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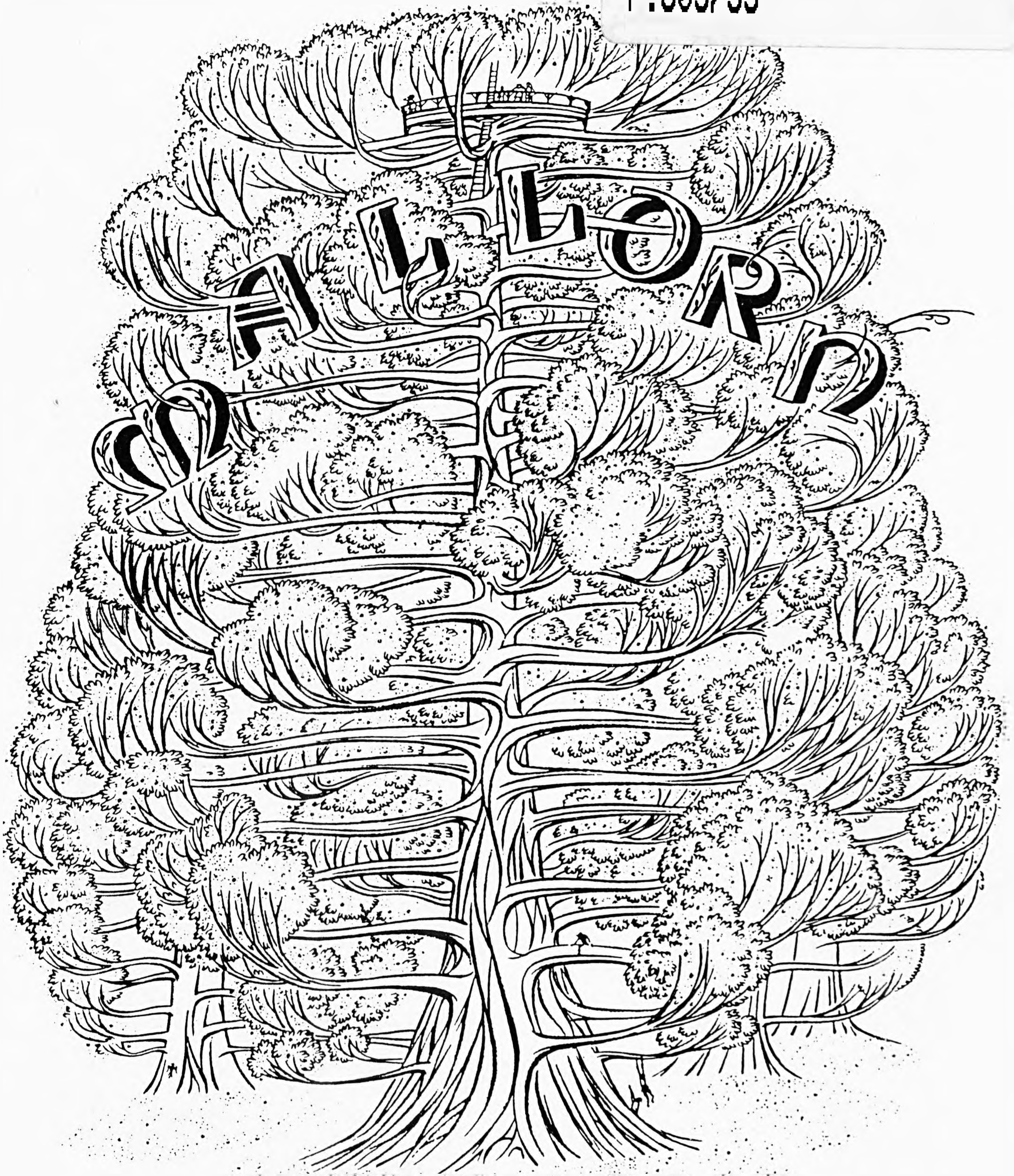

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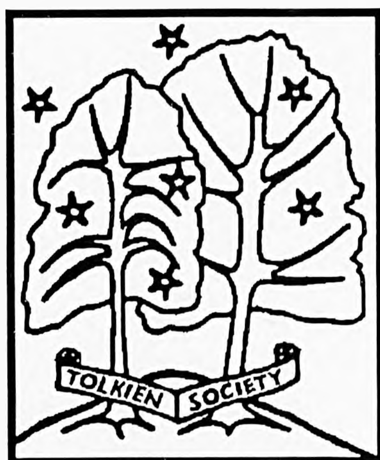

The Tolkien Society

Founded in London in 1969, the Tolkien Society is an international organization 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 its 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 in late September.

For further information about the Society, please contact the Secretary: Annie Haward, Flat 6, 8 Staveton Road,OXFORD, 0X2 6XJ

Notes for Contributors

PROSE ITEMS (including fiction) should, if possible, be typed, double-spaced with margins a minimum of 3cm wide, and on one side of the paper only, with your name, the title and page number at the top of *each* sheet. **Even more acceptable are computer discs**: 3¼" or 5" (IBM compatible); ASCII, word, wordstar, wordperfect, or any version of Locoscript - your disc must be accompanied by a legible print out.

If your text includes any character which may not convert properly (including any with accents, as in, for example, "Manwë") , please substitute these with standard characters not used elsewhere in your text (e.g. %, $, &), and enclose a table showing what they represent (the printout should have the *real* characters, not the substitutions). If your word-processor or typewriter cannot cope with characters which you wish to appear, please draw our attention to this.

Handwritten contributions will be considered, but should be, please, *extremely* legible, and should in any case be in the format outlined above. The editors may, with recret, have to reject the less than completely legible.

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 asked to make cuts as necessary.

Quotations should always be identified. Citation should be made in the Harvard format, i.e. at each citation of a work you should include the author's surname, the date of publication, and the pages referred to. If any are not included in the text, they should be placed in the text in brackets – e.g.

Tolkien (1961, p.7) says that ...

And it was later said (Carpenter, 1994, p. 12) ...

The Silmarillion (Tolkien, 1977) contains ....

The references should be in the form

Author, date, title (journal and page numbers), place of publication, publisher.

in alphabetical order.

VERSE ITEMS, which should not usually be more than 50 lines, may be presented either in the format indicated above, or in calligraphed form, in which case the specifications for artwork given below should be followed. There is no restriction on the form, or the presence or lack of a rhyme scheme.

ARTWORK should be in black and white, no larger than A4 size, and either the original of the work or a high quality photocopy. The artist's name should be written *clearly* on the back IN PENCIL.

GENERAL NOTES: Contributors who want their material returned should provide a self-addressed appropriately stamped envelope, or TWO IRCs.

The editors reserve the right to reject any item, or to ask for changes to be made.

Contributions should be sent to: Pat Reynolds at 16 Gibsons Green, Heelands, MILTON KEYNES, England, MK13 7NH (email tolksoc@caerlas.demon.co.uk).

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Mallorn XXXII

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Editorial

The flow of papers, articles or other contributions which seek to treat Middle-earth as a "real world" seems to have increased, and too be increasing. Ought it to be diminished? Perhaps so, perhaps not. But we think we are justified in returning to a theme we took up in the Editorial of the last issue of *Mallorn*, and developing it further. Can Middle-earth be researched too realistically, or in too much detail, for its own good?

The query has occurred to us largely as a result of an interesting paper given at the recent Seminar in Leicester. The speaker, by concentrating on one particular topic (the repair of roads), showed how much we have to take on trust about the societies and peoples of Middle-earth; how little we know, for instance, about Gondor, its administration, its finances and its legal system. How far can we believe in the viability of Gondor as a state, its capacity to survive and defeat its enemies, when we know so little about how it functioned? The author of the paper we mentioned also referred to the inherent improbability of the unpopulated areas which appear to cover, say, so much of Eriador. Middle-earth, in fact, bristles with difficulties like this; the apparent absence of organized religion, or religions, is a major one (however essential it was to Tolkien creatively and artistically).

Of course, Middle-earth as a sub-created world is held together and made viable by its languages, and the cohesive force of its nomenclature. Tolkien's scholarship, as has so often been pointed out, lies at the centre of his imaginative writing, and it is because of this that Middle-earth "works", and the reader can accept all the concomitant features of this huge empire of the mind, and, as Tolkien puts it, experience "Secondary Belief".

It is a very delicately balanced structure, all the same. Tolkien, outside his own scholarly field, was, plainly enough, highly receptive and very well-formed on a wide range of topics. But it would be asking the impossible to expect him to be an expert economist, political theoretician, geographer, geologist, and I don't know how many other kinds of specialist expert as well. His world is an imaginative construct, not a reality; *The Lord of the Rings* is a story, not an economic or scientific treaties. Push too hard at one corner of his constructed edifice, and it could topple over, and Secondary Belief be shattered.

Perhaps some of our enthusiasts for "Middle-earth as a real world" need to bear this in mind. And yet there is as much joy to be had from examining Secondary creation as there is from examining Primary creation.

A former editor of *Mallorn* approached us, a thick bundle of papers under his arm:

"These were lost ... and are, er, ... found."

He said. 'These' were poems, pictures, reviews and papers submitted to *Mallorn* over ten years ago. Some were half-typed for publication. Indeed, half a *Mallorn*-in-progress seemed to be here. We are unsure what unlucky chain led to one editor passing the file to another, the bundle being overlooked, passed to another editor, put in a cupboard and forgotten when other *Mallorn* material was passed on: but however it happened, one spring day at a Northfarthing Innmoot, it became Christmas for the current editors.

Here were beautiful illustrations and drawings, poems, papers, and an abandoned project, of which more on page 25. The papers had suffered most by the passage of time: speculations written before *The History of Middle-earth* was published are of little interest. We appreciate that, even if those original contributors are still members of the Tolkien Society, they may not wish to see work they now consider 'childish' (or plain wrong) published, so we will be writing to the submittors where we can trace addresses! – and you will see this work gradually appearing in future editions of *Mallorn*.

This *Mallorn* is rather slim, at least by recent standards. This is not due to a lack of submissions (although there are no reviews because nothing of note seems to have been published this last year). One of your editors has been working on *Mallorn* 33 – the *Proceedings of the 1992 Tolkien Centenary Conference* to the exclusion of most other things.

And the Word was Made Flesh

Clive Tolley

Academic Work

Tolkien's academic output was lamentably meagre. I mean this both in the sense that he produced very little — his articles will fit comfortably into a paper file, and he produced no books in his lifetime[1] and in the sense that what he did publish often covers an area of study so limited as to leave many tantalising implications untouched.

The great exception is his article *Beowulf: the Monsters and the Critics*, in which he wrests the poetic genius of the Old English work from the hands of critics who seemed intent on reducing it to a desiccated pedestrianism[2]. Why is the article so striking? As with all great works, an easy answer cannot be given, yet a few indications may be proffered[3].

Partly it is that Tolkien stresses the obvious, which so many of his learned predecessors had failed to do; in brief, he pointed out that the universally acknowledged greatness of the poem's style would not be felt to be dignified, but merely incongruous, if the subject the poet had chosen to place at the centre — the fights with the various monsters — were not equally open to the expression of greatness in the hands of a gifted artist[4]. Tolkien shows some of the ways in which the poet's choice of subject has made a poem with greater depth and applicability than if he had chosen a 'realistic' human situation, such as the Life of St Oswald.

Partly it is Tolkien's gift of expression, reflecting a well-read and considered understanding of his subject, that is so impressive. For example, who could better this simile for the learned — but short-sighted — researchers of the poem:

> For it is of their nature that the jabberwocks of historical and antiquarian research burble in the tulgy wood of conjecture, flitting from one tum-tum tree to another. Noble animals, whose burbling is on occasion good to hear; but though their eyes of flame may sometimes prove searchlights, their range is short.

Or again, using an image resonant of biblical parable:

> I would express the whole industry in yet another allegory. A man inherited a field in which was an accumulation of old stone, part of an older hall. Of the old stone some had already been used in building the house in which he actually lived, not far from the old house of his fathers. Of the rest he took some and built a tower. But his friends coming perceived at once (without troubling to climb the steps) that these stones had formerly belonged to a more ancient building. So they pushed the tower over, with no little labour, in order to look for hidden carvings and inscriptions, or to

[1] Since his death two editions have appeared, which he himself left unfinished, of the Old English Exodus and the Finnesburh Fragment. It is to be hoped that his edition of *Beowulf*, the text closest to his heart, will someday be published. Unfortunately, the incompleteness of these editions, and the long gap between writing and publishing, renders them of limited scholarly value.

[2] I leave out of consideration here essays such as *On Fairy Stories* which do not deal with the main field of Tolkien's academic study.

[3] For those of you unfamiliar with Tolkien's academic work, I recommend this one article before all others. It is best read in the version found in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism* (ed. L. E. Nicholson, Notre Dame, 1963, pp. 51-103), since all the foreign and Old English quotations are there translated. It is regrettable that Christopher Tolkien, in producing the volume of essays entitled *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (London, 1983), could not have offered this aid to the readership, which is explicitly not intended to be academic. As this edition is the most recent and accessible, however, I use it for purposes of reference in this article.

[4] Thus (page 19): 'I would suggest, then that the monsters are not an inexplicable blunder of taste; they are essential, fundamentally allied to the underlying ideas of the poem, which give it its lofty tone and high seriousness.'

> discover whence the man's distant forefathers had obtained their building material. Some suspecting a deposit of coal under the soil began to dig for it, and forgot even the stones. They all said: 'This tower is most interesting.' But they also said (after pushing it over): 'What a muddle it is in!' And even the man's own descendants, who might have been expected to consider what he had been about, were heard to murmur: 'He is such an odd fellow! Imagine his using these old stones just to build a nonsensical tower! Why did not he restore the old house? He had no sense of proportion.' But from the top of that tower the man had been able to look out upon the sea.

