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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 bimonthly 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, OX2 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. %, \$, & - "Manw%"), 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 regret, 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.

Please write a few lines for the contributor's page.

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 XXXIV

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Editorial

In this issue, Charles Noad concludes his reviews of volume Twelve of “The History of Middle-earth” series by saluting the completion of a monument of Tolkien scholarship, an achievement almost certain never to be surpassed in our field. This is cause for rejoicing in the Tolkien Society above all, for what is the T.S. for, if it is not to promote, and so far as its resources permit, to engage in, Tolkien scholarship of every kind? All the same, the entire concept of “looking behind the scenes” with this as with other works of art and literature, invites and stands open to, debate.

There are those, and there are many, who hold that a true work of art should be self-sufficient, wholly revealing of itself and its meaning without the intervention of any outside agency, commentator or interpreter: those who believe that it should “speak for itself”. Such are those who proclaim their wish to read *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* for themselves alone, without the aid of any kind of “apparatus criticus” to help them along. Tolkien claimed to be on their side, and thought that they would neglect the Appendices “very properly”. They probably represent the large constituency of those who found *The Silmarillion* heavy going at their first (and perhaps only) reading, and indeed at that reading, if not subsequently, it may well have seemed to a lot of people rather like a vast extension of the Appendices to *The Lord of the Rings* rather than as an independent body of writing.

We would probably all agree that *The Hobbit*, at least, is quite self-sufficient, and that it doesn’t need, and never did, any outside exposition or commentary, either as originally written, or with the subsequent revised version of Bilbo’s acquisition of the Ring. We look forward to the appearance of the promised volume dealing with its origins and textual history,

but it won’t alter the way we read and enjoy the book in the slightest. But can the same be said of *The Lord of the Rings*? Clearly not, for the obvious reason that it is the Elves who stand at the centre of Tolkien’s world and his mythology, but it is not the Elves who have a central leading role in *The Lord of the Rings*, for all their prominence in its story. They appear to stand wholly “on our side”, the side of “the Allies” in the War of the Ring; the reader must absorb the material of *The Silmarillion* in order to take on board their true significance in Tolkien’s world, in order to appreciate the fallibility and ambiguity of their nature. And we can now see that much of the structure of *The Silmarillion* which was difficult to see as a whole when it first appeared, is really embedded in “The History of Middle-earth”. This accordingly becomes “required reading” (we use this repellent and profoundly depressing expression on purpose) for anyone who claims to take our subject seriously.

What? The whole of it? (as Rossini inquired of an admirer who claimed to have seen “your *William Tell* at the Opéra last night”)¹. Yes, of course, the whole of it, including “The Statute of Finwë and Miriel” (Volume IV) – one of your Editors quailed a bit at it on the last stretch. If you have properly read, marked, learnt, and inwardly digested Volumes One to Eleven, and in due course will do likewise with Volume Twelve, you’ve earned yourself the right to call yourself a Tolkien buff. Excuses, please, on a postcard to the usual address.

This *Mallorn* is late, due to a series of letters and packets between the editors being lost in the post, followed by the illness of one of the editors. Many thanks to Trevor Reynolds who took time out of nursing duties to do much of the work.

Errata

Profuse apologies are due to Clive Tolley and *Mallorn* readers: Pat failed to put back in italics and diacritical marks and changed to all earlier forms of

the name ‘Eärendil’ to that one. At the very least, it will have made it difficult for you, the readers, to understand Clive Tolley’s paper.

¹ Note: this Editorial, like its predecessors under the present dispensation, is a joint product. But those in the know will not find it difficult to work out who wrote this bit.

Ring Verses Competition

The Answers, The Result, and another Call for Contributors

Pat Reynolds

I discovered last year a collection of translations of the ring verse. Not just the published ones, but also personal translations. From these, I quoted the first lines, and challenged you to identify the languages...

The Winner

Malcolm Jackson

The Answers

- 1/ Tri Fainnachan do Rean nan Duine Sith fo'n adhar...
Scottish Gaelic
- 2/ Tair modrwy i freninoedd yr Elffin is sêr...
or Tair mordrwy i'r Tylwydd Teg didywyll...
or Tair mordrwy i Frenhinoedd y Tylwyth Teg dan y wybren...
Welsh
- 3/ Try kelgh rag an Elven myghterneth dan an ebre...
Cornish
- 4/ Daktulioi treis Alphowanaxin hup' ouranooi eisi...
Ancient Greek (Homeric)
- 5/ Trí fáinní do Ríthe na Síoga, beatha gan bás...
Irish Gaelic
- 6/ Re sfeir ar alpei-farma manal tharai...
Vegor Caliosa¹
- 7/ Sunt añuli treš pro ny̅m̅phibus pa̅r̅vis...
or Ūnus anulus quī ēōs omnēs regat...
or Tres anuli envanis regibus caelo...
or Tres anuli numinibus naturae sub caelo...
or Anulus ad omnes regendas...
Latin
- 8/ Drī Ringe vūr der Albe Künige under deme Rimiele...
Middle High German
- 9/ Treis bagues pour les roués des faitots sous lé ciel...
Guernesiais (Guernsey patois)
- 10/ Treis daktuli tois basileusin tōn Kedion hūpo tōn ouranon...
Koinēr Greek (New Testament)
- 11/ Þrír baugar hand álfkonungum undir himinum...
Old Icelandic
- 12/ Tri rinoj por Reoj Fea sub la cielo...
Esperanto
- 13/ Rājñam ākāśasthānām hi trayo māyāᅅgurīyakāᅅ...
Sanskrit

Can you supply other translations?

A. Appleyard has already sent me a translation into Ancient Egyptian and a reference to one in Klingon, but there are thousands of languages out there, from Fox to Phoenician, which still need translations! Some of the original submissions were calligraphed, and others were transliterated into Tengwar, and I would welcome other calligraphed entries.²

¹ A language invented by Andrew Butler. I awarded two entrants a bonus points for offering convincing arguments for it being Romany or a Dravidian language.

² 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, l = slashed l, ´ = acute accent) – and providing you don't translate into Macedonian Greek, I'll be able to cope! Many thanks to those who corrected my typos, and suggested amendments to the competition quotations.

J.R.R. Tolkien's Genealogies: The Roots of his 'Sub-creation'

Daniel Timmons

As many critics have noted, Tolkien's books have provoked both condemnations and laurels. However, to borrow the author's view from his "Valedictory Address," I do not think it is helpful to confront simplistic opinions of a given work and then provide fuel for a "faction fight" (Tolkien, 1983, p. 231). A role of a scholar is to offer perspectives on the depth and significance of a text, and minimize a political agenda or self-aggrandizement. It is much more worthwhile to focus on subjects where Tolkien's accomplishments are widely acknowledged. Foremost of these, of course, is the vast and intricate Middle-earth: Tolkien's unique "Sub-creation," which is unmatched by any English literary work. Tolkien's genealogies not only exhibit the complexity of this "Sub-creation" but in fact serve as one of the central grounds – the roots, if you will – of his fictional invention.

