know he has the Ring, so why had he not intervened earlier? Tolkien resolved this by retaining Frodo's putting on of the Ring (now because he was tempted by it), but using that as the very signal by which Sauron was made aware of his peril. Tolkien kept the adventitious *effect* of Sauron's temptation - putting on the Ring - but removed the cause itself; so this 'accident' (in a manner characteristic of the way much of the narrative was developed) provided the key to a coherent and memorable climax to the quest.

The narrative resumes with Frodo's imprisonment in the Tower of Kîrith Ungol, some three years after Tolkien had 'got the hero into such a fix' that even the author could rescue him only with difficulty. This dilemma is now resolved by Sam's intervention, using the Phial of Galadriel, and he and Frodo start their trek across Mordor to Mount Doom. The writing for this final phase of the Ring's journey was much more easily achieved than most of what had gone before.

In the actual writing of the tale's climax, of possible significance are Frodo's original words: whereas in the final text he says: 'I do not choose now to do what I came to do', in the draft he says: 'I *cannot* do ...'. There, Frodo was still aware of what he ought to do, while in the final version he thinks his rejection of his duty is of his own will. This alteration is perhaps an indication of Tolkien's deeper insight into the nature of the Great Ring.

The following three chapters were again largely achieved in their preliminary drafts (once Frodo had been got out of his 'fix', it seems, the writing was much easier). Regarding the matter of reusing names from *The Silmarillion*, Christopher Tolkien writes, 'As in so many other cases in *The Lord of the Rings* (Tolkien) took the name (...) from *The Silmarillion*. It is almost now as though bits of the former were being tossed into the Cauldron of Story

to produce the 'Soup' of the latter.

From here the preliminary drafting, from 'Homeward Bound' right through to the unpublished Epilogue, seems to have been completed in a single run. In the draft Frodo plays a far more active role in helping to liberate the Shire than he does in the later version: it was only while revising that Tolkien began to realise what had happened to Frodo. And so the last part of the history of the War of the Ring was, albeit after much refinement, brought to its close, with every person and every event in those places which we know to be their fitting and proper ones.

Then there was the Epilogue. This was an attempt to show what happened afterwards and reveal the fates of the characters. That kind of thing has to be set a few years after the main action has ceased, and therein lies the problem. It is very much *not* a part of the main narrative, being quite isolated by the passage of time from the leave-taking at the Grey Havens. Indeed, in Sam's own words, 'It isn't fit to go in the Book like that. It isn't a bit like the story as Mr. Frodo wants it. But I shall have to make a chapter or two in proper style, somehow.' Tolkien seems to have been aware that it spoils the ending since it finishes with almost the same words ('... the sigh and murmur of the Sea upon the shores of Middle-earth') as does the 'proper' ending at the Grey Havens. In the event Tolkien cut out the Epilogue altogether (although he was never happy about that) and compromised with a very short account of the hobbits' ride home and a brief glimpse of Sam's domesticity.

The Notion Club Papers is a rather more successfully realised return to the concerns of *The Lost Road*. It contains the proceedings of an Inklings-like (Inkling = 'Notion') group whose meetings take place at Oxford University in 1987, the surviving records of which are found by accident early in the 21st century (although two suspicious 'expert witnesses' date them to the 1940s).

The members of the Notion Club may in the first instance have been intended as very broad caricatures of real Inklings - in some early notes, Tolkien suggests identifications for himself and C.S. Lewis (one might also tentatively identify Gervase Mathew and Owen Barfield), but any strict equivalence is soon dropped. As the papers develop, it appears that 'Michael Ramer' then 'Nicholas Guildford' in Part One, and 'Arundel Lowdham' in Part Two, speak in Tolkien's place, not so much as the man himself, but rather as mouthpieces for many of his own views (but note the other two pseudo-Tolkienes: 'old Professor Rashbold' of Pembroke College, and 'John Arthurson', writer of the unpublished, and since lost, manuscript entitled *Quenta Eldalen, being the History of the Elves*. Nor let us forget 'old C.R. Tolkien's little books of memoirs', *In the Roaring Forties* and *The Inns and Outs of Oxford*. Wouldn't we all like to read those).