But Tolkien is at his best when he is expounding the implications of a short expression, from which the poem's overall significance may be gleaned:

> It is in *Beowulf* that a poet has devoted a whole poem to the theme [of 'this indomitability, this paradox of defeat inevitable yet unacknowledged'], and has drawn the struggle in different proportions, so that we may see man at war with the hostile world, and his inevitable overthrow in Time. The particular is on the outer edge, the essential in the centre.
>
> Of course, I do not assert that the poet, if questioned, would have replied in the Anglo-Saxon equivalents of these terms. Had the matter been so explicit to him, his poem would certainly have been the worse. None the less we may still, against his great scene, hung with tapestries woven of ancient tales of ruin, see the *hæleð* walk. When we have read his poem, as a poem, rather than as a collection of episodes, we perceive that he who wrote *Hæleð under heofenum* may have meant in dictionary terms 'heroes under heaven', or 'mighty men upon earth', but he and his hearers were thinking of the *eormengrund*, the great earth, ringed with *garsecg*, the shoreless sea, beneath the sky's inaccessible roof; whereon, as in a little circle of light about their halls, men with courage as their stay went forward to that battle with the hostile world and the offspring of the dark which ends for all, even the kings and champions, in defeat... Death comes to the feast, and they say He gibbers: He has no sense of proportion.

The reader cannot fail to be impressed by sustained writing of this quality. Yet more lies in these passages (and in the whole essay) than meets the eye.

The first citation alludes to Lewis Carroll, that other Oxford don who spent much time in recounting fabulous adventure stories. Tolkien is hinting at an undercurrent of meaning in this essay on *Beowulf*, one that points at himself.

The second citation he characterises as allegory, a type of writing that he castigates in his introduction to *The Lord of the Rings*; it is as if he is being forced to hold back something powerful, something symbolic, in the chains of allegory here. In his creative writings, the Tower and the Sea are recurrent and important themes, second, probably, only to the Tree, which provided Tolkien with another image for story in *On Fairy Stories*.

The third citation brilliantly encapsulates the main theme of *Beowulf*, by recreating in us something of the flavour of the poem itself. Tolkien focuses on a few words fraught with dim echoes of a lost mythology (*heofen*, *eormengrund*, *garsecg*). Tolkien is writing more as a poet than an academic here — but it is nonetheless scholarly writing at its best. Yet what he writes may be applied to his own work almost as pertinently as to *Beowulf*. This indicates not merely that he has his own works in mind, but that the influence of the Old English poem, not so much in superficial plot terms, but in what it is about, its ethos, has been enormous. Whilst *The Lord of the Rings* is a celebration of what Tolkien found beautiful, more deeply it is an elegy for the passing of such things.

Much of the power of Tolkien's essay on *Beowulf* derives then from his imbuing of an academic study with the creativity that he usually reserves for his fictional work. In other circumstances he was not able to contain the inspiration of his responses within the bounds of a study; thus, what began as an introduction to the works of George Macdonald turned into what we know as *Smith of Wootton Major*; and in trying to communicate something of the

nature of his own creativity he wrote *Leaf by Niggle*, rather than an academic analysis.

But let us look at two less lofty articles by Tolkien, to see what they reveal about the relationship between his academic and his creative pursuits,

In the excavations of the late Roman period temple at Lydney, near the River Severn, several inscriptions were found, dedicated to a god *Nodens*. Tolkien supplied an appendix to the excavation report[5], in an attempt to elucidate the *meaning* of the name. He discusses the phonology of the name in depth, and soon establishes that it represents an earlier form of the name Nuada, an Irish god, whose chief characteristic was his silver hand. It was probably from Ireland that the cult of Nodens was brought to the west of England. The paltry records of early Celtic left no means of establishing the meaning of this name, however, and Tolkien turns to Germanic (with reference to other Indo-European languages) to find the evidence that it originally meant 'the snarer' or 'the hunter'. As he stresses several times in the article, philology cannot answer the question of what sort of god Nodens was, beyond this basic meaning of the name.

Tolkien takes a similar approach in his article on *Sigelwara land*[6]. The meaning of this Old English word was not in doubt: it meant Ethiopia. However, the formation was a strange one; Tolkien demonstrates that, in view of its archaism, it could not have been a gloss supplied by a clerk translating the name *Æthiopia*: it must already have existed, a remnant of a pre-Christian mythology of the English. Tolkien is meticulous in his analysis of the forms of the name, and in his (rather inconclusive) consideration of its possible meaning, on the basis of cognates in other languages. Yet, other than a vague reference to the Old English word for Paradise, *Neorxnawang*, and another, equally vague, to the Norse 'sons of Müspel', Tolkien does not seek to place this precious relic of English paganism in any mythological context: philology cannot, after all, do that.

Yet it is interesting that in these two articles Tolkien has given a thorough *philological* treatment to what he clearly regards as of the deepest *mythological* interest, almost without touching on mythological considerations.

Tolkien declared, 'To me a name comes first and the story follows'.[7]
The two articles I have dealt with clearly exemplify this procedure. But Tolkien made this remark about his own creative works. The *story* element in his own works is striking, and must rank as a chief foundation of his renown, yet this contrasts starkly with his practice in his academic work, where he hovers philologically around words with the deepest story elements inherent in them, but abnegates any responsibility to investigate these story elements — for he feels himself to be, professionally, a philologist and no more.

Many further examples might be adduced of Tolkien taking a word or name, and, to use a bacteriological metaphor, culturing it so that its mythological content grows in the fictional petrie dish; one such example will suffice here. As far as I am aware, Tolkien never pursued, academically, the purport of the name *Gandálfr*, listed as one of the dwarfs in the *Dvergatal* ('Catalogue of Dwarfs') contained within the Norse poem *Vǫluspá*. There are three reasons why this name would have attracted his attention. In the first place the *Dvergatal* is an interpolation into the *Vǫluspá*. Secondly, *álfr*, the second part of the name, means 'elf', yet the name is included amongst a list of dwarves. Most interesting is the first element, *gandr*; this seems to have been a sort of shamanic helping spirit — it is used in this sense in the twelfth century *Historia Norvegiae* in the earliest account of a Lappish shamanic séance. The only sign that Tolkien has felt the fascination of this name is the importance he gives in his fictional work to the character he names *Gandalf*.[8]

[5] Appendix I: 'The Name *Nodens*', *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Sites in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, London, IX (London, 1932), pp. 132-7.

[6] 'Sigelwara Land', *Medium Ævum* 1 (1932), pp. 183-196 & 3 (1934), pp. 95-111.

[7] 'Tolkien on Tolkien', *The Diplomat* (vol. xviii, #197, Oct. 1966), p. 39.

[8] I give detailed consideration of the *gandr* in my doctoral thesis (C. Tolley, *A Comparative Study of Some Germanic and Finnic Myths*, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1993, pp. 533-535 & 544-557).

It is clear that Tolkien approached his creative and his academic pursuits in the same way, starting with the word and building up a story from that. The creative elements — the mythology — that he homes into in his studies could only find fulfilment in his own creative works, however. Sometimes this was indirect — he would not necessarily feel the need to make up a story about Nodens or Sigelwara land[9] — but it could also be direct: instead of pursuing the mythological import of something he is investigating professionally, he would often stop as soon as he left the *terra firma* of philology, and rise on the wings of fancy above the fields of Middle-earth instead. I move on next to an example of this.

Eärendil

> Eala earendel engla beorhtast,
> ofer middangeard monnum sended
>
> Behold the morning star, brightest of angels,
> over the world sent to men
> (Cynewulf, Christ 104-5)

In these words the Old English poet Cynewulf proclaimed the dawning light as the harbinger of the Messiah. These words were read by the undergraduate Tolkien in the course of his study, and heralded the birth of Middle-earth.
As we have seen in other contexts, Tolkien was moved by words with an apparent story behind them. He wrote afterwards:

> I felt a curious thrill, as if something had stirred in me, half wakened from sleep. There was something very remote and strange and beautiful behind those words, if I could grasp it, far beyond ancient English.[10]

This was the beginning of the tale of the great mariner Eärendil, who bound a gleaming silmaril on his ship's prow so that he could pierce the enchanted mists and find a passage through to the Valar, with whom he pleaded for help in the last desperate struggle of elves and men; after setting foot on the blessed land, Eärendil was not permitted to return, but was destined to sail for ever in the sky, the silmaril still bound on his ship and seen by men as the Morning Star.

The source of the inspiration for this was specifically the word *earendel*, meaning probably 'Morning Star'; the root of the word, found also in *east*, *Easter* and Latin *Aurora*, apparently means the 'dawning light'; however, as Tolkien recognized, Eärendil was also almost certainly seen as a person; the name occurs in various ancient Germanic dialects, and in Old Norse there are tales of Aurvandill, whose toe froze as he was being carried over icy rivers by Þorr, so that the god set it in the heavens as a star in compensation.

Thus brightness was associated with *earendel* from the beginning. But where has Tolkien got the idea of linking him with the sea from? Partly it may derive from the icy rivers of the Norse tale, partly perhaps from the fact that in the twelfth century *Danish History* of Saxo Grammaticus Horwendillus, i.e. Eärendil, is the father of Amlethus (the later Hamlet), who was clearly connected with the ocean, talking as he does of sand as the meal of the sea as he walks along the shore feigning madness. However, the main reason is the name itself. In Old English there is a word *ear* meaning 'ocean'; it is probably not connected with *earendel*, but the possibility of confusion always existed. Tolkien has created a tale in which the 'confusion' is the essence of the story, a story of a mariner who (in effect) becomes the Morning Star.

Where was Eärendil to get his ship, however? Tolkien turned to another legend, preserved in just as fragmentary a state: that of Wade, the father of the well-known smith Wayland. Wade is said in the Old English poem *Widsið* to rule the Hælsings (a maritime people), and is mentioned twice by Chaucer, who at least revealed he had a famous boat. Walter Map tells something about him, how he wandered around redressing wrongs, and came to help King Offa against the Romans, his ship being driven to

[9] I have not checked to see that he did *not* do this, however: the curious source-hunter may well find something based on these in the voluminous posthumous material.
[10] H. Carpenter, *J. R. R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London, 1977), p. 64.

England against his will[11]. His ship is only named in 1598, however, in Speght's edition of Chaucer; he writes[12]:

> Concerning Wade and his bote called Guingelot, as also his strange exploits in the same, because the matter is long and fabulous, I passe it over.

The *gu* in this name may be a typical normanisation of a name beginning in *w* (as *Wade* becomes *Gado* in Walter Map, for example), which would give us an original *Wingelot*, the very name of Eärendil's ship in Tolkien. The name is highly unlikely to be original as the name of Wade's ship; it is Celtic in origin, and is in fact probably a mistake on Speght's part, for it is more usually found as the name of Sir Gawain's horse in the Arthurian cycle, including in the English *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* which Tolkien edited[13]. This very anomaly may have been the thing that attracted Tolkien; in his world, the anomaly disappears, and Wingelot becomes 'Foam Flower', a beautiful name, the meaning of which derives in part from the fortuity that *lóte*, clearly derived from *lotus*, already meant 'flower' in Tolkien's invented language.

One thing that stands out in Tolkien's use of *earendel* is his dramatic description of his imaginative encounter with the word itself and its context in Old English: vistas opened up of the lost mythological and literary wealth of Germania, things that might have been, had our records been more profuse. Tolkien is inspired above all by fragments that can be reassembled through comparative philology and mythology. He did not however reassemble them into what they had been, by means of academic research, but into something new: he builds a new tower out of the stray bricks of the old, to use the metaphor he employed in his great article on *Beowulf*.

Ing

Tolkien was inspired in his fictional writing not only by his own academic research, but by that of others too; I will give one example here of the interplay of influence both from original source and research upon it.

The Germanic god Ing (to use the Old English form of his name) is first encountered — albeit only by implication — in Tacitus' *Germania* ch. 2, published in 98 AD, which mentions that Mannus 'Man' had three sons, from whom the three great divisions of the Germanic people were named; one of the groups was the Ingvaeones[14]. The Old English *Rune Poem* gives a little more information:

Ing wæs ærest	Ing was first
mid Eastdenum	among the East Danes
gesewen secgun,	seen by men,
oþ he siððan eft[15]	until thereafter back
ofer wæg gewat,	over the wave he went;
wæn æfter ran;	a wagon ran after;
ðus Heardingas	so the Heardingas
ðone hæle nemdun.	named the hero.[16]

Tacitus seems to have regarded Ing as a progenitor[17]. In Old English Ing appears to be the founder of the Ingwine (possibly derived from Ingvaeones), a synonym for 'Danes' in

[11] In these tales of Wade there is little sense of pressing purpose, which is so characteristic of the Eärendil story in Tolkien; however, this proves to be a later feature of the legend; in the early versions presented in the *Book of Lost Tales*, Eärendil arrives too late in Valimar to beseech help; he sets sail in the sky merely in search for Elwing, and his association with brightness comes from the diamond dust he picks up in Eldamar, not from having a silmaril on his prow: all the elements that dignify the legend as we know it from *The Lord of the Rings* are later features.

[12] For an account of the stories mentioned here, and a discussion of their sources, see R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (London, 1970), pp. 14 ff. (he does not however consider where Speght got the name Guingelot).

[13] Tolkien was aware of the connexion between the names, but does not in fact suggest that Speght has lifted it from the Arthurian cycle.

[14] Emended from *Ingaevones*: see *Die Germania des Tacitus* (ed. R. Much, 3rd ed. Heidelberg, 1967), p. 24; forms such as the Norse *Yngvi* indicate that, in Tacitus' day, the stem of the word would have been **Ingw-*.

[15] The original manuscript of the poem is lost; we are reliant on a transcription by Hickes for the text: he reads *est* at this point. The expected form, within the orthography of the poem, would be east if the meaning is 'east', and Hickes has most likely confused the manuscript f and s, as he has done elsewhere.

[16] *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records VI: The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (ed. E. Van Kirk Dobbie, New York, 1942), pp 29-30, lines 67-70.

[17] Who Ing's progeny actually were is difficult to determine. The Norse tradition is clear in regarding the Yngling dynasty as Swedish, but Tacitus' Ingvaeones are unlikely to have lived in Sweden: *proximi Oceano* suggests most naturally a position on the North Sea or Baltic litoral: cf. the Ingwine of *Beowulf*, who are the Danes.

Beowulf. Furthermore, in Norse tradition Yngvi, equated with the god of fertility Freyr, is regarded as the progenitor of the Swedish kings[18]. The group of peoples Ing founded included the ancestors of the Danes, judging by the term Ingwine, and also probably the Anglii, i.e. the continental ancestors of the English. He was particularly associated with a journey, appearing in the east and returning over the sea. He was probably a solar hero, and his passage represents that of the sun.

Given that he was worshipped by the ancestral English, his name, albeit only fortuitously similar to that of one of the tribes of his worshippers, is striking. Whilst not suggesting any connexion between the names, Müllenhoff in 1879 concluded that *The Rune Poem* was written from the point of view of the English, and hence that Ing's coming back over the waves implies a visit to the forefathers of the English in England[19].