First, let us consider Tolkien's concept of "Sub-creation." In "On Fairy-Stories," Tolkien proposes that significant naturalistic details provide the foundation for enchanting fantasy: "The achievement of the expression, which gives (or seems to give) 'the inner consistency of reality,' is indeed ... Art, the operative link between Imagination and the final result, Sub-creation" (Tolkien, 1983, p. 139). In this instance, then, Tolkien's descriptions of the genealogies of his "sub-created" sentient beings function to encourage readers to believe in the existence of hobbits, elves, dwarves, and unusual humans – not just pre-empt a potential disbelief in them.

We see can Tolkien's intent to evoke "Secondary Belief" in the "Prologue" to *The Lord of the Rings*:

All Hobbits were, in any case, clannish and reckoned up their relationships with great care. They drew long and elaborate family-trees with innumerable branches. ... The genealogical trees at the end of the Red Book of Westmarch are a small book in themselves, and all but Hobbits would find them exceedingly dull. Hobbits delighted in such things, if they were accurate:

they liked to have books filled with things that they already knew, set out fair and square with no contradictions.

(Tolkien, 1966a, p. 26)

Tolkien's tone is light here, and there is some irony apparent when he says hobbits like "books filled with things that they already knew;" many who disparage *The Lord of the Rings* do it because the work is not *real* to life, as they purport to know it. Still, all the details given are contrived to be serious and authentic. If we had nothing more to go on, the mere size and appearance of hobbits could work against attempts to suspend our disbelief. Tolkien's narrator plainly states he is relating a 'history' – not a fiction. *The Lord of the Rings* is said to be an account drawn from the "Red Book of Westmarch" (Tolkien, 1966a, p.34), a book that was originally a private diary of Bilbo and which later contained all the materials we see in the appendices.

The "Family Trees" are an important part of these materials (Tolkien, 1966c, pp. 478-82). I wonder how many of us ever pause and reflect on the incredible ingenuity of Tolkien's genealogies. Notice how many names there are, and the sheer variety and inventiveness of them. The attention to detail, the care and diligence evident in the design of these "Family Trees," shows that Tolkien wanted to immerse the reader so deeply into hobbit-lore that these beings become virtually alive; they attain an existence beyond some whimsical wish-fulfilment for a fairy-tale character. The fact that Tolkien enthusiasts have formed local hobbit clubs and have worn lapel pins denoting, "Frodo lives," indicates the imaginative power of Tolkien's work. Middle-earth's "Family Trees" are a significant part of the myriad details that Tolkien has devised to induce "Secondary Belief" in his "Sub-creation."

Tolkien's genealogies also have implications with regard to anthropogeny. Tolkien was no professional in this field (and I am not even an amateur), but it seems plausible that emerging societies require strong familial ties to guard against outside threats – both from the natural world and

from other sentient beings. Languages and customs, as well, would likely begin in small groups bonded in nurturing familiarity. In Tolkien's cosmology, the history of Middle-earth, which is distinctive from the timeless existence of Valinor, begins when the first flesh and blood beings were created. *The Silmarillion* states:

In the changes of the world the shapes of lands and of seas have been broken and remade; rivers have not kept their courses, neither have mountains remained steadfast; ... But it is said among the Elves that it [the place of their awakening] lay far off in the east of Middle-earth, and northward, and it was a bay in the Inland Sea of Helcar; ... Long they dwelt in their first home by the water under the stars, and walked the Earth in wonder; and they began to make speech and to give names to all things that they perceived. Themselves they named the Quendi, signifying those that speak with voices; for as yet they had met no other living things that spoke or sang. (Tolkien, 1992, p. 56)

The key stage in the development of the Elves' consciousness occurs when they acquire speech and, more particularly, start to *name* things. They gradually become attuned to their natural world and its ecological order. The designations or "names" that the elves assign, and the relationships within their society and environment, are emblematically represented by the genealogies.

Later in this part of the book, we see the Elves attain an awareness of other kinds of beings and their places within a cosmic design. At first, the Elves were a homogeneous people with no clear ethnic or tribal segregations. However, as the experience and knowledge of their existence (and the apparent divine plan behind it) evolves, the Elves are forced to come to terms with their individual free-wills. They must choose between the joyful tidings of Oromë and the insidious words of Melkor. Consequently, the elves experience a sort of loss of innocence and can no longer view the world as a place of unambiguous wonder:

Thus it was that when Nahar neighed and Oromë indeed came among them, some of the Quendi hid themselves, and some fled and were lost. But those that had courage, and stayed, perceived swiftly that the Great Rider was no shape out of darkness; for the light of Aman was in his face, and all the noblest of the Elves were drawn towards it.

(Tolkien, 1992, pp. 57-8)

Furthermore, we see the process where this single group of people start to branch off into sub-groups, based on different outlooks and aspirations of worldly life. The diagram of "The Sundering of the Elves" details the beginnings of what later would become complex and extensive genealogical structures. The reason for the divisions among the groups of elves are the choices and mishaps – both fully plausible – during settlement and migration activity.

Then befell the first sundering of the Elves. For the kindred of Ingwë, and the most part of the kindreds of Finwë and Elwë, were swayed by the words of their lords, and were willing to depart and follow Oromë; and these were known ever after as the Eldar, by the name the Oromë gave to the Elves in the beginning, in their own tongue. But many refused the summons, preferring the starlight and wide spaces of Middle-earth to the rumour of the Trees; and these are the Avari, the Unwilling, and they were sundered in that time from the Eldar, and met never again until many ages were past. (Tolkien, 1992, p. 61)

There are also philosophical matters involved here, but for our purposes now it is clear that Middle-earth's genealogies are not provided as mere "window-dressing"; they relate fundamentally to Tolkien's interesting perspectives on both anthropology and cosmology.

The genealogical diagrams serve practical as well as thematic functions. Without the charts at the back of *The Silmarillion*, a reader could soon become lost in the multitude of names and the inter-relationships among them. More significantly, the genealogy of "The House of Finwë" stands as a record of the tragic divisions among the Eldar, resulting in the betrayal of Elven kindreds and their departure from the Blessed Realm. The chart vividly complements the narrative as we see Fëanor separated (schematically *and* morally) from his brothers Fingolfin and Finarfin, bringing about events both sorrowful (e.g. death of Fingolfin) and joyous (e.g. birth of Eärendil).

As for the appearance of humans, that is, the race of Men, in his Secondary World, Tolkien provides views that can be related to ideas on the anthropology of our Primary World. In "On Fairy-Stories" he rejects Andrew Lang's myopic and ill-advised comments regarding our "naked ancestors."