A discussion in the first principal 'Night' in Part One about space-travel and its place in fiction arises from a story read out by Michael Ramer; it is criticised not so much for being about space-travel, but because the heart

of the story, set on another world, is felt to be at odds with the mode of travel used to reach it. As Nicholas Guildford puts it, 'if you use (space-ships) for space-journeys in the flesh, they'll land you in space-ship sort of adventures.' Now since Guildford displays such an antipathy to the very notion of physical travel to other worlds in both fact and fiction, and since his views are presented with such conviction that we may suppose their creator to have some sympathy with them, and since Tolkien elsewhere (e.g., in *On Fairy-Stories*) expresses views quite consonant with them, it may be worthwhile to look at Guildford's fulminations in detail, and try to see what, through them, Tolkien is really saying.

Guildford, as speaking for Tolkien, believes that space-ships cannot exist, that the 'barrier cannot and will not ever be passed in mortal flesh' ('flesh in which no mortal flesh can endure', to express it mythically) and considers that, since such stories are therefore wholly incredible, they put an unbearable strain on the reader's belief. The fact that Tolkien had strayed outside his field into an area where he was far from knowledgeable. Although spaceflight was not yet practicable in 1946, the subject had been examined theoretically; rockets, such as the V-2, were real enough, and its realisation in the not-too-distant future was quite realistic. Possibly Tolkien was reacting against much of the cruder sort of science fiction then published, in which case his views are quite understandable. But I think we are dealing here with a deeper antipathy to the whole concept. Tolkien may have considered the notion of the transport of human beings across cosmic distances to other worlds as an extreme example of sinful, technological Western Man arrogantly attempting to surmount the natural barriers of the created universe. He probably agreed with C.S. Lewis's views on the subject as expressed in, say, *Out of the Silent Planet* - Lewis's jibes therein about 'little rocket societies' had sparked off a correspondence with Arthur C. Clarke. In the debate about space travel held at the Eastgate in the late 1940s or early 1950s which this led to, Clarke was seconded by the rocket engineer A.V. Cleaver, and Lewis by Tolkien (no-one was disposed to change his views, but a good time seems to have been had by all). There may be something else, too: although he could not doubt the matter intellectually, Tolkien may have felt emotionally uncomfortable with the inhuman scale of the astronomic universe: the imagined universe of his preference was a much smaller place, but space-travel as a reality would help to confirm the former as a matter of inescapable fact.

Since he so disliked them, what did Tolkien prefer to spaceships? The answer comes in Ramer's explanation of 'true dreaming', as an alternative way of reaching other worlds. very roughly the idea is that although the mind *per se* is not bounded by time or space, it is so bounded in practical terms when 'anchored' to a body. Ramer tries to experience other times and places by attempting to gather mental impressions from material objects. At first he experiences nothing, but then finds that some impressions were transferred at the time unconsciously, and it is those which he can inspect in dreams as a kind of memory, and if he later recalls the dreams, then he can indeed experience other times and places. Once he has had some practice at this, he suddenly 'wakes up' to the

strange dreams which he has been having all his life. It is in these that he has visited other worlds with strange names like Emberû, Elor and Tekel-Mirim - which gave rise to the story he read to the Club (curiously Clarke describes not wholly dissimilar dream-visits to other worlds in his *Childhood's End*, written in 1952. Is it possible that Tolkien propounded 'true dreaming' as an alternative to space-ships during the Eastgate debate, and that Clarke remembered this when he came to write his book?). Whether this mode of travel to other worlds really is more credible than space-ships is best left to the reader to judge, but it is certainly Tolkienian: in one way it goes all the way back to *Older Males*, the Path of Dreams in *The Book of Lost Tales*.