Tolkien has two independent stories of Ing. In the earliest, which survived into his later works, Ing or Ingwe was the leader of the first house of elves — like the Germanic peoples there were three in all — who led his people to Valinor and remained there in bliss. He also produced variants of this, in which Ing returned to Middle-earth to lead the onslaught against Morgoth and was killed in it.

One point of interest here is that Tolkien uses both forms of the name, *Ing* and *Ingwe*; now *Ing* is the English and *Ingwe* the (primitive) Norse form of the Germanic hero's name; Tolkien has other names alternating in a similar pattern, e.g. *Finn/Finwe*; it seems that a morphological feature of his invented languages is derived from a dialectal difference in Germanic.

According to Müllenhoff, *Ing* may mean 'the come'; this is the most salient feature of Tolkien's Ingwe, who along with his people were the most attached to Valimar after their arrival there. The variant of his returning to fight against Morgoth is surely related to the ambiguous and emended *eft* 'back' of *The Rune Poem*.

The other use of Ing occurs in a slightly later layer in Tolkien's developing mythology, and is found in *The Book of Lost Tales* II, 304 ff. It proved to be only a temporary feature. Here, Tolkien's Ing is much more consciously modelled on the Germanic hero. Ing was the king of Luthany (i.e. Britain), semi-immortal through drinking elvish *limpe*, who helped Eärendil and thus incurred the wrath of Ossë, who drove him out; he sought Elvenhome in the west, but was driven by a storm into the far east, where he became the king of the Ingwaiwar (i.e. the Ingvaeones of Tacitus), and taught them about the gods and elves. The Ingwaiwar later invade Luthany and 'come into their own', i.e. repossess the land their founder had ruled; this represents the invasion of the English, i.e. descendants of the Ingvaeones. One outline has Ing sailing off at twilight to Elvenhome, presumably after establishing the Ingwaiwar, but with the understanding that he would one day return and guide the elves back to Luthany: clearly this is derived more from the Arthurian legends than from Germanic material, though the departure by ship of the (dead) Scyld in *Beowulf* has also played its part here; as Tolkien points out[20], the legend of Scyld Scefing is itself strongly coloured by the Ing myth, and the death of the hero was originally part of the cyclic process of death and rebirth (in particular of the sheaf from which the original antagonist of the myth took his name): hence the idea of the hero departing, but with the promise of return, was probably implied in the antecedent of the myth of Scyld Scefing, as well as in the solar Ing myth.

Whilst the voyages of Tolkien's Ing do not correspond exactly with those of his Germanic counterpart (the 'return' is to England, rather than from it, as Müllenhoff proposes), it is clear that Tolkien has been influenced both by the troublesome emendation eft 'back', and by Müllenhoff's association of Ing with England — which has not been accepted by other scholars. 'Back' implies that Ing has been somewhere before, somewhere to the west of the East Danes of the Old English poem, and the thought of

[18] Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* (ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols., Reykjavík, 1941), vol. 1, p. 24.
[19] K. Müllenhoff, 'Irmin und Seine Brüder', *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum* (vol. 23, 1879), pp. 1 2D22.
[20] *The Lost Road and Other Writings* (London, 1987), pp. 93-94.

England is natural, especially when it has been sanctioned by at least one scholar.

Beowulf and Rohan

That Rohan is based on Anglo-Saxon England is well known[21]; however, the arrival of Gandalf, Aragorn, Gimli and Legolas in Rohan (Book III, chapter 6) has a much more precise source: the arrival of Beowulf and his men in Denmark in the Old English *Beowulf*. A summary, with quotations, first of the relevant section of *Beowulf*, then of the passage from *The Lord of the Rings*, will illustrate this: I cross-reference precise points of similarity in the two by means of numbers.

A. *Beowulf*

Beowulf and his followers disembark from their ship and are met by the Danish coast-guard, who greets them in the following words[22]: :

> [1:] What kind of armed men are ye, [2:] clad in coats of mail, who have thus [3:] come and [4:] brought a towering ship over the water-ways, hither [5:] over the seas? [6:] For a long time I have been acting as coast-guard, I kept watch over the shore, so that on Danish land no enemy might do us harm with a force coming by sea. [7:] No strangers have ever begun to land here [8:] more openly with their shields, — nor were ye at all sure of the consent of men-at-arms, the permission of kinsmen. [9:] Never have I seen a mightier noble upon earth, a warrior in armour, than is one of you; [10:] that is no retainer dignified by weapons, [11:] unless his countenance, his peerless form, belies him. [12:] Now, I must know your lineage, ere ye go further, as [13:] faithless spies, on Danish ground. Now, ye strangers from far, ye sea-traversers, hear my plain opinion; — [14:] it is best to tell me quickly the cause of your coming!

Beowulf replies that they have come from Hygelac of the Geats to help Hroþgar against the ravages of the monster. The coastguard replies[23]:

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[21] The horses are the major point of discrepancy; yet other Germanic peoples were known for their horsemanship, and the two brothers who may be regarded as England's founders, Hengest and Horsa, have names which mean 'Stallion' and 'Horse' — implying a stronger connexion with horses than extant records indicate: again, on the basis of (in this instance) two names, Tolkien has in his fictional writing developed a theme that lies latent in his source.

[22] I use the translation of Clark Hall, to which Tolkien wrote a preface; the original is as follows (lines 237 ff.):

Hwæt sindon ge searo-hæbbendra,
byrnum werede, þe þus brontne ceol
ofer lagu-stræte lædan cwomon,
hider ofer holmas? Ic hwile wæs
ende-sæta, æg-wearde heold,
þe on land Dena laðra nænig
mid scip-herge sceðþan ne meahte.
No her cuðlicor cuman ongunnon
lind-hæbbende; ne ge leafnes-word
guð-fremmendra gearwe ne wisson,
maga gemedu. Næfre ic maran geseah
eorla ofer eorþan, ðonne is eower sum,
secg on searwum; nis þæt seld-guma,
wæpnum geweorðad; næfre him his wlite leoge,
ænlic ansyn. Nu ic eower sceal
frum-cyn witan, ær ge fyr heonan
leas-sceaweras on land Dena
furþur feran. Nu ge feor-buend,
mere-liðende, minne gehyrað
anfealdne geþoht; ofost is selest
to gecyðanne hwanan eowre cyme syndon.

[23] Original (lines 287 ff.):

Æghwæðres sceal
scearp scyldwiga gescad witan
worda and worca, se þe wel þenceð.
Ic þæt gehyre, þæt þis is hold weorod
frean Scyldinga. Gewitaþ forð beran
wæpen and gewædu, ic eow wisige.

> [15:] The bold shield-warrior, who judges well, must know the difference between these two — words and deeds. I understand that this is a company friendly to the lord of the Scyldings. Pass forth, bearing your weapons and armour, — I will [16:] guide you.

He promises Beowulf's ship will be [17:] carefully guarded. The Geats march on, the poet commenting on the boar images on their helms, towards the hall Heorot, adorned in gold[24]:

> The warriors hastened; they went together until they could descry the timbered hall, splendid and [18:] gold-adorned... [19:] its radiance gleamed o'er many lands.

The guard returns to his post on the shore[25]:

> [20:] It is time for me to depart. May the Almighty Father keep you safe in your adventures by His grace. I will go to the sea, to keep ward against hostile bands.

The Geats make their way up the [21:] stone paved street (*stræt wæs stanfah*). They put their [22:] weapons against the wall of the hall, and sit on a [23:] bench. Wulfgar, King Hroþgar's [24:] officer (*ic eom Hroðgares ar ond ombiht*), comes to question them, and comments on their [25:] boldness. Beowulf declares who he is, and says he wants to give his [26:] message (*ærende*) to Hroþgar himself. Wulfgar says he will ask, [27:] 'and will henceforth announce to thee the answer which the noble leader thinks fit to give me' (*ond þe þa andsware ædre gecyðan, ðe me se goda agifan þenceð*). He advises Hroþgar not to refuse the request. The king gives a speech: he knows Beowulf by name and reputation, and bids the Geats enter. [28:] Wulfgar returns with the message, telling them they may go in in their helms, but [29:] must leave their weapons outside. Beowulf greets Hroþgar and offers to fight without weapons against the monster Grendel. Hroþgar gladly accepts Beowulf's offer, and after telling him a little about Grendel asks him to join the feast in hall.

B. The Lord of the Rings

As the company approach Edoras, Legolas is able to discern the scene and the details of the royal hall Meduseld: 'And it seems to my eyes that it is [18:] thatched with gold. [19:] The light of it shines far over the land.'

As they approach, Aragorn sings a song in the language of Rohan, 'Where now the horse and the rider?': this is inspired by a passage in the Old English *Wanderer* (*hwær cwom mearg, hwær cwom mago?*), but its theme of the passing of things is common to *Beowulf*, and is the theme that Tolkien stressed most in his lecture.

The company is greeted by a warden at the gates:

> It is the will of Théoden King that none should enter his gates, save those who know our tongue and are our friends. None are welcome here in days of war but our own folk, and those that come from Mundburg in the land of Gondor. [1:] Who are you that [3:] come [8:] heedless [5:] over the plain thus [2:] strangely clad, [4:] riding horses like to our own horses? [6:] Long have we kept guard here, and we have watched you from afar. [7:] Never have we seen other riders so strange, [9:] nor any horse more proud than is one of these that bear you. [10:] He is one of the Mearas, [11:] unless our eyes are cheated by some spell. [12:] Say, are you not a wizard, some [13:] spy from Saruman, or phantoms of his craft? [14:] Speak now and be swift!

Aragorn and Gandalf explain they had met Éomer, but the guard replies that Wormtongue has forbidden any to see the king; Gandalf says his [26:] errand is with the king and no one else, and bids the guard go and tell Théoden. The guard asks what names he should give, and remarks that they seem [25:] fell and grim

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[24] Original (lines 306 ff.):
Guman onetton,
sigon ætsomne, oþþæt hy sæl timbred,
geatolic ond gold-fah ongyton mihton;...
lixte se leoma ofer landa fela.

[25] Original (lines 316 ff.):
Mæl is me to feran. Fæder alwalda
mid arstafum eowic gehealde
siða gesunde! Ic to sæ wille,
wið wrað werod wearde healdan.

beneath their tiredness; they give their names. The guard says he will go in, and tells them to [27:] 'wait here a little while, and I will bring you such answer as seems good to him'. He goes in and then [28:] returns, saying they may come in, but [29:] must leave their weapons, which the doorwardens will [17:] keep. The company goes through the gates; 'they found a broad path, [21:] paved with hewn stones'. The hall and its surrounds are described; at the top of the stair were stone [23:] seats. The guard, who has [16:] guided them up, now says farewell: [20:] 'There are the doors before you. I must return now to my duty at the gate. Farewell! And may the Lord of the Mark be gracious to you!' They ascend the stair, and are greeted by Háma[26] [24:] the doorwarden ('I am the doorward of Théoden'), who asks for their weapons. There is a heated debate over this, but the weapons are laid aside — Aragorn lays Andúril [22:] against the wall — and in the end Háma allows only the staff of Gandalf to pass: [15:] '...in doubt a man of worth will trust to his own wisdom. I believe you are friends and folk worthy of honour, who have no evil purpose. You may go in.'

In the hall, the aged Théoden sits with Éowyn behind and Gríma at his feet; this parallels the situation in *Beowulf*, where the old Hroþgar has Unferþ at his feet, and his wife Wealhþeow serving in the hall[27].

From this point Tolkien's narrative diverges from *Beowulf*. Théoden greets Gandalf with a cold speech which does not match Hroþgar's to Beowulf; and Wormtongue immediately adds to this with further insult. It is on Wormtongue that the influence from *Beowulf* now focuses: and whereas the scene of arrival shows a point by point, but ultimately fairly superficial influence, with Wormtongue we again encounter the more imaginative development from an original that we have seen in some of my earlier examples — a development that springs, largely, from a philological consideration. For Wormtongue is based, in part, on *Beowulf*'s Unferþ, whose speech attacking Beowulf follows straight after the passage summarised above. His name means 'Strife'[28], and he seems to have been specially invented by the poet for this purpose, for his main role in the poem is to accuse Beowulf of not being up to the job of dealing with the monster Grendel, on the basis of a bad performance in a previous swimming match. Beowulf rounds on him, defending himself and pointing out that not only has Unferþ shown himself no hero, but has even been the slayer of his brothers. Unferþ's speech is strange, incongruous with the warm welcome that Hroþgar has afforded Beowulf, especially considering he is the *þyle* or 'spokesman' of the king.

When Beowulf is about to dive in the mere to fight Grendel's mother, Unferþ lends him the sword Hrunting, and Beowulf requests that should he be killed, Unferþ be given it back; the difference between this Unferþ and the previous chagrin-driven criminal is noted even by the poet, who says he must have been drunk when he spoke before; he also points out that Unferþ was too much a coward to undertake the exploit himself, however.

The poem several times mentions how the Danish court was now at peace, but would not always be so, when the king's nephew Hroþulf would engage in strife with his cousins (the king's sons); one scene where this contrast is pointed out also mentions Unferþ as sitting at the king's feet. Is the poet intending to hint that Unferþ was to be involved in stirring up strife between the two sides of the family, supporting the upstart Hroþulf?

Tolkien was unable to resist the enticement of such an ambiguous character.

Wormtongue's cravenness is shown in his having stolen the king's sword, as well as in his

[26] Háma is the name of a legendary character in *Beowulf*.

[27] The family situation in Rohan is based on that in *Beowulf* in further particulars too: thus the enmity towards Éomer on Théoden's part, and the death of his son Théodred, which Wormtongue mentions in one breath together, stems from the internecine struggle in the Danish royal house: Hroþgar's son was slain by his nephew Hroþulf, who, under the name Hroalfr kraki, was regarded in Norse tradition more as a hero than the traitor implied in *Beowulf*. Théoden's shift from blame to praise of his nephew seems to reflect a vacillation on Tolkien's part between the English and Norse traditions of Hroþulf, exploited for imaginative purposes. Tolkien chooses to exonerate Éomer; and in line with this, although he keeps the death of the king's son, he divorces it from any action of Éomer's.