Tolkien states:

But do we really know much about these 'naked ancestors', except that they were certainly not naked? ... Yet if it is assumed that we have fairy-stories because they did, then probably we have history, geography, poetry, and arithmetic because they liked these things too. (Tolkien, 1983, p. 134)

Tolkien's humans appear in Middle-earth, quite appropriately, soon after the creation of the Sun. (Before this cosmic event, the land was lit only by brilliant starlight.) These Men were oppressed from the beginning by the evil one of the Valar, Melkor/Morgoth, who embodies all that is vile and destructive in humanity. And so, naturally, these beings sought a peaceful and nurturing existence:

Now these were a part of the kindred and following of Bëor the Old, as he was afterwards called, a chieftain among Men. After many lives of wandering out of the East he had led them at last over the Blue Mountains, the first of the race of Men to enter Beleriand; and they sang because they were glad, and believed that they had escaped from all perils and had come at last to a land without fear.

(Tolkien, 1992, p. 168)

The aspirations of this group seem to exhibit what Tolkien describes in "On Fairy-Stories" as "the satisfaction of certain primordial human desires;" one of these is to "survey the depths of space and time," and another is "to hold communion with other living things" (Tolkien, 1983, p. 116). Thus the genealogical chart of "Bëor the Old" not only situates his folk within the natural order of Middle-earth, but it is emblematic of the worthy desires of these humans to understand their environment, which includes the birds and the beasts, as well as to interact peaceably with other societies of people.

One could certainly expand on these type of associations evident from Tolkien's genealogies. Due to space constraints, I can only mention a few issues involved with these structures. The diagram of "The descendants of Olwë and Elwë" shows that Tolkien's emphasis is usually on bonds of *kindred*, and not necessarily those of *race* or *creed*. The genealogical record displays certain ethnologic traits, but it largely depends on individual free-will rather than, solely, on group predilections. We see here the common links through bloodlines *and* marriages among Maia, Elf, Half-elf, and Man. Tolkien indicates the importance of personal choice in the establishment of kindred

bonds (e.g. that of Melian, Lúthien, Elrond, Elros or Arwen), rather than favouring a closed, ethnocentric state where different peoples remain forever insular and distinct.

Racial differences can cause strife in Tolkien's Secondary World, as it unfortunately does in our Primary one. Yet these long-standing conflicts, however deep-rooted, do not remain immutable in Middle-earth. In Appendix A of *The Return of the King*, the genealogical table of Durin's line reflects the insularity of the dwarves and their seemingly male-centred society: "Dís was the daughter of Thráin II. She is the only dwarf-woman named in these histories" (Tolkien, 1966c, p. 450). While the dwarf-women rarely wander from their homes, they apparently have autonomy in choice of mate; and many male dwarves, "being engrossed in their crafts," prefer to remain apart from the females (Tolkien, 1966c, p. 450). But as is usual with Tolkien, there are exceptions to ancestral tendencies:

We have heard tell that Legolas took Gimli Gloin's son with him [over the Sea to Valinor] because of their great friendship, greater than any that has been between Elf and Dwarf. If this is true, then it is strange indeed; ... But it is said Gimli went also out of desire to see again the beauty of Galadriel; and it may be that she, being mighty among the Eldar, obtained this grace for him. (Tolkien, 1966c, p. 452)

Old enmities and innate predispositions may have prejudiced Gimli at times in *The Lord of the Rings*, such as in his confrontations with Haldir and disputes with Legolas (e.g. Tolkien, 1966a, pp. 450-1). Yet the fact that Gimli, an individual of a supposedly stubborn and steadfast people, could expand his perceptions of the world – and of the other beings in it – indicates that the possibility exists for anyone.

Still, we cannot avoid the sad reality that racial distinctions, strong family ties, and "clannish" affiliations have negative consequences too. Given his vast knowledge of ancient languages and literature, Tolkien was well aware of the devastating nature of ethnic conflicts and clan feuds. He draws attention to these destructive practices in a couple of ways. First, one of Morgoth's and Sauron's most pernicious devices is to sow discord among groups of people who should band together to oppose tyranny. In *The Silmarillion*, we learn that "they [some Men] feared the Eldar and the light of their eyes; and then dissensions awoke among the Edain, in which the shadow of Morgoth may be discerned" (Tolkien,

1992, p. 173); in *The Fellowship of the Ring*, Haldir states “Indeed in nothing is the power of the Dark Lord more clearly shown than in the estrangement that divides all those who still oppose him.” (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 451).

Secondly, the ‘histories’ related in both *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* (including Appendices A and B) chronicle a litany of woes, many of them conflicts among different kinds of people. There were the disputes between the dwarves and elves that led not only to the ruin of Doriath, but to the rare event of the “slaying of Elf by Elf” (Tolkien, 1992, pp. 282-6). Gondor fell into decline, both because of internal dissension, “the civil war of the Kin-strife,” and because of outside attacks, such as “the invasion of the Wainriders” (Tolkien, 1966c, pp. 398-403). And thus genealogical tables and diagrams also represent a nostalgic desire, sometimes in grief, sometimes in gladness, to preserve a cultural heritage from decay or demise.

Tolkien also shows us that even among the less violent and more community-oriented hobbits, clan affiliations can lead to difficulties. The following pair of quotes represents the beneficial and malignant aspects of family associations:

- 1) ‘I cannot thank you as I should, Bilbo, for this, and for all your past kindnesses,’ said Frodo. ‘Don’t try!’ said the old hobbit, turning round and slapping him on the back. ... ‘But there you are: Hobbits must stick together, and especially Bagginses’.
(Tolkien, 1966a, p. 363)
- 2) ‘Then we shall be master, *gollum!* Make the other hobbit, the nasty suspicious hobbit, make him crawl, yes, *gollum.*
‘But not the nice hobbit?’ ‘Oh no, not if it doesn’t please us. Still he’s a Baggins, my precious, yes, a Baggins stole it. He found it and he said nothing, nothing. We hates Bagginses.’
‘No, not this Baggins.’
‘Yes, every Baggins. All peoples that keep the precious. We must have it!’
(Tolkien, 1966b, p. 298)

Frodo, an orphan, was raised by his uncle and received all the needful elements, such as a home and education, that a relation could provide. He develops his kindness for people in general, and most importantly for the treacherous Gollum, because Bilbo, as Frodo’s role model, showed pity and mercy towards others. For his part, Gollum retains a hatred

for a family name because of a past grievance. Many years earlier, he had left his familial ties, murdering his childhood friend, because of his lust for individual power and self-aggrandizement. As it turns out, Bilbo’s, Frodo’s, and even Sam’s pity for Gollum – a feeling of positive kinship – directly contributed to the destruction of the Ring and the salvation of all the families of Middle-earth.