In the second part of the *Notion Club Papers*, Lowdham explains how he has begun to hear in his dreams voices speaking strange tongues, which he calls 'Avallonian'(Quenya) and 'Adunaic'. And now the whole matter of Númenor obtrudes itself into the story, for it turns out that Lowdham's father *saw* strange sights, and kept a notebook of Anglo-Saxon written in Elvish characters, before he sailed west in his boat *The Éarendel*, and disappeared at sea - plainly a reworking of *Lost Road* material. Another member, Wilfrid Jeremy, sees rather than hears in his dreams, and he and Lowdham become altogether caught up in what they experience in their new mode of perception, which is not reincarnation but simply the case that sight and memory go on in the descendants of Elendil. Their dreams and memories thus summoned up are reflected in an extraordinary way in the waking world: on June 16th 1987 their 'memories' of the inundation of Númenor call up a storm in reality; although a mere token of the original, this is the worst storm in living memory, the 'Great Storm' (British readers will not need to be reminded that Tolkien was only four months out in this 'prediction'). This pulls in a great deal more material connected with Númenor and begins to give the matter a 'disturbing complexity', as Christopher Tolkien puts it; which may be one reason why Tolkien never took it up again after resuming *The Lord of the Rings*. But one of the things pulled in is the poem published in 1955 as 'Imram', and it is useful to have it reprinted here.

Given the detailed discussion of 'true dreaming', did Tolkien himself believe in it as a reality, or did he improvise it for the story? We know of his recurrent 'Númenórean' dream of the Green Wave coming in over trees and fields; likewise his dream of 'pure Weight'. It may be too much to claim that he believed in 'true dreaming', but he evidently thought that there were some things which needed an explanation, and Ramer's theories are perhaps an exploration of what just such an explanation might entail.

But there is a point of especial importance to *The Notion Club Papers*. The world portrayed in the Papers represents the world which Tolkien would have preferred to live in, i.e., one of present-day reality embedded in the space and time of his mythology: the *Papers* is in fact a personal statement about his predilections not in this case for language but for reality itself. For example, Tolkien scarcely knew his own father; Lowdham's father is close to his son and deeply involved in the world of ancient legend. In that world, legend and history are one,

and so Númenor and by implication the whole Elvish *legendarium* have a real existence: It makes the sub-created world of Middle-earth real. That world has a cosmology quite different from ours, having a reach in space and time which, if awesome by human standards, does not utterly overwhelm them. Beneath the satire, *The Notion Club Papers* reflects some of Tolkien's deepest desires.

The last part of the book is taken up with *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, a development of *The Fall of Númenor* in *The Lost Road*. This reveals a history strangely different from the one we are used to: the Elves are not properly understood, and both Númenor and Valinor are destroyed in the catastrophe at the end of the Second Age. And instead of a flat world, with part of it warped into the round world in the catastrophe, the Númenóreans believe that the world is already round, although Sauron contradicts that, and tells them that many lands lie beyond, with the Dark surrounding all. But in an early sketch of the piece, it is Sauron who claims that the world is round: 'There is nothing outside but Night - and other worlds.' It might be reading too much into this, but it seems in keeping with *The Notion Club Papers* that the astronomical universe should be no more than a Sauronic deceit.

The Drowning of Anadûnê is actually meant to represent the 'Mannish tradition' of the end of the island realm, as opposed to *The Fall of Númenor*, which represents the 'Elvish tradition', and the *Akallabêth*, representing a 'mixed Dúnedanic tradition'. It is really an exercise of Tolkien's in considering how traditions can be distorted by time.

Lastly, there is 'Lowdham's Report on the Adunaic Language'. Since languages are not my forte, I shall just note that we only have this text at all because, unlike most of Tolkien's other linguistic manuscripts, it was simply abandoned at one point, with no further work done on it, and so was not 'reduced to a wreck' as others generally were.