[28] Though the name has other implications too (e.g. 'senseless'): it is typical that Tolkien should focus his interest on such a philologically multifarious character.

cowardly refusal to march to war. He is not accused of fratricide, but in the Shire later it turns out that he has murdered Lotho, an accusation poured upon him with scorn by his master Saruman, who thus eggs Wormtongue on to murder him. Wormtongue is a traitor, a spy of Saruman in the court of Théoden, who had gained the trust of the king against his wiser judgement. He also sticks loyally to his master, even in beggary, up to the last moment when he murders him. Similarly, it may be supposed, Unferþ served King Hroþgar until the rebellion of Hroþulf, when he betrayed his master.

Tolkien resolves many of the ambiguities of Unferþ in Wormtongue. In contrast to the strange behaviour of Unferþ as a favoured counsellor, there is no real doubt of Wormtongue's position as a disloyal coward: it is just that the old king — and he alone — has been deceived, and is himself undeceived in the course of events: hence Wormtongue's presence at court, and his attack on Gandalf, are both explained naturally. The inexplicable change of character of Unferþ in generously offering Beowulf his sword is made use of by Tolkien, but retaining consistency Tolkien turns the action on its head, and far from having Wormtongue offer a sword to anyone, he has him steal the king's.

The situation in Edoras is far plainer than that in Heorot, and it is by imbuing the scene with strife, with *unferþ*, that Tolkien has brought this about. The major difference between the two arrival scenes compared above is that the Geats are welcomed by the Danes, whereas the Rohirrim cold-shoulder Aragorn and his companions, as a result, it emerges, of the machinations of Wormtongue's strife. It is clear that the detailed, but circumstantial, similarity of the arrival scenes — while it may be viewed as homage on Tolkien's part to the Old English poem — is less important than the imaginative development of the ambiguous character whose name means 'Strife'.

Conclusion

The influences from his scholarly field which shaped Tolkien's creative work were manifold. I think it will be found, however, that the most pervasive are those which stem from consideration of specific words. Tolkien's fascination with words is well-known; I have tried to show that he was not interested just in any words, but words with a story, a myth, in them, which has been lost in our extant sources. In the end, Tolkien must be adjudged more a creative writer than a scholar, in that he used scholarly methods, but did not on the whole pursue his researches to their culmination in a scholarly manner. The relationship between his professional and his private, creative pursuits may be characterised as complementary: his profession unearthed 'winged words', but it was only in his creative works that these were allowed free flight.

The Fall from Grace – Decline and Fall in Middle-earth: Metaphors for Nordic and Christian theology in *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*

Len Sanford

Metaphors of the Fall abound at all levels in Tolkien's major works, the two most obvious examples being the history of the Silmarils and the downfall of Númenor. In the latter, Sauron is straightforwardly the Serpent, offering the hope and temptation of immortality, and his intermediary, or agent, is the King Ar-Pharazôn. For those of the Númenóreans that fail, their reward is death. For those that are partially redeemed, by virtue of their eventual but not immediate rejection of Sauron, the reward is departure from Eden (Númenor, the home prepared for the Edain), decline, sundering from the Elves (loss of the state of Grace) and ultimately absorption by lesser men. In the case of the Silmarils the story follows more closely the biblical account. Valinor of course is Eden. The Silmarils, now in the crown of Melkor, are the great temptation and Fëanor is Melkor's unwitting agent. Those of the Elves that succumb depart from Eden, and from the state of Grace inherent in their contact with the Valar and possession of the Silmarils, to face a long punishment of gradual decline, dreadful suffering and ultimate defeat, punctuated by the hope engendered by occasional success. But by virtue of their courage, and hopeless but unfailing hostility to Melkor they win final redemption after the intercession of the gods. In this interpretation the Elves represent man before the Fall – noble, immortal, the natural inhabitants of Eden. The loss of the Silmarils is the loss of the state of Grace, while the determination to recover them becomes, like Man's endeavours, corrupted by the temptations that *mortal* flesh is heir to. And as the Elves embark on their inevitable long struggle, and fade away, man continues to decline, in stature, in longevity, in concentration of purpose, while maintaining somehow his sense of a worthy ethical system.

These are examples on the great scale, and are necessarily aligned closely to the general pattern of the great themes. As we look more and more closely at the detail the magnitude of events decreases and the pattern becomes correspondingly complex, as does the metaphorical content. On the intermediate scale metaphors for the Fall still exist but now they are mingled with other themes – tribal rivalries, social customs, conflicting moralities, the rise of nations and great families, the interactions of men with natural forces. On an individual scale they are all but disappear among the vast range of personal concerns, but still an example or two can be found. It is this delicate touch with the balancing of background detail that has distinguished Tolkien's work in the eyes of so many commentators. But it is important here to distinguish between metaphor and allegory. The purpose of allegory is commentary or analysis, and the structure tends to dominate the thesis. The purpose of metaphor is illustration, consequently the structure is subtle.

Thus on an intermediate scale we find Sauron tempting the Elves with Rings of Power, and causing much destruction thereby, but because they do not wholly succumb the Elves are allowed a partial redemption – mainly in the existence of their long standing strongholds, in particular Lothlórien and Rivendell where the Three Rings not tainted by Sauron are therefore not the agent of his temptation and allowed to do their work.

On an individual level three apparent examples stand out: Boromir, Frodo and Beren. There are many other examples of temptation to be found, but they lack important elements of the proper myth, namely failure, loss of Grace, regeneration, and redemption or death (i.e. mortality). But Boromir's temptation is the genuine article. Having fallen to the lure of the Ring, he redeems himself by an act of selfless heroism and so goes to a hero's death. It lends force to this analysis that the metaphor may have been deliberately contrived. There is no compelling motive of drama or narrative to account for either his heroism or the opportunity for it (he needs merely to have seen the orcs carry off Merry and Pippin alive) although undoubtably the story is more comfortable that way.

Beren's case is more subtle. His temptation is love, his sin pride; he is cast out of Doriath and finds his redemption hi heroism and suffering, final going to a second death after a period that demonstrates his return to a state of Grace. Again, it was *dramatically* unnecessary for Beren and Lúthien's reward to be death – it's necessity lies in the completion of a parable.

Although temptingly familiar, Frodo's case is crucially different, containing as it does imagery of a greater theme, namely the primacy of Fate. This is discussed below.

The importance of multi-layering the metaphorical structure lies in the necessities of sub-creation. The author creates in the mind of the reader one element of a pervasive emotional and factual background that is utterly convincing – not especially because of its inherent plausibility but because it has been so quietly placed among the rest of the mental furniture that one feels that it was always there, and trusts it implicitly. It is a commonplace that good writers (and effective politicians) know how to create familiarity and therefore plausibility by touching on the scintilla of tiny fragments of ideas and forgotten half truths that clutter our brains: it requires a greater art to sneak around and place the idea there just before you put your hand on it, so that you think it is already yours.

The choice of metaphor hints at an attempt to cast light on some of the big theological questions – reconciliation of the Christian and Nordic myths, the concept of individual free will in a structured universe, the theological significance of gender, the origin of Man's inner demons and the meaning of his never-ending struggle against them. All these are inextricably bound up with the idea of fallen man and his permanent conflict with regenerative evil.

Christian or Nordic myth?

It has long been the accepted view that Tolkien's works are based on a Nordic scheme of mythology rather than a Christian, but the creation myth of the Fall, an essential element of western monotheism, predates both. The Eden myth has long been debunked by science, while in terms of everyday lives and experience the gender myth (that is, the association of each gender with characteristics exclusively its own) in particular falls apart as soon as it is examined closely; but the peculiar persistence of these myths in the human consciousness is suggestive of an enduring power, perhaps the recognition of an underlying truth embedded in the nature of existence. That Tolkien thought so – or at least considered it a valid argument – is evident from his writings. Rejecting the contemporary critic Edmund Wilson's dismissal of *The Lord of the Rings* as a simple confrontation, devoid of greater meaning, Spacks (1968, p. 82) asserts that

> ... the force and complexity of its moral and theological scheme provides the fundamental power of *The Lord of the Rings*.
>
> For this scheme there are no explicitly supernatural sanctions; *The Lord of the Rings* is by no means a Christian work.

That the she then spoils this theory somewhat by giving away many examples that show similarities between the Christian and *The Lord of the Rings* theological structure in now way diminishes the force of her evidence.

But "*The Lord of the Rings* is by no means **wholly** a Christian work" would have been more accurate. It is redolent with Christian themes, or at least themes upon which Christian theology is based, or which have much in common with these themes.

Is the Adam and Eve story not a vital myth of that sort? Vital, that is, to an understanding of Christian theology? Humankind fails, is cast out

of Eden, that is to say falls from Grace to an imperfect state, and is doomed to endless struggle to regain it.

The archetypal Christian fable hinges on the battle between the soul and its adversaries, a battle in which the soul may not finally triumph until the afterlife. Northern mythology takes a darker view – that the struggle between man and monster must end in man's defeat, yet he continues to struggle; his weapons are the Hobbit weapons – naked will and courage. Tolkien's works are imbued, saturated even, with the sense of this ultimately hopeless struggle, summed up in the phrase 'the long defeat', which is the very doom Man brings upon himself by his failure to resist the temptation of the serpent, and his redemption lies also within himself, in his capacity for endless courage: and this fortitude gains its longevity from death and rebirth – the ability of mankind to renew its courage with each new generation. Shippey (1982, pp.61-2, 91) refers to this 'theory of courage' and the difficulty it produces for a Christian such as Tolkien when he says that the Northern mythology asks more of men than Christianity, because it offers no easy reward of heaven, no salvation except the satisfaction of having done what is right.

Certainly Tolkien thought much about the theory of courage and its place in an essentially Christian theology and made it a central theme of '*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics' (1983, p. 21).

> Man alien in a brutal world, engaged in a struggle that he cannot win while the world lasts, is assured ... that his courage, noble in itself, is also the highest loyalty ...

Beowulf's victory over the dragon is not hinted at as a victory to end wars. It was a great deed, indeed a transcendental deed, but it was Beowulf's, and his triumph and his death alone.

Tolkien, says Shippey (1982, p. 117-8), wanted his characters to live up to the same high standard. He was careful to remove easy hope from them, even to make them conscious of long term defeat. But the mainspring of the theory of courage Tolkien admired was despair, rather than faith and hope, and its spirited often heathen ferocity. "Tolkien," says Shippey (1982, p. 119)

> admired the aesthetic impulse towards good beneath pride and sorrow. In Middle-earth he wanted a similar ultimate courage undiluted by confidence, but at the same time untainted by rage and despair. One may say that the wise characters in *The Lord of the Rings* are often without hope ... but they do not succumb.

Shippey suggests that Tolkien attempted a resolution by inventing a new image for ultimate bravery, centred on the (Hobbit like) characteristics of laughter, cheerful refusal to look into the future at all.

And although in Middle-earth the good side does win, it doesn't do so without great loss, a pattern closely resembling Nordic mythology. The Aesir (Norse gods) tolerated the evil god Loki in their midst, even following his advice, and got into difficulties thereby, only extricating themselves at the price of their virtue, or peace. Too late they banished him to Earth.. He robbed them of their dearest possession, Baldr the Good, (cf. Lúthien). Weakened they were less prepared for the Final Battle on the field of Vigrid, when the earth was consumed by fire at the hand of the evil giant Surtr with his flaming sword. The incinerated earth was swallowed by the great sea, the gods and the giants all perished. But Goodness could arise again. The earth, cleaned by the sea, eventually rose whole again, and a new generation of gods lead by Thor's sons Magne and Modi also rose.

If one chooses to interpret the monsters as presentations of man's internal struggles against his own nature, a reconciliation of the two mythologies might be contrived. But if one retains the scheme containing truly external monsters, the existence of a separate and wilful Satan, one touches on a conundrum at the very heart of Christian theology, a problem dealt with more convincingly, with its dragons and monsters, in the Northern myths.

But behind the courage there is the 'naked will' referred to by Spacks. Free will in this setting means the will to fight on, to choose the Good regardless of outcomes (not the ability to control those outcomes as it is commonly and mistakenly portrayed) and here is the resolution of the conflict of ideas, inherent to Christian theology, between the plausibility of free will in a context where the outcome (i.e. the triumph of

good) is already predestined and must somehow be managed from above despite Man's failures. "The Northern Gods", says Tolkien (1983, p. 21), quoting Ker,

> have an exultant extravagance in their warfare which makes them more like Titans than Olympians; ... only they are on the right side, though it is not the side that wins; but the gods, who are defeated, think that defeat no refutation.

This is absolutely central to Tolkien's thought. The origin may be Nordic, but the sentiments are Christian.

Christian teaching is essentially optimistic – that Man reaches by his own endeavours a higher state and eventual salvation. The pessimism inherent in endless cycles of defeat and retrogression, the gradual slipping backwards, is a vision of systemic suffering, a scheme in which Satan's function has become that more limited one of endlessly tormenting man so that man might prove himself; not by virtue of his defeat of evil – except in the most individual sense – but by having engaged the demon continually in conflict, not losing faith despite endless defeats.

It is impossible to separate the operation of free will from such a theological scheme. With Gandalf's discussion with Frodo on the nature of the Ring early in *The Lord of the Rings* we are shown the first of many references to the two apparently opposing themes of Free Will and Order (as opposed to Chance) in the universe, the operations of an ordered Fate. With each defeat, says Gandalf, the Shadow takes another shape and grows again. "I wish it need not have happened in my time," says Frodo. "So do I," says Gandalf, "but all we have to decide is what to do with the times given us". Thus we are introduced to the importance of regeneration; and the necessity of free decision is asserted. A little later a third theme is introduced – that of order in the universe, as, commenting on Bilbo's finding of the Ring, Gandalf tells us his belief that "there was something else at work, beyond any design of the Ring maker". He would no more strongly have expressed a Christian motif if he had said "God moves in mysterious ways".

Christian theology suggests that essentially we are on our own, except that by prayer we may gain intercession from God, but that ultimate victory for Good is assured. But Tolkien constantly reiterates the contrasting notion of free will – or at least the almost identical one of individual responsibility for the fate of the world. The Elves meet Frodo, and recognise the significance of the meeting; Strider tells Butterbur to do what he can, however small; Frodo accepts responsibility for his burden and the great folk around him – Gandalf, Strider, Galadriel, Faramir – do not attempt to relieve him of it. On the one occasion this happens, it is as a subterfuge by Boromir, and is a Temptation. And when Strider meets Éomer he declares his purpose with the significant words "the doom of choice". Ultimately, however, and deeply significantly, free will fails, as Frodo puts on the Ring at the Crack of Doom; it is Fate, in the shape of Frodo's curse on Gollum, and Gollum's demise, that rules the destiny of the Rings.