Again, this observation leads to other broader topics which cannot be dealt with here. I will just note in passing that the very idea of “The Council of Elrond,” a group of disparate peoples gathered together for a common cause, suggests that ethnic distinctions need not be a barrier to mutual cooperation. And Tolkien does not just show deference towards the beings of the West. Sam wonders if the people from the southeast of Middle-earth are really evil in their war against the West, or if they had been beguiled by the lies of Sauron (Tolkien, 1966b, p. 335). Also, when the quest has been achieved and the war won, Aragorn as King recognizes the efforts of all people, including those living in primitive communities, and grants them lands of their own – *unhindered* by more developed civilizations (Tolkien, 1966c, p. 307). Lastly, at the end of *The Lord of the Rings*, Frodo is reconciled with his former adversary Lobelia Sackville-Baggins: “Frodo was surprised and much moved [when] she had left [upon her death] all that remained of her money and of Lotho’s for him to use in helping hobbits made homeless by the troubles. So that feud was ended” (Tolkien, 1966c, p. 366). The community is nurtured by family ties and cultural bonds, rather than remaining as a collection of individuals who, like Gollum, may become obsessed with personal power and greed.

Tolkien is indeed a profoundly persuasive writer. The Middle-earth books and other tales have been translated into over 25 languages, and there are Tolkien journals in places as disparate as Belgium, United Arab Emirates, and Japan. Tolkien’s genealogies reflect both cultural diversity and common bonds of kinship, and so it is perfectly logical that people read Tolkien with delight. After all, giving pleasure should be the central function of literature – despite what some in the cloistered critical community might believe. Given the present state of English studies, where “Dead White Male” authors are routinely vilified, and interest has often switched to dense theories of literature and away from the literature itself, a writer such as Tolkien

sometimes receives an indifferent or even indignant reception in academia. This presentation on Tolkien's genealogies hopefully shows that narrow-minded and

hostile views are best countered through sound analyses of the author's works, rather than by bellicose rebuttals.

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"Thief, Thief, Thief! Baggins! We hates it,
we hates it, we hates it for ever!"

The hobbit V

Glasburyon

Mark Abley

–1–

Shakespeare was an upstart, Dante a dabbler
compared to Shamil Bakhtasheni –
he of the snowpeak sagas, the quince-blossom lovesongs
and a leopard's argument with God. Not a word
of his work was dipped in printer's ink
and most of it is long forgotten;
little wonder, for the master lived
and died in the Artchi tongue,
spoken only in a windburnt village
where Dagestan falls towards the sea. The language
pleasured Shamil like a lover, giving him
poetry without an alphabet, listeners
without a page. His grave is rumoured to lie
among the roots of an apricot tree
on the scarp of a Caucasian mountain
where, if you believe the villagers, once
a month the wind recites his lyrics.

–2–

She flew from Boston to Port Moresby
for this: an outboard ferry-ride

past a dripping wall of trees
to a yet unstudied village where

the Mombum language survives;
the wall splits open; she clambers out

and strides from the dock, escorted
by a flock of blue-winged parrots

to find the gathered islanders
seated on the red soil beside

a reed-thatched bar, watching "Fatal
Attraction" on satellite TV.

–3–

Reason tells me it doesn't matter
if the final speaker of Huron
goes grey in a suburb of Detroit
where nobody grasps a syllable
of his grandmother's tongue.

Reason tells me it's not important
if Basque and Abenaki join
the dozens of unproductive
languages lately disposed of: what's
the big deal, where's the beef?

Reason is scavenging the earth:
"More, more", it cries. You can't tell it
to use imagination. You can't
ask it to stop and listen
to the absence of Norn.

–4–

*Tega du meun or glasburyon,
kere friende min –*

"If you take the girl from the glass castle,
dear kinsman of mine,"

so a voice claims in a Norn ballad,
plucked by a rambling scholar
off the lips of a toothless crofter

he found on a Shetland island
in 1774; soon the language
was a mouthful of placenames –

*yamna-men eso vrildan stiende
gede min vara to din.*

"As long as this world is standing
you'll be spoken of."

–5–

That music? It's only
a wind bruising the chimes
in a crystal fortress
high on Mount Echo.

Each time we lose a language
the ghosts who made use of it
cast a new bell.

The voices magnify. Soon,
listen, they'll outpeal
the tongues of earth.

Power, Domination and Egocentrism in Tolkien and Orwell

John Flood

If the characters of Tolkien's fiction who do not live under totalitarian systems have a degree of free-will, what can be said about the moral relationship between agents and power? The most obvious place to begin examining this question is with the Ring, the most manifestly powerful object in the Third Age of Middle-earth.

One of the most evident facts about the Ring is that the Wise of the West (who could wield it to its fullest potential, unlike for example the Hobbits or Gollum) shun its use. Both Gandalf and Galadriel reject it when they are offered it by Frodo. Elrond (in a passage which is informative in other respects) explains why:

Alas, no...We cannot use the Ruling Ring. That we now know too well. It belongs to Sauron and was made by him alone, and is altogether evil. Its strength...is too great for anyone to wield at will, save only those who have already a great power of their own. But for them it holds an even deadlier peril. The very desire of it corrupts the heart. Consider Saruman. If any of the Wise should with this Ring overthrow the Lord of Mordor, using his own arts, he would then set himself on Sauron's throne, and yet another Dark Lord would appear (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 281).

Only Tom Bombadil, the benign protagonist of miscellaneous adventures in the pages of *The Lord of the Rings* and elsewhere, appears to be as unaffected by the Ring as he is by the menaces of Willow-Man, Badger and the Barrow-Wights:

Then suddenly he put it [the Ring] to his eye and laughed...Then Tom put the Ring round the end of his little finger and held it up to the candle-light. For a moment the Hobbits noticed nothing strange about this. Then they gasped. There was no sign of Tom disappearing!

Tom laughed again, and then he spun the ring in the air - and it vanished with a flash. Frodo gave a cry - and Tom leaned forward and handed it back to him with a smile (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 144).

Tom's nonchalance in his handling of the One Ring is impressive. However, he is not simply a mortal character in the usual sense of the word. Rather, Tom - with his continuous sing-song speech and his watersprite wife - is an Ainur, a sort of nature spirit, a *genius loci* if you like. For Tolkien he represented 'the spirit of the (vanishing) Oxford and Berkshire countryside' (Tolkien, 1990, p. 26) and as such the normal rules of human psychology do not apply to him. For this reason he cannot be given the Ring as he is so unworldly that 'he would soon forget it, or most likely throw it away' (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 279).

Characters with a more usual psyche, though, will either not use the Ring or else, if they do (like Frodo and Gollum) they seem to succumb to it. Is the moral then simply that of Lord Acton's 'Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely' (Shippey, p. 104)? This appears to be too simplistic an answer. After all do not the forces of the West exercise very obvious power in their defeat of Saruman and in their vanquishing the armies of Mordor in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields? Gandalf shows his power in the impressive scene he creates in Meduseld to help free Théoden from the ensnaring power of Wormtongue's crooked counsels. No, power is merely an instrument which may be turned to various ends: there is nothing in it which inherently corrupts.