As before, Christopher Tolkien has had to perform a task of extraordinary difficulty, in terms of both the quantity and the complexity of the work, in preparing the present volume, but he has done so to his usual exemplary standards. The book is most deservedly dedicated to the late Taum Santoski, who did so much to bring the history of *The Lord of the Rings* to completion.

AFTERWORD

I SEEN 'EM MYSELF

Patricia Reynolds writes: "This is a short poem by 'Jar' Tolkien, a reputed Oxford academic. His literary output is little known outside a small circle of his friends (known as the 'Calordents', from their habit of sitting too close to imitation-coal-effect gas fires, and whose memory has in any case been rendered unrelliable over the years by the constant application of drugs, e.g. ethyl alcohol). In the circumstances, I believe that it deserves a wider audience, such as *Mallorn* can provide." So here it is. - Ed.]

We were talking of dragons,
 were Lewis and I,
And Lewis maintained that the
 beggars¹ could fly.
I told him then it was no such
 thing -
It's obvious that they are held
 up by string.

1. The orthography of this word is a matter of scholarly dispute. - Ed.

About some of our contributors ...

HELEN ARMSTRONG is the nom-de-PC of Hibernia The Balrog. She not only wrote and illustrated her own story, but DTP'd it as well ... the answer to an editor's prayer.

MARIE BARNFIELD is still looking after her family, still translating, and (obviously) still actively interested in matters Celtic.

LUCY BRAY is in her mid-20s, lives in Bristol, and works for the DSS. She is also interested in animal welfare, and to prove it has three cats.

DAVID DOUGHAN will *not* be editing any more *Mellyrn* (diolch byth).

JOHN ELLISON uses his legal work to fund his many visits to Covent Garden and his considerable record collection. He will be co-editing the next *Mallorn*.

DENIS GORDEYEV spent the night of 20-21 August 1991 on the barricades outside the (Moscow) White House. He has also illustrated the first complete Russian translation of *The Lord of the Rings*.

WAYNE HAMMOND works in the Chapin Library of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., and is a frequent visitor to these shores. His Tolkien Bibliography will shortly be published by St. Paul's Bibliographies.

NEIL HOLFORD at the time of writing is a stressed out finalist reading geology at Oxford University. When not looking down a microscope or poring over books, he is always on the lookout for good beer and loud (and proud) headbanging music.

LISA HOPKINS teaches English at Sheffield City Polytechnic; *Mallorn* readers will remember her article in No. 28 on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Her next book will be *John Ford's Political Theatre*, due from Manchester

University Press in 1993 (or thereabouts).

SERGEI IUCHIMOV lives in Odessa (Ukraine). In order to read the whole of *The Lord of the Rings*, he had to learn Polish Look out for more of this man's work.

MARIA KAMENKOVICH lives in St. Petersburg, where she and her husband Valerii are preparing *their* translation of *The Lord of the Rings* for publication (her translation of *Leaf by Niggle* has already been published).

ALEX LEWIS is the retiring (if that's the right word) Chairman of the Tolkien Society. He still works in Saudi Arabia, and sings to a large guitar (when nobody can stop him).

CHARLES NOAD is interested in Blake, Tolkien and rocketry. He has been prominent in the Tolkien Society for longer than most of us care to remember.

DONALD O'BRIEN teaches physics and maths at Okanagan College, British Columbia. As well as a doctorate in physics, he has a master's in classics, a wife, a baby daughter and a time-consuming interest in Tolkien.

PATRICIA REYNOLDS is heavily into matters archaeological, and when she has recovered from organising the Centenary Conference, will be co-editing *Mallorn*. Her contribution to this issue doubtless indicates the level of taste and scholarship to which she will aspire.

RAYNER UNWIN ... it is thanks to this man that *The Lord of the Rings* actually got published. For further details, see *Letters, Biography*, etc., passim.





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S. IUCHIMOV · 1991