Individuals may take comfort from this – they won't be tossed aside, mere ineffectual ciphers in much greater events. It may even be that on the large scale, referred to briefly by Frodo as he contemplates the stars above Mordor, everything is inevitable, that gods and men alike are the result of what has already been set in motion. Certainly there is no mention of the source of any purpose, although such a source is implicit in the creation myth of *The Silmarillion*. "The universe of Tolkien," says Spacks (1968, p. 90) "unlike that of the Anglo-Saxons, is ultimately affirmative. Within the vast affirmative context however there are enormous possibilities for immediate evil: the individual exists in a realm where choice is always necessary". And it is the individual who benefits from good choice – by virtue of spiritual growth.

Theological problems

What is the distinction between power for destruction in the hands of Good as opposed to the hands of evil? Finding none or little was the philosophical corner that post-war thinkers had painted themselves into, in Tolkien's view, by the application of an excess liberality. "His reading of heroic poems made him especially scornful of the notion that to say 'evil must be fought' is the same as saying 'might is right'" says Shippey (1982). In the liberal interpretation it seems that the continuous battle against evil is merely a contest between opposing ethical

systems. Tolkien has his answer. "But you have not plotted to cover the earth with your trees, and choke every other living thing" says Gandalf, when Treebeard expresses inner doubts. It is destruction in the pursuit of power and domination that is evil, not the destruction itself. Nonetheless there are references to the battle between opposing ethical systems – we are constantly reminded that Good does not have any inbuilt right to win, despite Gandalf's reference to a guiding Purpose. "White is mighty, but black is mightier still" says Gandalf. Nor do the good characters shrink from using the enemies' weapons to worst him, even though the act might be regarded as counter ethical, or even, horror of horrors, counter-liberal. The Devil may use men as his tools, but he cannot hide being them.. Gandalf for instance has no qualms about deceiving Hama, and bullying Wormtongue with magic. He has a greater end im mind.

Another theological problem tackled in *The Silmarillion/The Lord of the Rings* canon is that presented by the existence of an invincible evil god. How can a god be evil, yet undefeated and invincible? What good are Man's struggles if the devil always returns unchanged and renewed? But Tolkien's demons are not constant. They suffer reverses and permanent damage. Melkor is defeated, captured, set free, rises again, is defeated again. He allies with monsters and is capable of suffering defeat that changes his nature and circumstances. In Sauron's case with each new manifestation he is more hideous than before, and his power is capable of being dissipated, as it is when the Ring is destroyed.

Regeneration

In Norse mythology the gods were bound up with the earth and lived and died with it, which formed the boundary of the their immortality. The Nordic belief was that even the Gods were part of the great regeneration cycle.

This leads both to weakness and to strength. As we are in collective terms renewed with each generation, we have to learn the lessons all over again, but we are constantly invigorated as a race, or if you prefer as a continuous being, by the life/death cycle. Unlike the elves we have no race memory. But the elves have their own sorrows, not the least of which is that they feel the weight of time, and the weariness of constant fighting. No wonder that peace and calm and quiet enjoyment is their chief ambition.

But in the cycle of triumphs and defeats that is the Middle-earth sagas there is no complacency, no return after victory to a previous state of wealth or contentment. After every saga something has been lost, a change has been effected, even though evil has been defeated. This is a constantly reiterated metaphor of the Fall. Man must constantly strive, even though defeat is inevitable, to prove his worthiness. The source of hope however is endless renewal.

With death necessarily comes regeneration. It may be a gift, or a doom, but it follows automatically from the Fall and the coming of Death.

Tolkien felt strongly the necessity for a male and female construct. Even the Valar had male and female temperaments, before they ever came into the world. With it necessarily came the concept of characteristics inseparable from gender, and Tolkien followed tradition in making destructiveness a masculine trait, regeneration a feminine. But it is plain from the text that he felt that each characteristic was essential, if life is to survive. If there were no destruction, regeneration would cease. Endless life would be intolerable, (cf. Bilbo 'stretching' but not growing under the influence of the Ring). Endless life does not bring more life.

Essentially this is the fate of the Elves. They are immortal, yet doomed to stagnation by reason of that. It is destruction and regeneration, not continuance, that is the engine of vigorous life. A garden untended grows rank, every jungle becomes a place of casual death and constant reabsorption. The Elves' reaction was to slow down reproduction to a crawl, except initially, when numbers were need. In the first age it is the indeed endless war and regeneration that stimulates the Elves. It is likely however that the Elves never fully understand the fate of men. "Seldom do they fail of their seed" says Gimli, in answer to Legolas' wholly elf-like notion of the eternal failure that characterises Man's efforts.

Such a philosophy contains both hope and despair. Tolkien however did not intend to depress his more theologically minded readers with the prospect of ultimate doom, or the

futility of man's actions, but to see hope as a promise from God, and struggle as an essential part of Man's salvation. One might also read into it, though I do not pretend to any more than a circumstantial connection, that progress, especially industrial progress, is also a doomed attempt to defeat the Monsters – doomed because they are not the monsters within ourselves, but the monsters of time, discomfort, hard labour and personal death.

> It is just because the main foes in *Beowulf* are inhuman that the story is larger and more significant than [an] imaginary poem of a great king's fall. It glimpses the cosmic, and moves with the thoughts of all men concerning the fate of all human lives and efforts.

So wrote Tolkien about *Beowulf* (1983, p. 33). In its saturation with aspects both great and small of the unconsciously glimpsed overpowering theme of regeneration, the same might also be said of *The Lord of the Rings*.

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An Ethnically Cleansed Faery? Tolkien and the Matter of Britain

David Doughan

An earlier version of this article was presented at the Tolkien Society Seminar in Bournemouth, 1994.

> *I was from early days grieved by the poverty of my own beloved country: it had no stories of its own (bound up with its tongue and soil), not of the quality I sought, and found (as an ingredient) in legends of other lands ... nothing English, save impoverished chap-book stuff. Of course there was and is all the Arthurian world, but powerful as it is, it is imperfectly naturalised, associated with the soil of Britain, but not with English; and does not replace what I felt to be missing.* (Tolkien 1981, *Letters*, p.144)

To a large extent, Tolkien is right. The mediaeval jongleurs, minstrels, troubadours, trouvères and conteurs could use, for their stories, their gests and their lays, the Matter of Rome (which had nothing to do with Rome, and everything to do with Romance), the Matter of France (extremely unhistorical stories of Charlemagne and his knights, like the *Chanson de Roland*, which the minstrel Taillefer sang before the invading Norman army in 1066); and above all the Matter of Britain: the myriad stories, largely of British Celtic origin, connected with King Arthur's Court and his knights. But there was no Matter of England – nothing connected with the people who invaded this island in the 5th and 6th centuries, and fell in love with it. Only "impoverished chap-book stuff" like the tales around Robin Hood. So Tolkien set out to create a "Matter of England" from his own fertile imagination, and integrate it with the legends of the other "Matters". In a very real sense, he was attempting to impose Logres on Britain, in the terms that Charles Williams and C.S. Lewis used, the latter in *That Hideous Strength* (1945) when he speaks of Britain being "always haunted by something we may call Logres" (p. 369), by which he means a specifically Arthurian presence. It is most interesting that Lewis, following the confused or uninformed example of Williams, uses the name "Logres", which is in fact derived from *Lloegr* (the Welsh word for England), to identify the Arthurian tradition, i.e. the Matter of Britain! No wonder Britain keeps on rebelling against Logres. And despite Tolkien's efforts, he could not stop Prydain bursting into Lloegr and transforming it.

In *The Book of Lost Tales* (Tolkien, 1983), Ottor Wæfre, father of Hengest and Horsa, also known as Eriol, comes from Heligoland to the island called in Qenya in *Tol Eressëa* (the lonely isle), or in Gnomish *Dor Faidwen* (the land of release, or the fairy land), or in Old English *se uncuþa holm* (the unknown island). This was originally intended to be the island of Britain – which is referred to always in *The Book of Lost Tales* as "England". Later on Britain is referred to as Lúthien, and Tol Eressëa is removed further over sea. Significantly, this island is inhabited not, as historically, by the Romanised British, later called "Welsh" by the invading English, but by the fairies – Elves and Gnomes. And yet, the Gnomish tongue, Goldogrin, in many ways resembles Welsh in both sound and structure; and from the beginning, despite Tolkien's stated purpose, the matter of the tales does not concern the English nation at all, but the doings of the Elves and Gnomes, the "fairies". So from the outset this supposed "mythology of England" does not centre on the English, but rather on the land of what Tolkien, at this stage in the development of his Legendarium, goes out of his way not to call"Britain".

The history of the name "Britain" and its varied usages is long and involved. To put it

simply, "Britannia" was the Roman version of the native name for what the Welsh have traditionally called *Ynys Prydain* – the Island of Britain. In the period of Roman rule (AD43 – ca.410) the overwhelming majority of their subjects here were Ancient Britons, i.e. the ancestors of the Welsh. Indeed, for a long time the term "British" continued to mean "Welsh" – as late as the turn of the 19th century, Welshmen resident in London referred to themselves as the Ancient British. The descendants of those Ancient British who between about AD380 and 500 had emigrated to North-western Gaul were known as Bretons, and their country as Brittany, or Britain the Less, as distinct from Great Britain. This last term was adopted by James I (England's first Scottish king) to emphasise that the merging of his two kingdoms was an imperial idea (at least in his eyes, and those of his sons). The confusion over the names of Britain and England became further confounded, so that in the early 19th century (again!) William Blake could make his prophetic spirit Los speak of:

> The Briton Saxon Roman Norman amalgamating
> In my Furnaces into One Nation, the English
>
> *Jerusalem*, (plate 92, l.1-2)

And in more recent times, the resistance to distinguishing between England and Britain has been expressed by a range of literate people, most blatantly perhaps by the eminent historian A.J.P. Taylor. Still, Purcell and Dryden were definitely on the right lines in calling their semi-opera *King Arthur, or The British Hero* – because in origin at least, King Arthur was a Welshman.

The name "Arthur" suddenly starts becoming popular in the Welsh and Irish parts of Britain in the later 6th century, and stories are being recorded by the 9th century of a "dux bellorum" (= war commander) by that name who, after the withdrawal of central Roman authority in the 5th century, rallied native Romano-British resistance to the invading Saxons (or English as they called themselves), and even made them retreat. The derivation of the name is probably from "Artorius", an attested Roman gentile name. By the 10th century both Welsh and Breton sources have a growing complex of legends about this heroic king and his henchmen Cei the White and Bedwyr One-hand; he is such a significant legendary figure that he has already attracted to himself takes of quite different (and much later) historical figures, such as Owain Prince of Rheged (a noted 6th century fighter against the English). According to many stories, he had not died but was sleeping under a hill, or had passed over sea to the Blessed Realms, and would one day return to free the British (i.e. Welsh) from their Saxon conquerors. The Bretons in particular developed a whole body of literature around Arthur; and when in 1066 the almost-perfectly-naturalised conquerors of Neustria, which is now called after them "the land of the Northmen" – Normandy – took it into their heads to become the last in a long line of conquerors of Britain, they brought with them their Breton minstrels – who for the sake of their Norman masters, had translated their lays into French.

So, by 1100 AD there are two different sets of Arthurian traditions in Britain: the "native" Welsh ones, as they appear in the middle section of the Mabinogion, and the more courtly Breton-Norman ones, in the French language imported by the Norman Conquerors. The Norman and Angevin kings who were now ruling over the still occasionally refractory English found it politically useful to identify themselves with these traditions, especially if they could be associated with the legends of the Return, gaining Welsh support by claiming to be the heirs of Arthur who had finally sorted out the English. Moreover, the Normans had not only gone to England but had spread themselves and their culture over a considerable part of western and southern Europe, so that from this point on the Arthurian tales are no longer just Welsh, or Breton, or even Breton-Norman; they become European.

Anyway here we have a number of easily perceptible reasons why Tolkien might have wanted to avoid Arthurian tales, not least of which is that they were associated with the Norman invasion he so detested. However, a thorough-going conscious rejection of the Arthurian element would also have meant a rejection of his beloved and ancient Welsh language, and Tolkien drew back from such a definite break. As I have already mentioned,

from the earliest days Welsh-related languages formed an essential part of Tolkien's conception of the Elves. Similarly, the Arthurian element is constantly suppressed, but none the less it keeps on breaking through.

In this connection it is interesting that Tolkien refers to the Arthurian corpus as being "imperfectly naturalised". Usually it is up to the newcomers to a country to become "naturalised", or assimilated – and Tolkien reversed the normal order of things to confuse the issue. Historically, it was up to the English invaders to become "naturalised" – and this, in a linguistic and cultural sense, they signally failed to do. Their Christianity, on which Tolkien sets so much store, they eventually took not from the native British, but from Roman missionaries – in this instance at least they rejected insular British culture and tradition in favour of identification with a federal Europe. Even more importantly the English rejected the native language of the island they had conquered in a remarkably extreme fashion. Although for many centuries the English lived side-by-side with Welsh-speakers in what is now England, the ancient British language has left almost no trace on English; whereas the native Welsh language has borrowed extensively from English since at least the 11th century (for example, a mediaeval Welsh word for "chapel" – *betws* – which survives in place-names is in fact a Welsh version of the Old English *bed-hus* = prayer-house). But of Welsh in English there is hardly a trace; and in the very rare instances when a Welsh word has crept into English usage, it is usually of a geographical character, such as "coomb". Even the French language can do better than this – there is evidence of a Gaulish substrate (as it is technically known) in a number of relatively common words, such as "bec" and "glaive". But English has solidly rejected its potential Celtic substrate. And yet an informed look at the map of England shows that it cannot be so easily ignored. A considerable number of what we think of as purely English place-names are in fact of Welsh origin; to give just a few examples: Malvern, Berkshire, Pendle, Lichfield, Tamworth, Eccles, Winford, Penge, York, London, and of course all these rivers with names like Thame, Thames, Ouse and Avon. So although the English have consciously rejected the language of Britain, the place-names of Logres give the game away. In fact, the "imperfect naturalisation" of the English means that instead of Britain being haunted by something we may call Logres, Logres is haunted by something we may call Britain.