It is more correct to look on power as something which amplifies natural tendencies already present in the human psyche. Free from societal constraints 'Man deþ swá há byþ þonne hé mót swá hé wile' (Shippey, p. 104); he shows his true colours when he can do as he wishes. Bilbo then is to be all the more praised for not slaying Gollum in the dark; he refrains from exercising the full power of his invisibility, thus showing the basically moral nature of his character.

Why then cannot the West use the Ring? Well for one thing, as Elrond pointed out above, it is the product of an evil will, forged as it was by the hands of Sauron in Orodruin (thus setting it apart from the Three Rings of the Elves which were forged by

Celebrimbor of Eregion and never tainted by contact with evil). The One Ring is a kind of avatar of Sauron; part of himself subsists in it. For this reason it is not entirely passive and appears to have an agency of its own. After Isildur cuts it off its master's hand after his defeat in the Battle of Dagorlad it 'was still laden with Sauron's evil will and called to all his servants for their aid' (Tolkien, 1984, p. 273). Similarly, in *The Lord of the Rings* it appears to call to the Ringwraiths, particularly if it is put on (as Frodo learns to his cost on Amon-Sûl). 'A Ring of Power looks after itself,' Gandalf informs Frodo, 'It was not Gollum, Frodo, but the Ring itself that decided things. The Ring left him' (Tolkien, 1966a, pp. 65).

The message here appears to be one which was noted by Old Major in *Animal Farm*: 'remember also that in fighting against Man [the Enemy], we must not come to resemble him' (Orwell, 1987a, p. 6). Gandalf recognises this danger when offered the Ring: 'Do not tempt me! For I do not wish to become like the Dark Lord himself' (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 71). Using the methods of the Party in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* against Sauron would - perhaps - give Winston, or the forces of the West 'victory but no honour' (Tolkien, 1983a, pp. 25-6). Anyone living in Oceania who is prepared to commit murder...acts of sabotage...to cheat, to forge, to blackmail, to corrupt the minds of children, to distribute habit-forming drugs, to encourage prostitution, to disseminate venereal diseases...to throw sulphuric acid in a child's face...to commit suicide (Orwell, 1987b, pp. 179-80) will hardly manage to overcome the Party, as to attempt to do so is to work from within the already existing structures.

For the great enemy of both *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *The Lord of the Rings* is domination, not Sauron or Big Brother. That is why the Free Peoples are ranged against the totalitarian might of Mordor. That is why we sympathise with Winston Smith in his struggle against the Party. Gandalf as Ring-Lord would not have been "corrupted" by power; it is not as simple as that, rather

He would have remained 'righteous', but self-righteous. He would have continued to rule and order things for 'good', and the benefit of subjects according to his wisdom (which was and would have remained great) (Tolkien, 1990, p. 333).

From this one can imagine a Gandalf who believed in happiness and stability presiding over a Middle-earth

like Huxley's Mustapha Mond.

The cardinal evil of Middle-earth and Oceania then appears to be egocentrism, regard for oneself at the expense of others. Certainly greed is a recurrent theme in Tolkien. One of the strongest manifestations of this theme is to be seen in the long and fraught history of the Silmarils. The Silmarils are of themselves 'holy' jewels, capturing as they do the blended light of the Trees of the Blessed Realm, Telperion and Laurelin. However, the enchantment of beauty, even that of the Silmarils 'has two faces, the two responses to beauty: love and lust' (Helms, p. 50). Morgoth's lust after and theft of the Silmarils ultimately gives rise to his being pursued by Fëanor and his allies. Thus begins a tale of woe that commences with the Kinslaying at Alqualondë, ultimately winding its way through the catastrophe of Nirnaeth Arnoediad and the personal tragedies of Beren and Lúthien.

One of the recurring symbols in Tolkien's life's work is the figure of the dragon, a beast traditionally celebrated for its greed and its jealous guarding of its hoard. Ancalagon the Black, Glaurung, Smaug and Chrysophylax Dives (whose very name gives away his self-centred character) all spring - to one degree or another - from the same mould. 'A dragon is no idle fancy,' Tolkien tells us, he 'is richer in significance than his barrow is in gold' (Tolkien, 1983a, p. 16). It is interesting to note then that one of the other things the dragon symbolises is 'something terrible that must be overcome', and the slaying or taming of the dragon, the primordial enemy, represents the sublimation of personal wickedness (Cirlot, pp. 85-7). Read in this manner, the tales of Bilbo and Farmer Giles take on a more universal anthropological significance. Their quest was to set out to defeat the dragon of possessiveness, the great challenge to all people.

Zipes - who reads the dragon as 'the picture image of the capitalist exploiter' - tells us that 'there are unusual similarities between orthodox Catholics and orthodox Marxists (Zipes, p. 152). It should not surprise us then to learn that Orwell too was very concerned with questions of selfishness. As a committed socialist he identified greed as the cause of many of his country's ills (Orwell, 1969, v. 3, p. 208) and his concern with poverty and social issues is blatantly manifest in works such as *Down and Out in Paris and London* and *The Road to Wigan Pier*. Egocentrism is the constant subject of his censure, even when it is to be seen in characters who are

purely fictional (Orwell, 1969, v. 4, p. 510).

These concerns also come across strongly in his fiction. Reading *Animal Farm* one is left in little doubt as to how seriously the pigs' claim that they are eating all the apples for the good of the Revolution is to be taken. Taking in the smaller, less obvious details of this novel, one can note the censure implicit in Orwell's depiction of the selfish cat and the vain Mollie. One could also appreciate the distaste of Orwell, the political writer, for the figure of Benjamin who is 'essentially selfish, representing a view of human nature that is apolitical' (Lee, p. 124).

It is selfishness of a more subtle kind that Orwell considers in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. On a casual reading of the novel one might not consider that Winston was particularly self-absorbed. However, as his readiness to do anything for the sake of the Brotherhood demonstrates, he can hardly be commended for being other-regarding. Then there is the fact of his stealing his sister's chocolate when they were young children. Indeed, if one looks closely at Winston, there gradually emerges the picture of a man who is very self-involved indeed.

Winston appears to have no qualms about using others. One of his earliest thoughts concerning Julia is a fantasy rape. She appears to be little more than a sex object for him. There seems to be but slight indication that Winston loves her to any real degree. On their first sexual meeting Winston is merely flattered that such a beautiful young girl, the girl of his fantasy, would desire him: 'All he felt was incredulity and pride' (Orwell, 1987b, p. 126). It is clear that he loves her as much from a sense of their shared rebellion against the Party as from anything more personal: 'Listen. The more men you've had, the more I love you. Do you understand that?' (Orwell, 1987b, p. 132). Their relationship is summarised by the narrative voice: 'Their embrace had been a battle, the climax a victory. It was a blow struck against the Party. It was a political act' (Orwell, 1987b, p. 133).

The point which should be brought out of this is that Winston's 'love' for Julia is born out of his hate for the Party. His love and his hate are both, like the glass paperweight, 'his, the personal property of his conscious selfhood' (Small, p. 157). Thus he is easily understood when, early on in captivity, he is moralising on the question of pain and his love for Julia:

He thought: 'If I could save Julia by doubling my own pain, would I do it? Yes, I would.' But

that was merely an intellectual decision, taken because he knew that he ought to take it. He did not feel it (Orwell, 1987b, p. 250).

If this is Winston Smith before he has been subjected to any rigorous degree of torture, is it any surprise that he denies his love (and consequently his humanity) in the face of the rats of Room 101?

Tolkien also gives consideration to more subtle forms of egoism than mere greed. The "original sin", so to speak, of his cosmos is already present at the beginning, in the very Music of the Ainur itself:

But as the theme progressed, it came into the heart of Melkor to interweave matters of his own imagining that were not in accord with the theme of Ilúvatar; for he sought therein to increase the power and glory of the part assigned to himself (Tolkien, 1983b, p. 16).

Increase of glory was a subject that Tolkien was well used to considering. The concerns of Éomer and Éowyn to do deeds of song in battle is typical of the Anglo-Saxon culture that Rohan is based upon. Tolkien's objection to the selfishness of this concern for personal glory at the expense of others is clearly stated in his drama *The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son*, which is in effect an extended comment on lines 89-90 of *The Battle of Maldon* where Beorhtnoth in his overweening pride (ofermode) yields ground to the Northmen allowing them to cross a causeway which would otherwise have cost them many casualties to cross. Here one hears Tídwald speaking; though he truly loved his fallen master Beorhtnoth, he nonetheless expresses his disapproval for his ofermode:

Alas, my friend, our lord was at fault,
or so in Maldon this morning men were saying.
Too proud, too princely! But his pride's cheated,
and his pryncedom has passed, so we'll praise his
valour.

He let them cross the causeway, so keen was he
to give minstrels matter for mighty songs.
Needlessly noble. It should never have been:
bidding bows be still, and the bridge opening,
matching more with few in mad handstrokes!
Well, doom he dared, and died for it
(Tolkien, 1953, p. 10).

Before finally returning to the Ring it is worthwhile to consider another of the works which is outside the more popular realm of Tolkien's fiction. In *On Fairy-Stories* - his exposition of the nature and purpose of the genre he himself mostly wrote in - Tolkien says that the function of Fantasy is threefold;

Recovery, Escape and Consolation. It is the first of these, Recovery, that is relevant to our considerations here.

Recovery is the process by which we heighten the awareness that there are things apart from the self. It is a return to the familiar world so that we can appreciate anew the uniqueness and the wonder of the ordinary. Recovery is Patrick Kavanagh's return to the fresh view of the childhood world that has been obscured by triteness:

This triteness is really the penalty of 'appropriation': the things that are trite, or (in a bad sense) familiar, are the things that we have appropriated, legally or mentally. We say we know them. They have become like the things which once attracted us by their glitter, or their colour, or their shape, and we laid hands on them, and then locked them in our hoard, acquired them, and acquiring ceased to look at them (Tolkien, 1988, pp. 53-4).

This 'appropriation' of things is one of the crimes of Middle-earth, a derivation from the cardinal sin of egoism. Things in themselves have an innate beauty which is the result of the wonder of their uniqueness. This is the principal difference between Gandalf and Saruman; Gandalf's love of learning and his long travels are the result of his 'disinterested curiosity'. He sees the value of things in themselves while Saruman is interested in 'pursuing knowledge only for the sake of personal power' (Rosebury, 1992).

In the Third Age of Middle-earth the Ruling Ring is the ultimate possession. Its very name suggests it; it is 'the precious'. This name has a very complex and significant etymology as 'precious' is one of the standard glosses for *maðum* 'a word used in Beowulf for treasure, and specifically to refer to the dragon's hoard' (Fliieger, p. 58). 'Precious' is also the name that Gollum uses to refer to himself; thus the reader can infer that he has begun to identify with his sometime possession. This psychological assertion is further strengthened by the fact that *gollum* is an inflection of the Old Norse word for 'gold, treasure, something precious' (Tolkien, 1989, p. 83n).

The ultimate expression of powerful egoism is to be had in the manipulation of other people. 'The supremely bad motive is (for this tale [*Lord of the Rings*], since it is specially about it) domination of other 'free' wills' (Tolkien, 1990, p. 200). Sauron's evil lies in the fact that he annihilates individual

freedom and choice. Sauron reduces those in his power to mere pawns to satisfy his own insatiable hunger for total domination. In contrast, the good achieve victory by recognising the importance of individual choice and action (Veldman, p. 84).

It is precisely for this reason that the forces of the West will not wield the Ring (except of course those in the West who are seeking it for their own aggrandizement; men like Boromir or his father Denethor). Freedom is the all important value which is opposed to totalitarian systems even if they were to be benign:

Power can compel but it cannot compel freedom. It can only withdraw and by withdrawing create the conditions within which freedom can come into being, and with it the individual himself (Brown, p. 88).

Both the Party and Sauron impose themselves on the societies over which they rule, in such a way that we can read their minds 'writ large' as it were in the environments they have created:

...evil tends to homogeneity. Its keynote is aggrandisement of self and negation of not-self, whether through the literal consumption of others...or through the imprisonment and torture of other persons and the destruction of growing things. There is only one form of political order, a military despotism which terrorises its own soldiery as well as its enemies; sexuality is loveless, either diverted into sadism or confined to the organised breeding of warriors; economic life is based on slavery, and is devoted not to the cultivation, but to the exploitation, and ultimately the destruction, of resources. Industrial purposes are developed solely for the purposes of warfare...(Rosebury, p. 41).

O'Brien in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is explicit about the Party's intentions with respect to the domination of others. Not only does the Party dominate, it exults in its domination, its domination is necessary to it:

'How does one man assert his power over another, Winston?'

Winston thought. 'By making him suffer,' he said.

'Exactly. By making him suffer. Obedience is not enough. Unless he is suffering, how can you be sure that he is obeying your will and not his own? Power is in inflicting pain and humiliation. Power is in tearing human minds to pieces and putting them together again in new

shapes of your own choosing' (Orwell, 1987b, p. 279)

This raises the question of the psychological coherence of O'Brien. Power for power's sake, the image of a boot stamping on a human face forever, is rejected as 'a parody by exaggeration - the idea expanded into absurdity', (Wykes, p. 77) a jump from 'rationalistic common sense to the mysticism of cruelty' (Deutscher, p. 130). The picture of Oceania which Orwell paints for us is criticised, as its 'dangers are gross and so identifiable' (Elliott, p. 98) that it is scarcely credible, comparing unfavourably with the subtlety of the psychology of the Grand Inquisitor (from Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov*), O'Brien's prototype.