So the English denied their Welsh heritage; it might be suggested that this denial of their "roots", to use a cliché, is at least a partial explanation of why English mythology consists only of "impoverished chap-book stuff". In the *Book of Lost Tales*, as I mentioned earlier, Tolkien is equally concerned to reject the British inhabitants of these islands. The real Welsh are replaced by the "fairies" – *fairi* – providing an invented linguistic substrate in place of the real Welsh one that the English rejected in their linguistic cleansing of Lloegr. And, of course, the *Book of Lost Tales* implies an ethnic cleansing of Tol Eressëa - Logres denying Britain.

But Tolkien was not enough of a committed English nationalist to carry through this line consistently. Just as the places-names of England maintain an otherwise denied Welsh tradition, so in Tolkien's Legendarium the Arthurian substrate keeps breaking through in the same way. Already as early as the *Lay of Leithian* the country where the action takes place is originally called "*Broseliande*". This name is straight out of the Matter of Britain. Originally it was the Welsh "Bro Celiddon" – the land of Caledonia, and the supposed place of one of Arthur's battles. Emigrants to Armorica transported the name to a local forest, and French minstrels not only made it into a romantic sea-drowned wood, but Frenchified the pronunciation into Brocéliande. From at least the 12th century on it became an essential part of the Matter of Britain – and at first of Tolkien's legendarium, until he caught himself and changed it, bypassing the Welsh-Arthurian substrate apparently in favour of an even earlier one – the place-name "Belerion", recorded by Greco-Roman biographers as Lands's End. Thus was created Beleriand, with only the Arthurian suffix *-and* remaining to become a common Elvish element meaning "land," "country". Still, it is hardly surprising that the Arthurian element pokes through in a work that its author calls both a "gest" and a "lay" – forms that were used by

those same French-Breton jongleurs and conteurs whose major theme was the Matter of Britain; and that causes no surprise when found in the work of a scholar who was at this time publishing a definitive edition of the highly Arthurian *Sir Gawaine and the Green Knight*. The appearance of "Broseliand" in the *Lay of Leithian* is thus an example of Britain rebelling against Logres; but the rebellion was fairly swiftly put down at this time, and converted into something rich and strange, viz., Beleriand. However, there was a more serious revolt to come.

When Tolkien started to write *The Lost Road*, he found himself approaching the stories of the Elves from a very different direction – first via the Lombards, and then involving the Downfallen Land: Atalantë, derived from a Quenya verb TALTA 'incline, decline, shake at foundations, make totter, etc.' which had already appeared in the *Book of Lost Tales*, long before Numénor was even thought of. The appearance of Numénor moved Tol Eressëa still further west, so that it is near Valinor; and now it acquires a new name in the second draft of the *Fall of Numénor* – Avallónë, "for it is hard by Valinor". Of course, the derivation of the Arthurian Avalon is very different – it is related to the Welsh *afal* 'apple' – but the form of the name is the same as the Welsh word in Tolkien, and unlike that of Broseliand, it was not transformed, and Avallónë became the Haven of the Valar. Its etymology is obscure, but it appears to be connected with the word *vala*. This is using elements that go far back in the development of the Legendarium, though it is interesting that it does not account for the double l in both Avallon and Avallónë, which reflect the usual form of *Ynys Afallon* in Welsh. Could it possibly have been that there was an unconscious process of back formation at work here? That the known Arthurian "Avalon" had suggested a name for angelic beings who might have been connected with it, or a word for an island? As the known Atlantis might have suggested an appropriate Quenya verb form? And another thing – at this stage in the development of the Legendarium – in the aforementioned second draft of the *Fall of Numénor* – Tolkien called the new abode of Thû, or "Sauron" in Quenya, the Black Land - Mordor. This name has numerous resonances – not least, it recalls the traditional form of the name of King Arthur's nemesis: Mordred. The fact that this Arthurian echo first appears in the evolution of the Legendarium at precisely the same point as "Avallon" is doubtless pure coincidence – a chance occurrence, as they might say in Middle-earth.

Well, this is all very far fetched, and I won't object if anybody denies its likelihood. But there is no denying one thing: a spectre is haunting Middle-earth – the spectre of Britain. Arthurian elements keep making their way into the Legendarium, and not just in nomenclature. By the time that Tolkien wrote *The Lord of the Rings*, the ethnic agenda had receded into the background, and the plot had become full of elements that recall the Matter of Britain: for example, the Return of the King, the inverted Quest and the departure westward over the sea for healing beyond the circles of this world. And since Tolkien was above all a linguist, his treatment of names is particularly significant. As we have noted, he has a tendency to take names from other traditions – especially the Arthurian – and make them relate to his very different tradition by transforming their linguistic origin: one might say, he naturalises them. A look at the place- and personal names of the Shire and Bree are highly instructive in this regard. And despite his original intentions, despite his attempts to cleanse Logres of material that was not of its own language and its own culture, he could not stop his work being haunted by the Matter of Britain. Eventually he stopped trying, and at last everything came together – Logres with Britain, The Shire with Valinor – and the intended Mythology for England was finally transformed into what we now might call the Matter of Middle-earth.

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Ring Verses: A competition and call for contributions

Pat Reynolds

Among the bundle of papers mentioned in the editorial was an uncompleted project by Susan Rule: a collection of translations of the ring verse. Not just the published ones, but also personal translations.

A little quiz: can you, from the first line, identify which languages have been covered by the personal translations?[1]
(To make things harder, I have used Latin transcriptions of those languages which do not normally use those scripts. OK, it was to make the typing easier[2]). *And* there are bonus points for saying which version of a language (e.g. ancient/modern/middle/low/high) is used. Yes, there will be a prize!

Please send your answers to Pat Reynolds (usual addresses). The closing date is June 30th 1996. Answers will be published in *Mallorn* 34.

I would like to complete this project, and publish the previously unpublished translations in a future edition of *Mallorn*, or perhaps in a special publication. The commercial translations will be excluded, partly because of copyright problems, and partly because they are accessible. Please send me translations into additional languages[3]. Some of the original submissions were calligraphed, and others were transliterated into Tengwar, and I would welcome other calligraphed entries.

1/ Tri Fainnachan do Rean nan Duine Sith fo'n adhar...

2/ Tair modrwy i freninoedd yr Elffin is sêr...
or Tair mordrwy i'r Tylwydd Teg di-dywyll...
or Tair mordrwy i Frenhinoedd y Tylwyth Teg dan y wybren...

3/ Try kelgh[4] rag an Elven myghterneth dan an ebren...

4/ Daktulioi treis Alphowanaxin hup' ouranooi eisi...

5/ Trí fáinní do Ríthe na Síoga, beatha gan bás...

6/ Re sfeir ar alphei-farma manal tharai...

7/ Sunt añuli tres̄ pro nym̄phibus par̄vis...
or Ūnus anulus quî cōs omnēs regat...
or Tres anuli envanis regibus caelo...
or Tres anuli numinibus naturae sub caelo...
or Anulus ad omnes regendas...

8/ Drî Ringe vür der Albe Künige under deme Rimicle...

9/ Treis bagues pour les roués des faïtots sous lé ciel...

10/ Treis daktuli tois basileusin tōn Kedion hūpo tōn ouranon...

11/ Þrír baugar hand álfkonungum undir himinum...

12/ Tri rinoj por Reoj Fea sub la cielo...

13/ Rājñam ākāśasthānām hi trayo māyāṅgurīyakāḥ...

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[1] There are bonus points for those who spot the translation they made over ten years ago!

[2] It is quite difficult, in any case, to type a language with which one is unfamiliar. I apologise to translators and users of the languages for the typing errors.

[3] I mentioned the problem of typing in languages one is unfamiliar with: please type your submission, if at all possible. Please tell me in words what the different accents and special letters are (e.g. ð = eth, ł = slashed l, ´= acute accent) – and providing you don't translate into Macedonian Greek, I'll be able to cope!

[4] or, *bysow*, according to another translator

Letters

Dear Mallorn,

I read Mallorn 31 with interest; I found John Ellison's article on the fortifications of Eriador especially interesting for its style as much as its content. However it struck me that in considering the fortified line of the Weather Hills, John had failed to note certain points of both a geographical and strategic nature.

In his article John asks "why was the line of defence situated *behind* the Weather Hills and not in front of them, directly facing Rhudaur?"[1]

I take it that by 'behind' John meant that the fortified line, those "green grown walls and dikes"[2] or "the ruins of old works of stone"[3], seen by Frodo along the crests or in the clefts of the hills, was on the West of the hills. If this is the case then I presume John would think it wiser to have them 'forward' on the East of the hills. However bearing in mind earlier works on the geology[4] and geography[5] of Eriador, it is my belief that the structure of the Weather Hills is similar to that of the South Downs (as one approaches them from the North) and this predates any fortification. As I recall the Proceedings of the '92 Conference are likely to contain a discussion of the geology of Middle-earth; hopefully it will support my interpretation which considers the area of Arnor to be constructed from a large dome-like upthrusted formation of sedimentary strata which has been eroded to form groups of hills (See fig. 1 and the maps by Christopher Tolkien) of a pattern similar to the structure of the Sussex Weald and its surrounding downs (See fig. 2 and any atlas).

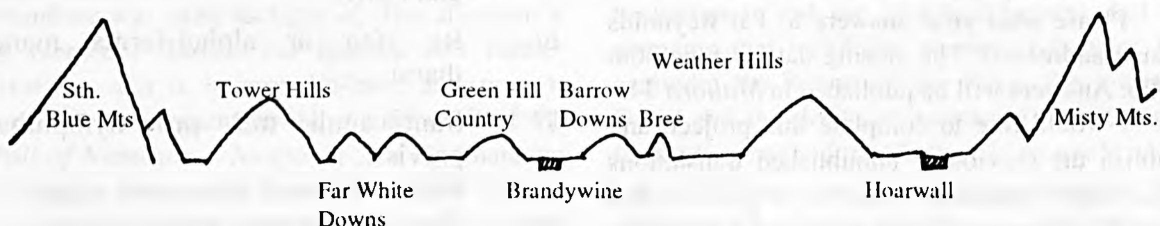


Fig (1): Rough Sketch of Profile of Eriador (Along East-West- Road)
Not to any scale

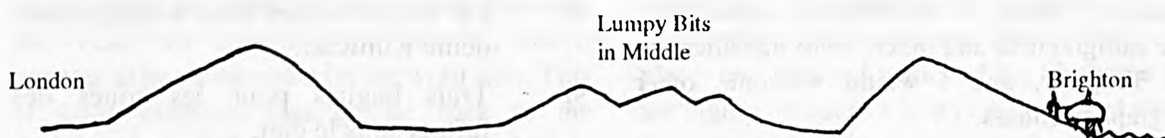


Fig (2) Rough Profile of Surrey/Sussex Downs and Weald (Apologies to my Geography Tutors!)

As I'm not a geographer I can only posit this as a suggestion based on the similarity (to my mind) of the overall trends of topography. Also as one travels by train between London and Brighton the northern scarp of the South Downs looms in a manner which brings the Weather Hills to mind, in that they are wooded at their base and often have green ramparts at their crests. The slightly larger Wolstonbury Hill has always struck me as 'Weathertopish'.

With these similarities as the base of my discussion then, I posit that the line of the

[1] John Ellison, 'Before Defended Walls' *Mallorn* 31 p,27
[2] J.R.R. Tolkien *Fellowship of the Ring*, 'A Knife in the Dark' 1990, p.248.
[3] J.R.R. Tolkien *Fellowship of the Ring*, 'A Knife in the Dark' 1990, p.248.
[4] N. Holford, 'The Geology of the Northern Kingdom', *Mallorn* 29, pp.3-5.
[5] K. Wynn-Fonstad, *The Atlas of Middle-earth*. Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1981.

Weather Hills was fortified on its Western side as this was the crest line of the formation. This (See fig. 3) would then provide the forts with a steep slope to their rear, so that even if the line was outflanked to the North or South any attack could only be made from the East, which would

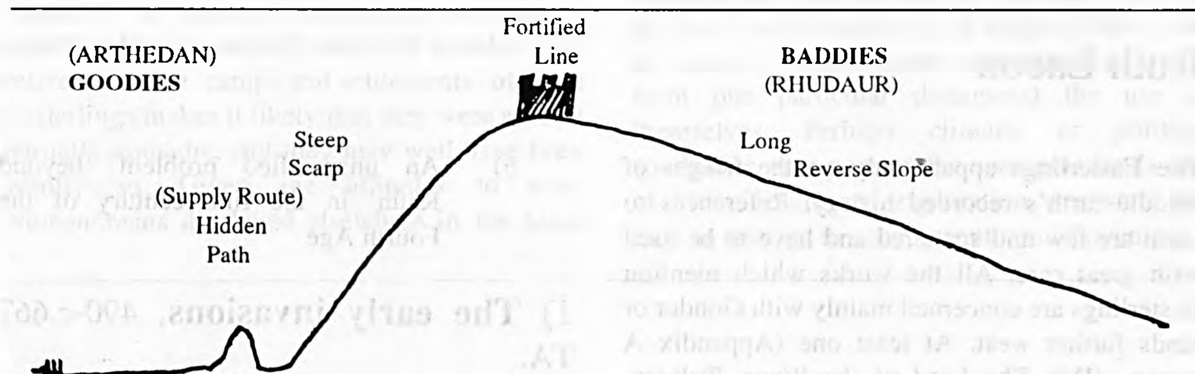


Fig (3) Rough Profile of Weather Hills

entail a long march upslope; thus tiring the enemy force while the defenders would be resting behind static defence lines. The hidden path would be used to provide relief or supplies. Its design "to keep as much hidden as possible from the view, both of the hilltops above and of the flats to the west"[6] allowing it to remain in use should any outflanking movement take place, or if any part of the crest be taken by hostile troops who could then overlook the flats towards Migdewater.

Thus the apparent nature of the line as 'behind' is based on strategic use of terrain, if my interpretation is correct. Would the Society's geographers care to take the discussion further?

Ian Collier

In reply to Ian Collier's letter, I asked the question I did because the siting of a defensive line (or "limes") behind, and not in front of a range of hills seems, on the face of it, to contradict the plain requirement for advance warning of trouble, in this case from the country to the east of the Weather Hills from whence it might be expected to come. This isn't conclusive, because, as I suggested, the problem could well have been over-come by siting outposts, forts or signal stations east of the hills, from where messages, by rider or beacon, could have been transmitted back. The intention to make provision against outflanking movement, or infiltration from the rear, is equally possible, although as we don't know how far north the main lines of defence extended, we cannot say how far it might have been thought necessary.

But I'm afraid I can't fall for Ian's idea of a gradual reverse slope à la South Downs. The description of the prospect from the summit of Weathertop in *The Fellowship of the Ring* hardly suggests it, and indeed, neither does either of the sources (Halford and Wynn-Fonstad) which Ian quotes. One of them does cite the Malvern Hills (which Tolkien knew well) and these (sharp on both sides) surely proved a true parallel. There is a major Iron Age hillfort at the south end of the Malvern Hills, as a matter of fact (Hereford Beacon).

Perhaps Ian should take a train from Paddington to the West Country instead?

John Ellison

[6] J.R.R. Tolkien *Fellowship of the Ring*, 'A Knife in the Dark' 1990, p.248.

Notes Toward a History of the Easterlings

Ruth Lacon

The Easterlings appear only on the fringes of Middle-earth's recorded history. References to them are few and scattered and have to be used with great care. All the works which mention Easterlings are concerned mainly with Gondor or lands further west. At least one (Appendix A section (IV), *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien, 1953) was written from the point of view of a scholar of Gondor and, in places, is flagrantly biased. The Easterlings belonged to cultures alien and often hostile to that of Gondor: the proper comparison here is with the attitude of medieval Europeans to Islam and the East – belligerent incomprehension. So is it worth trying? Can we from our biased, probably inaccurate, and certainly inadequate information make any kind of reconstruction of events, places and peoples? The answer to both questions has to be yes. The Easterlings had a repeated and important impact on Rhovanion and Gondor, so it is definitely worth trying to understand them. As long as we are aware of the deficiencies in our data – and of the fact that our conclusions may have to change radically if more information appears – we can certainly try to write their history.

Careful examination of Appendices A and B of *The Lord of the Rings* and Part 3 of *Unfinished Tales* (Tolkien, 1980) reveals six recorded episodes of contact between the Easterlings and Gondor, its allies or both. These are:-

1) The early invasions, 490-?667 TA.
2) The episode under Narmacil I, 1226-1248 TA.
3) The Wainrider assaults, 1856-1944 TA.
4) The Balchoth, 2490-2510 TA.
5) The assault on Dale during the War of the Ring, 3019 TA.
6) An unspecified problem 'beyond Rhûn' in the first century of the Fourth Age

1) The early invasions, 490-c.667 TA.

Very little information concerning the first millennium of the Third Age survives, and that includes this episode, despite its obvious importance at the time. A people or peoples seen as being from the East moved into Rhovanion and became a threat to Gondor. This might have involved raids into Ithilien and Calenardhon. Though quickly and seemingly decisively defeated, the Easterlings survived and eventually regained their strength. It is likely that what happened next was a surprise to everyone including them. Gondor, feeling threatened again, sent out an army which was promptly defeated in a battle which cost her king his life. It is probable that the King, Tarostar Rómendacil waked into a trap of some sort, much as three Roman legions under Varus did against the Germans. This would not only explain the defeat, but also the lack of any attempt to invade Gondor afterwards. A relatively primitive people had won an amazing victory, but they had done so under exceptional circumstances in defence of their new homeland and their families.

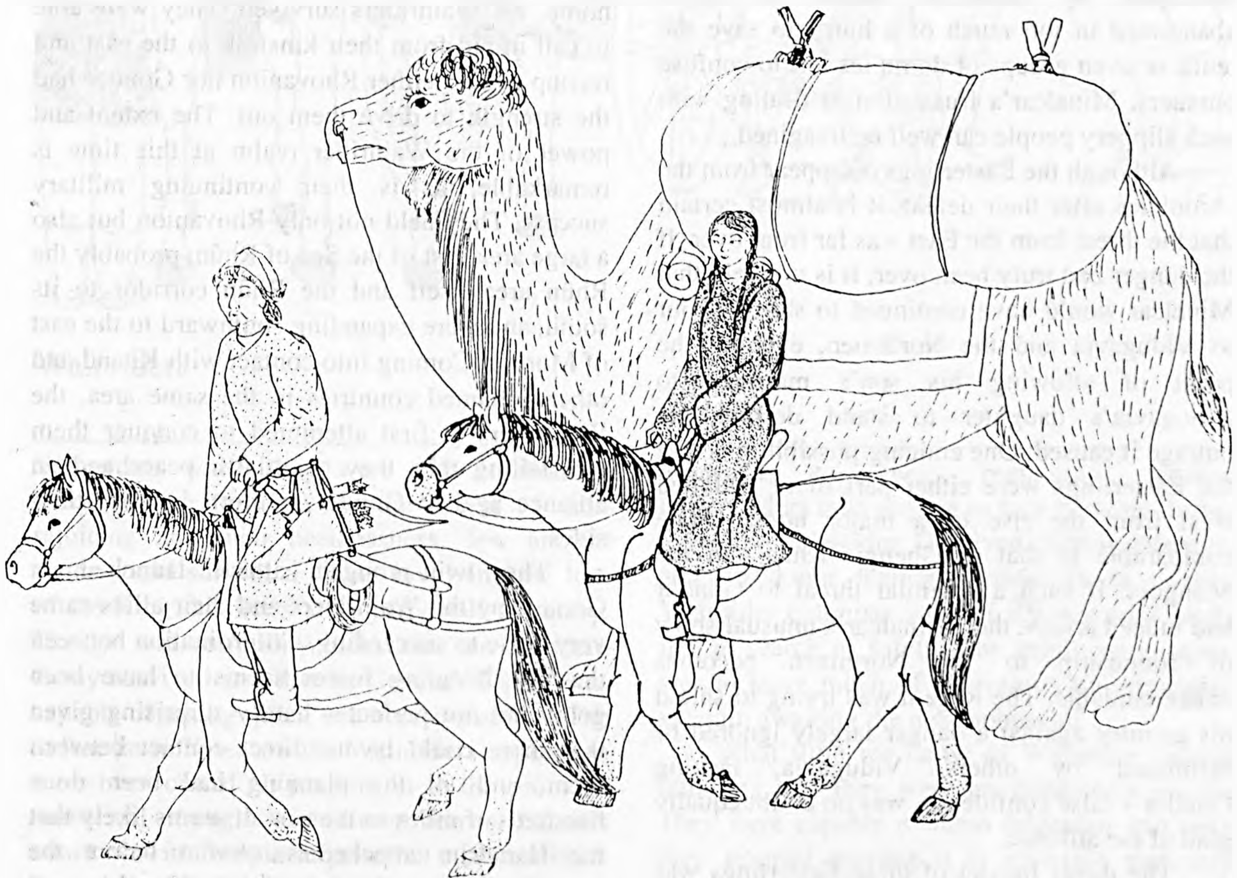
They had no reason to attack Gondor unless to pre-empt further strikes. and even if any of the Easterling leaders were sufficiently sophisticated to grasp that idea, Gondor's armed forces were probably still strong and her fortifications and cities way beyond the ability of the Easterlings to cope with.

During the following years, Gondor seems to have changed its tactics. The next king is said to have avenged his father, but there is no record of a decisive battle and the Easterlings quietly disappear from the records. It is possible that they were harassed by numerous small raids until they were driven to move elsewhere.

2) The episode under Narmacil I,

1226-1248 TA.

Here again a body of people on the move appeared in southern Rhovanion and caused trouble which eventually involved Gondor. The reference to the 'camps and settlements' of these Easterlings makes it likely that they were at least partially nomadic, and they may well have been wholly so. Given the attitudes to non-Númenóreans displayed elsewhere in the same section of Appendix A (apparently an excerpt 'settlements' is likely to be very loose. The recorded pattern of raids of gradually increasing strength and considerable involvement in local politics is very interesting. It suggests that a clan or clans of nomads under one influential leader from one particular document) the use of themselves. Perhaps climatic or political conditions were poor on the open grasslands east of Rhûn, leading to exploration westward and then an attempt to occupy southern Rhovanion.



Nomadic Easterlings

The area was nominally part of Gondor but a hundred years of neglect had loosened that realm's hold over the outlying territories. Nervousness over their effect on local politics, territorial possessiveness and hard cultural attitudes would all combine to set Gondor's leaders against the newcomers, leading to a clash. Settled peoples rarely do well against nomad armies. Gondor's success may have owed much to Regent Minalcar's recruitment of Vidugavia, King of Rhovanion, as an ally. The Northmen of Rhovanion seem to have had cavalry-based armies, unlike the infantry-and-archers tradition of Numénor which Gondor may still have clung to . After their defeat the nomads could simply pack and run, and the majority probably escaped. The'camps and settlements' destroyed by Minalcar would be those abandoned in to0 much of a hurry to save the tents, or even groups of dummies left to confuse pursuers. Minalcar's frustration at dealing with such slippery people can well be imagined.

Although the Easterlings disappear from the chronicles after their defeat, it is almost certain that the threat from the East was far from over. If the danger had truly been over, it is unlikely that Minalcar would have continued to show favour to Vidugavia and the Northmen, even to the point of allowing his son's marriage to Vidugavia's daughter to stand despite the outrage it caused. One enticing possibility is that the Easterlings were either part of or had fled west from the rise of a major nomad state comparable to that of Ghengis Khan and the Mongols. If such a potential threat to Gondor had indeed arisen, then Minalcar's unusual show of friendship to the Northmen becomes understandable. The Regent was trying to shield his country against a danger largely ignored or dismissed by others: Vidugavia, lacking Gondor's false confidence, was no doubt equally glad of the alliance.

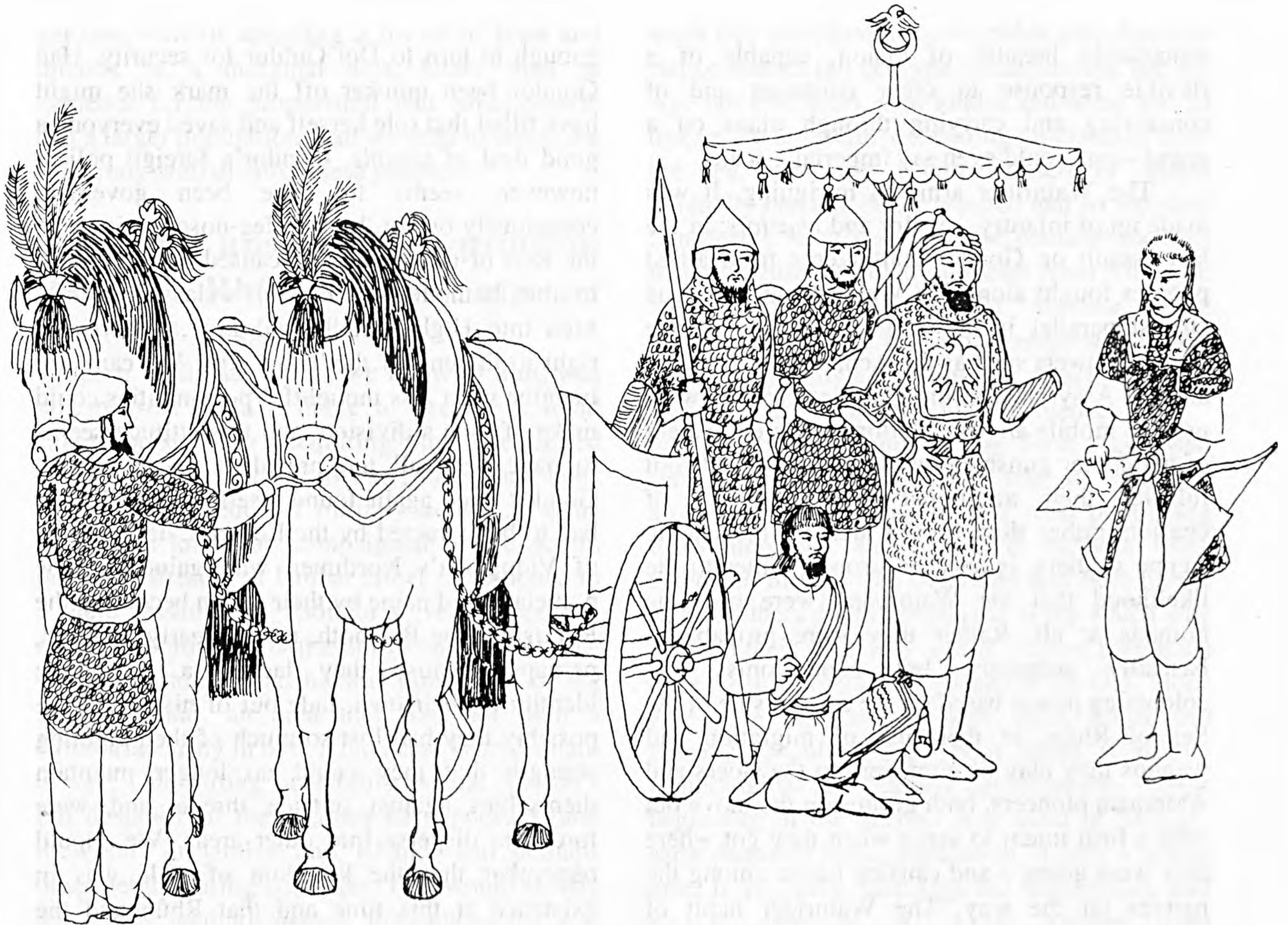
The direct impact of these Easterlings was relatively small but they had sparked the train of events that led in time to the Kinstrife, Gondor's only civil war and one of her biggest disasters. In its wake came a period of rapprochement between Gondor and Rhovanion that seems to have greatly benefited both peoples.

3) The Wainrider assaults, 1856-1944 TA.

Of all the Easterling episodes, this is the one we know most about. It was probably the longest lasting and certainly was the most dangerous for the western realms.