One critic however has had reason to change his mind on this score. Irving Howe in his *Politics and the Novel* (1957) was initially inclined to agree with the mainstream of Orwell criticism:

At least in the West, no modern ruling class has yet been able to dispense with ideology. All have felt an overwhelming need to rationalise their power, to proclaim some admirable objective as a justification for detestable acts. Nor is this mere hypocrisy; the rulers of a modern society can hardly survive without a certain degree of sincere belief in their own claims. They cling to ideology not merely to win and hold followers, but to give themselves psychological and moral assurance (Howe, 1992, p. 249).

Nevertheless, despite this well-reasoned objection on the part of Howe, he came to hold a more pessimistic view of the potentialities of human nature in later times:

Can we now be so certain that Orwell was wrong in giving O'Brien that speech about power? I think not. For we have lived to witness a remarkable development of the Communist state: its ideology has decayed, far fewer people give credence to its claims than in the past, yet its power remains virtually unchecked...the party remains.

What then do the apparatchiks believe in? They believe in their apparatus. They believe in the Party. They believe in the power these enable. That a high Soviet bureaucrat might now talk to an imprisoned dissident in the bluntly cynical style that O'Brien employs in talking to Winston Smith does not therefore seem inconceivable. It does not even seem far-fetched (Howe, 1983, p.

13).

Accepting that this potential for the domination of others is actually present in human psychology is vital for our reading of both Tolkien and Orwell. Remember that they are attempting to portray psychologically credible characters in the persons of Sauron and O'Brien; they are not aiming to depict 'a simple confrontation - in more or less the traditional terms of British melodrama - of the Forces of Evil and the Forces of Good, the remote and alien villain with the plucky little home-grown hero' (Wilson). Indeed, if there is a psychological flaw in the portrayal of O'Brien or the Party, it is that they do not go far enough. It seems to me that 'The appetite for power involves the maximum interference with other human beings' (Lewis, p. 191) and hence the Party's not dominating the Proles is an inconsistency, one which Sauron could hardly be accused of.

As we would expect, one of the features which accompanies the dominating mentality associated with Sauron and the Party is the desire to maintain the status quo that gives them power over others. Indeed, stasis is generally characterised as undesirable in both the works of Tolkien and of Orwell.

To a great extent the question of stasis is bound up with egoism and possessiveness. Once more, one of the first examples of this is to be found in connection with the Silmarils. The Silmarils preserve the lost light of the Two Trees which is in itself a good thing, though this leads to the struggle for possession of them and the evils which accompanied it. The point then seems to be that preservation based on selfishness is - like all other such manifestations of egoism - to be condemned as it will finally lead to evil.

For Sauron, the ultimate expression of stasis resides in the Ring. This artefact would give him the power he needs to extend the hegemony of his will to all corners of Middle-earth. The Ring, as a symmetrical object, is itself a symbol of changelessness (Ciriot, p. 291). In the narrative not only does it free its wearer from the restrictions of social spaces, it also arrests time, liberating its possessor from its ravages, so that Bilbo and Frodo both live beyond their natural span.

Sauron is not the only creature in Middle-earth to be subject to this temptation. Tolkien's world is not divided into Black and White, Good and Evil. The Elves, associated throughout *The Lord of the Rings* with the forces of right 'are not wholly good or

in the right. Not so much because they had flirted with Sauron; as because with or without his assistance they were 'embalmers'. They wanted have their cake and eat it: to live in the mortal historical Middle-earth because they had become fond of it...and so tried to stop its change and history...' (Tolkien, 1990, p. 197).

This feature of Elven psychology is associated with the power of the Rings and appears during the Third Age which was 'the fading years of the Eldar'. The Three were in their possession and Sauron had apparently been vanquished so the Elves 'attempted nothing new, living in memory of the past' (Tolkien, 1966c, p. 365). Part of Tolkien's skill as a narrator is to make us feel the desires of the Elves ourselves. *The Lord of the Rings* is often characterised as a work which is filled with nostalgia and this effect is principally achieved by Tolkien's treatment of the Firstborn. From the beginning of the book it is made clear that whatever the outcome of Frodo's quest the result for the Elves will be disastrous. Either Frodo will fail and the Dark Lord will overwhelm them or else Frodo will succeed and the powers of the Elves will fade with their Rings.

One of the points at which this is felt most keenly is in the portrayal of Lothlórien, which Aragorn calls 'the heart of Elvendom on earth' (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 367). Tolkien invests the full power of his descriptive prose to evoke for his readers the picture of an unsullied paradise and its inhabitants. The ultimate test comes for Galadriel when Frodo offers her the Ring; in effect presenting her with a way to preserve her home forever. Nevertheless, this she declines, realising in her wisdom that it is not to be; she 'will diminish, and go into the West, and remain Galadriel' (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 381). With Gimli the reader mourns the passing of what was once so fair, and at the end of the book the reader realises that the "happy" ending is tinged with a profound note of sorrow and regret:

Tell me, Legolas, why did I come on this Quest?
 Little did I know where the chief peril lay! Truly
 Elrond spoke, saying that we could not foresee
 what we would meet upon our road. Torment in
 the dark was the danger that I feared, and it did
 not hold me back. But I would not have come,
 had I known the danger of light and joy. Now I
 have taken my worst wound in this parting, even
 if I were to go this night straight to the Dark
 Lord. Alas for Gimli son of Gloin!
 ...all such comfort is cold. Memory is not what

the heart desires. That is only a mirror, be it as clear as Kheled-zâram. Or so says the heart of Gimli the Dwarf (Tolkien, 1966a, p. 395).

Change 'is the unfolding of the story,' Tolkien believed, 'and to refuse this is of course against the design of God' (Tolkien, 1990, p. 236). As a Catholic biblical scholar he well knew that time had a beginning (the creation of Eru), a continuation and an end. Rather than time taking the form of Nietzschean recurrence or of stasis it 'is a process, a development through crisis...History tends to a term' (McKenzie, pp. 262-3). The message of *The Lord of the Rings* in this respect is the message of Arthur in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*:

The old order changeth, yielding place to the
 new,
 And God fulfils himself in many ways
 Lest one good custom should corrupt the world
 (Tennyson, p. 559).

A similar preoccupation with stasis is to be seen in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the future projected by the Party: Oceania is about to produce the eleventh and final edition of the *Newspeak Dictionary*. One of the standard torture mechanisms is to cut the victim off from any sense of the passing of time:

There was a dull aching in his belly...It might be twenty-four hours since he had eaten, it might be thirty-six. He still did not know, probably never would know, whether it had been morning or evening when they arrested him... (Orwell, 1987b, p. 217).