The Wainriders appear seemingly out of nowhere, launching a powerful invasion in the course of which the armies of both Gondor and Rhovanion were defeated. Afterwards the whole of Rhovanion was occupied, the native inhabitants being reduced to serfdom while the Wainriders became the ruling class. This situation was almost to be the conquerors' undoing some years later when the people of Rhovanion revolted with help from Gondor. Despite defeat in the field and bloody uprising at home, the Wainriders survived. They were able to call in aid from their kinsfolk to the east and recoup while neither Rhovanion nor Gondor had the strength to drive them out. The extent and power of the Wainrider realm at this time is remarkable, as is their continuing military success. They held not only Rhovanion but also a large area east of the Sea of Rhûn, probably the Rhûn area itself and the Rhûn corridor to its south, and were expanding southward to the east of Mordor. Coming into contact with Khand and other unnamed countries in the same area, the Wainriders at first attempted to conquer them but, failing this, they negotiated peace and an alliance against Gondor, a thorn in both their sides.

The twin-pronged attack launched at Gondor by the Wainriders and their allies came very close to succeeding. Co-ordination between the two invading forces seems to have been good, but not perfect – hardly surprising given that there could be no direct contact between them, and all the planning had been done hundreds of miles to the east. It seems likely that the Haradrim attacked somewhat before the Wainriders. After the defeat of the Haradrim and the near destruction of their warhost, it is probable that Gondor's Southern Army – or at least part of it – was already marching north before news came of the crushing victory scored by the Wainriders in the north. Given the distances involved, it is hard to see any other way in which the Southern Army could have reached the north in the time it did to fall on the



Wainriders

Wainriders while they were still celebrating. They can be forgiven for the extent of their rejoicing and their heedlessness: few ancient states could survive a defeat involving the loss of the King, his heirs and nearly half the army. Gondor was incredibly lucky that the Southern Army survived and that its General, Eärnil, was capable of taking quick and decisive action. The defeat he inflicted on the Wainriders appears to have been out of all proportion to the probable numerical strength of his own forces. Eärnil's attack was not only a surprise but came during a feast when many of its victims would be incapable of putting up much of a fight. After the battle the Wainriders simply disappear from Gondor's records. It is possible that the failure of the great alliance and the likely death of many notables in the Battle of the Camp caused turmoil among their rulers. The heartland of the Wainrider realm was always Rhûn and the east: political success at home might be more attractive to their remaining western commanders than staying to face possible further assault from Gondor. Deprived of their defenders and no doubt feeling themselves in danger, Wainrider colonists west of Rhûn would likely flee in search of safety. The result, once again, was to leave much of Rhovanion an unpeopled vacuum awaiting the next upheaval.

What little we know of Wainrider culture indicates that they were an interesting people. They were capable of mass migration but once they stopped moving it is probable that they were a settled agricultural people, although their wagons retained an important place in their cultural life. They are described as being stronger and better-armed than other Easterlings and were able to defeat Gondorian armies in open battle. Clearly they were not simple barbarians, as Gondor persisted in thinking, but a highly sophisticated people with a strong government of some sort. Their rulers had a

remarkable breadth of vision, capable of a flexible response to other countries and of conceiving and carrying through plans on a grand – one could even say imperial – scale.

The Wainrider army is intriguing. It was made up of infantry, cavalry and *chariots*: in the last assault on Gondor contingents from allied peoples fought alongside Wainrider troops. The closest parallel is the armies of early Middle Eastern powers such as the Achaemenid Persians and the Assyrians. In these armies chariots were used as mobile archery platforms, the equivalent of helicopter gunships, while the horse and foot fulfilled their traditional roles. The use of chariots rather than horsed archers, the classic steppe soldiers, is another strong pointer to the likelihood that the Wainriders were not true nomads at all. Rather they were probably a basically sedentary but expansionist and colonising power based on the eastern side of the Sea of Rhûn. In their use of migration and wagons they may be compared to the Boers and American pioneers, both groups on the move but whit a firm intent to settle when they got where they were going – and causing havoc among the natives on the way. The Wainrider habit of training their young women to fight also fits to some extent with such a pioneer ethos.

Both before and after their appearance in Rhovanion, Gondor's ignorance of the Wainriders was probably not nearly as great as surviving records suggest. The besetting sin of Gondor's rulers, however, was always political arrogance: against the Wainriders it almost cost them their kingdom.

4) The Balchoth, 2490-2510 TA.

First appearing over five hundred years after the Wainriders, these people are nonetheless described as being akin to them. On the available evidence, this was just the result of the sort of scholarly bad habit that led Byzantine historians to call anyone from north-western Europe a Celt right up to the thirteenth century. The Balchoth were a singularly scruffy lot, remarkable more for numbers and ferocity than for organization. The confusion as to whether they came from the east or the north indicates that they were probably not one people but an assemblage of refugee groups busy finding a new identity in the unoccupied lands of Rhovanion and desperate enough to turn to Dol Guldur for security. Had Gondor been quicker off the mark she might have filled that role herself and saved everyone a good deal of trouble. Gondor's foreign policy, however, seems to have been governed, consciously or not, by a toffee-nosed attitude to the Rest of the World that caused her no end of trouble. In the form of Faramir's classification of Men into High, Middle and Low, it persisted right to the end of the Third Age. We can well imagine what less thoughtful personalities could make of such a division, and this attitude seems to have been all too prevalent. In the event, Gondor once again found itself in trouble and had to be extracted by the Eotheod, descendants of Vidugavia's Northmen who gained a new homeland and name by their action becoming the Rohirrim. The Balchoth, never clearly pictured, perhaps because they lacked a distinctive identity of their own, fade out of history. Quite possibly they had lost so much of their fighting strength that they could no longer maintain themselves against outside threats and were forced to disperse into other areas. We should remember that the kingdom of Dale was in existence at this time and that Rhûn and the eastlands are a complete historical blank. There could well have been things going on that we know nothing of, thanks to the strong bias of our sources.

5) The assault on Dale during the War of the Ring, 3019 TA.

The perpetrators of this assault are described as Easterlings which, from the point of view of Gondor, they were. However, they seem to be local to the area in which they operated, probably being settled somewhere just east of the Carnen, and quite unconnected with any of the major Easterling assaults on Gondor, They are also described as being allies of Sauron but we may doubt how deep that alliance was. King Brand of Dale rejected Mordor's blandishments but weaker vessels with empty treasuries and rich enemies might easily succumb to well-placed agitprop. The coincidence of timing between the northern and southern assaults is probably just that. March is, simply, the earliest time at which any sane pre-modern commander would conduct military operations. Sauron might have wanted an earlier attack but he would not

get one without spending a lot of of time and interest on a marginal area. Other than as evidence for the proposition that Middle-earth had a larger population than we tend to think, we can pretty well dismiss these peoples.

6) An unspecified problem 'beyond Rhûn' in the reign of Aragorn II Elessar

Aragorn II Elessar, by all we know of him, was not the sort of man liable to become a rabid expansionist after acquiring the Re-United Kingdom. His realm, however, faced problems that certainly required military action at some point. We know he campaigned in the south, probably striking at Umbar either in response to a land assault on Gondor's very uncertain southern border or in attempt to end the menace of the Corsairs. What he was doing east of the Sea of Rhûn, an area that had not seen a Gondorian army in over a thousand years, is hard to say. One strong possibility is that Sauron's fall destabilised the regimes he supported (and drew on) in Umbar and Khand, and perhaps other neighbouring countries. This would slowly but surely lead to turmoil throughout the east and south, with rebellion, civil war and opportunistic invasion on all sides. Disturbances in Khand would spread into the areas to the north so that the whole mess would ricochet back upon the Rhûn area, which may have been Dorwinion and may have had a considerable if unrecorded population. Faced with a situation they could not handle, the people of Rhûn might appeal to Gondor, whose reputation after Sauron's fall must have been sky-high. Unlike some of Gondor's kings, Aragorn II Elessar was certainly intelligent enough to realise that if Rhûn fell he was next, and might well have taken preventative action. We know too little, however, to make a real assessment of what happened.

Having considered what we know about the Easterlings, we can now proceed to construct a general history.

The geography of Middle-earth east of the River Carnen is wholly unknown. What little is visible on the map appears to be grassland or steppe. On climatic considerations alone, to the north this must have become either pine forest or steppe-tundra (an ecotype extant during the Ice Age but now lost), then tundra and some sort of icecap. To the south, depending on distance from the sea, it would become desert or would gradually become better watered and so wooded. Landforms, such as mountains, could distort this pattern, while eventually the east coast would be approached, rainfall would become more plentiful and forests would reappear. Rivers running into this area from any direction would also have an important if local influence.

At the beginning of the First Age, Men spread rapidly from their site or sites of awakening. One group moved west populating Rhovanion and Eriador: their furthest flung extension moved into Beleriand and became the Edain. Others doubtless headed every which way through their wide new world. At first they must have been hunters and gatherers of Old Stone Age type but contact with Dark Elves and Dwarves would bring about rapid if patchy technological and cultural development. By the beginning of the Second Age most of Middle-earth probably had a population, if only a sparse one. It is likely that regional differences had already appeared and local cultures were evolving. This process of slow development could continue until the middle of the Age, when Sauron began to take an interest in the east.

At this point it is likely that there were agricultural communities in all suitable areas, horse-nomads on the southern steppe and reindeer-nomads in the north. Trading networks had probably developed to even out local and regional inequalities of environment and resources. Probably the main result of Sauron's interest was accelerated state formation at what might be called a tactical distance from the west coast – far enough in that Númenórean conquest was unlikely but close enough for effective military action. Given Sauron's need to act against the Númenóreans, encouraging state formation would be a good move. Tribes cannot fight sustained wars well outside their territory or provide much in way of surplus resources: nation states with a strong organization can support standing armies and produce tribute revenue which could be used to support orcs. Control of such states could be simply achieved by Sauron setting himself up as a combination of

god and High King. The settled peoples were probably affected most by this process. Nomads are notoriously hard for outsiders to control. Their way of life is perfectly fitted to survive in a harsh environment. This means that there is little room for outsiders to meddle. If they do not like what you want them to do, they can simply move. Thus although some of history's most formidable forces have arisen among steppe nomads, they are not likely to have played a large part in Sauron's plans.

When it came to the crunch, Sauron's pet states failed to do what he had intended. Their rulers were sufficiently capable of independent thought to refuse to challenge the might of Numénor in battle. Nevertheless, the structure he had established appears to have remained reasonably intact until the beginning of the Third Age. Judging by the Dead Men of Dunharrow those who had failed Sauron before were eager to reaffirm their loyalties in the War of the Last Alliance. This was by any standards a bad idea: not only was the battle of Dagorlad a major and bloody defeat but Sauron himself was overthrown and seems to have been effectively out of action for a very long time. The result, inevitably, would be change in the East. Among the settled peoples, dynasties Sauron had established would sooner or later fail or be overthrown without his support: rising new dynasties would be unlikely to hold to the old borders. Beyond the settled lands waited the nomads coveting, after the immemorial fashion of their kind, the wealth of the farming peoples who now no longer had one ruler who could contain the menace of the steppes. The possibility of success against the settled peoples, with its accompanying increase in wealth and power would introduce a factor for change amongst the nomads that had not been there before.

This extended series of changes was probably slow and contained mainly within the area of the old system controlled by Sauron. Gondor had been peripheral then and, fortunately for her, remained so. The first Easterling incursion can be assigned to this early period and probably occurred when some people, possibly but not necessarily nomadic, lost sufficient territory and influence to chance flight through the Rhûn Corridor into unknown lands. By then also the memory of the War of the Last Alliance would have faded. The second incursion, during the time of Namarcil I, may represent something similar but could equally be exploratory action by a major steppe-based power, analogous to the Huns or the Mongols. In any case it was nipped in the bud and, although it is near certainty that some major state arose in the Easterling zone during this period, no word of it survives in Gondor's archives. Not until the appearance of the Wainriders do we see a powerful nation in this area, one, moreover, based on settled peoples. At the time they encountered Gondor they were already highly organized and sophisticated: it is likely that a long period of development lay behind them and that they already had wide territories in the east. Quite possibly they were a successor-state, arising from a province or a small people on the fringe of an earlier polity. What happened to them after their defeat by Gondor is unknown: the loss of prestige and the deaths of many notables could have been enough to lead to the overthrow of the ruling family and the break-up of the state. They could equally well have survived for decades if not centuries simply by paying no attention to Gondor – or even reaching an accommodation with her. Where Sauron was at this time is not know, but it is likely that he was still weak, his influence over even a sedentary people like the Wainriders limited to what he could gain by intrigue, later Gondorian chronicles notwithstanding.

After the Wainriders' disappearance from recorded history, the Easterling zone seems to have been fairly stable for a long time. The appearance of the Balchoth in Rhovanion, a heterogeneous group probably composed of refugees from more than one area, indicates turmoil. It is possible also that conditions had been unsettled for some time, but only with the emergence of a new major force in Easterling politics were groups driven to flee. At any rate the Balchoth appear to have been quite unimportant in the Easterling zone at large. For the rest of the Third Age Gondor and Rhovanion were a neglected backwater in Easterling terms, the peoples closest to them perhaps unimportant, those further away seemingly uninterested. At the end of the Third Age Sauron relied on his nearest neighbours and oldest allies, Khand and

Umbar, rather than drawing in an Easterling horde: perhaps he could not, perhaps the problems outweighed the benefits. With all due respect to the valour of Gondor and the achievements of Aragorn II Elessar, the power of Sauron then was not what it had been. With Sauron's fall the men of Middle-earth were finally free to follow their own path, and the impact on the Easterlings must have been marked. As a player of any sort in their politics Sauron would be a disruptive force, perhaps an 'Old Man of the Mountain' figure, remote but deadly and a grievous nuisance to all and sundry. In our single tantalising Fourth Age reference we perhaps see new stirrings in the East: it is more than unfortunate that we do not know enough to even begin to follow this up.

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Contributors

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John Ellison is, or rather was, an archaeologist concentrating on the Iron Age and Roman Britian, and his interests outside Tolkien still run to archaeology, together with the art and architecture of the Middle Ages, music of the classical romantic and early modern periods, the English landscape water-colourists of the 18th and 19th centuries (Turner and that crowd, you know), and the works of P.G. Wodehouse. He also draws and paints (after a fashion).

Ruth Lacon is Scottish, accent notwithstanding (can she help it if Sassenachs have no ears?), an artist and writer. She has been working at Edinburgh University Library and is about to start a course in Graphic Design at an Edinburgh college.

Patricia Reynolds earns her money as a museum curator and spends it on books.

Tom Sherry has waited over a decade to see his artwork appear in *Mallorn*.

Clive Tolley's doctoral thesis: *A Comparative Study of Some Germanic and Finnic Myths*, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1993, looked at some of Tolkien's sources.

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