Just as in Tolkien Sauron is not the only one to fall into the temptation of stasis, in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* the desire for changelessness is not restricted to Big Brother. If Winston's paperweight is the Silmaril of Oceania, he can be read as falling into the same trap as the Elves, with the paperweight functioning as the representation of an ideal past which is also a possession and escape. It is a 'tiny world' he can hold in his hand and yet in which he is contained: 'The paperweight was the room he was in, and the coral was Julia's life and his own, fixed in a sort of eternity at the heart of the crystal' (Small, p. 157).

In this respect the place of the Ring (as a source of adequate power) in Tolkien is taken in Oceania by the advances of science which enable elites to freeze the status quo (Kessler, p. 567). Up until this point (as O'Brien points out) tyrannies have not been in a position where they could suppress changes in modes of production, demography or wars. By the time of

Nineteen Eighty-Four however, the tripartite division of the world and the resultant conflicts give rise to a stability in all of these otherwise variable factors (Orwell, 1987b, pp. 206-7).

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The Ballad of Bart and Beth

Dan Timmons

On our lovely land of long ago,
The fields and fallows spread out far and wide,
Near valleys vast by vaulting circles
Of hardy hills and mountains high in mist,
Which shadowed and shouldered shapely towns,
In clearlit climes and under stormy clouds.
Here, poor and rich people passed their days
In long lively hours of hard labour,
And many merchants moved about
The traveled trails and roads, daily trading
All their worthy wares and ways of service,
In sunny seasons and during soft winter snows.

In these years of yore, a young soul lived
Who strangely strayed from the structured life
Of his curt and cautious kin, which always
worked and worried about their wealth concerns,
In their deeply dark and dank caves,
By hearths of heated coal in halls of grime.
For a lad of lore he longed to be,
Instead of stoutly working with stone and ore,
And so he wrung and wrote, from wrangled thoughts,
Such words of wonder and some wanful tales
Of the lives and loves of languid hearts
Who, like this lad, could never nightly lie with peace.

Then one day when deep in a dell,
Near a field of ferns by a leafy woods' edge,
Where a river ran to a rocky waterfall,
Which glowed and glittered under streaky gleams of light,
He heard the sounds of soft singing,
Which suddenly, yet soothingly, broke his silent thoughts.
As he stayed his steps and stood to listen,
His eager eye saw, among the eaves of green,
Wrapped in a gorgeous gown of gold,
A lovely lass who gracefully lingered through
The winding woods and wandered by
The foot of the falls, straying near fens and willows.

The lad wistfully watched and waited,
Held speechless and spellbound by this special lass,
Until her soulful song so softly ended
With a sigh of sadness and a sorrowful note.
Then he called out, "Could you continue, please?
For I like to listen to such lovely songs,

Though I do hear a heavy heart singing
That mellow music that indeed moves me greatly."
The mournful maiden moved not a bit,
So stunned and startled by the staring lad;
Her cheeks flushed and flammed, her eyes fluttered,
And nary a note came from her nervous lips.

"Please don't flee and or floutly flare your eyes,
My will and words aren't meant to be wily,"
Said the lad of lore, "I long only
To hear and heed all your fair harmonies."
The lovely lass then lowered her eyes
And sadly said, "Few ever hear my singing voice,
Since my father firmly forbids me
To daily dally in any of my duties,
And take some time for tunes or songs,
Instead of stoutly working with stitch and thread
In the silent and solemn sewing rooms,
By webs of weaving cloth and winding yarn."

"You must knit and knot while knowing
Your gift of a golden voice can give such joy?"
The lad cried and crept to the creek's edge,
"So dense and dull-witted is he who does this to you.
Though a forward fool of folly
You may think me and dispute my words, I—"
Just then the livid lad did lurch sideways,
Slipping and sliding on the slopely bank,
And fell with face first into
The fens of the falls, all covered with ferns floating;
Then he wrenched and wriggled in wrath,
Striving to stretch to the boggy stream's other bank.

There, the lively lass laughed and said,
"Yes, a fool of folly you do fully seem.
Still, my hand is here to help you out
Of the muck and mire, if you can make it to me."
With face smeared and smudged, he smiled
In relief and reached out for her readied grasp.
Thus with hands and hearts happily joined,
They peacefully passed the days with poetic talk,
Far from the somber souls in solemn halls,
And softly sang only pleasant songs of love,
In both clear and cloudy climes,
On our lovely land of oh so long ago.

Tolkien and Space Travel

Anthony Appleyard

Before 1938 Tolkien and C.S. Lewis once agreed to write stories¹. Tolkien chose 'time travel' but merely started and abandoned a story about how two modern-age men time-travelled to Númenor. C.S. Lewis chose 'space travel' and so wrote *Out of the Silent Planet* and *Voyage to Venus*. Those two books are well known; but what if anything of space travel as commonly understood occurs in Tolkien?

Well-known events indeed occur in the Void outside Arda involving Ilúvatar, Maiar, Valar and Melkor (as recorded in 'Ainulindalë', 'Valaquenta', 'The Tale of the Sun and Moon', etc.). References include an explicit mention in *The Silmarillion* of 'strife in Ilmen [Quenya for Space] beneath the paths of the stars' when Melkor in vain attacked the Moon (Tolkien 1977, p101); but such massive spiritual events, described in a magical and mystic way, are not of the same classification as space-travel stories but rather are of the creation legend type.

Although Tolkien's world is largely of ancient warriors and magic, modern technology intrudes in a few places. In *The Lord of the Rings* the Deeping Wall and the Rammas are breached by what is far likelier to be an explosive than magic (Tolkien, 1966, p. 142). *The Lost Road* says that exiled Númenóreans after the Downfall, trying in vain to fly the Straight Road to Valinor, made aircraft (1987, p. 17)². In 'The Fall of Gondolin' (Tolkien, 1984) the descriptions of iron 'creatures' powered by 'internal fires' sound to me much more like internal combustion powered vehicles than any sort of animal, and Tolkien well describes the Elves' desperation when faced with certain death or deportation to slavery enforced by technology beyond their knowledge or ability to resist. Living war-steeds, even dragons, are limited in size and number by the need to feed them even when they are not being used; not so powered machines, and so Gondolin, a fortress of huge strength, was consumed in one assault by

them, even without aid of anything airborne.

In all cases the good side sticks to personal valour with old-style weapons and numbers, and calling on the Valar if necessary. The exiled-Númenórean aircraft project was likely totally suppressed early and all records and parts destroyed so enemies could not make harmful use of them, as no trace of them occurs in other historical records. This suppression was fortunately successful, as Legolas's arrow at Sarn Gebir and Éowyn's sword on the Pelennor would have been useless against a helicopter, and Sauron could have kept many more than nine of them, because, as stated above they would not have to be routinely fed when not being used. The Enemy invented the other known devices; but the Gondolin machines' technology perished in the fall of Morgoth's power at the end of the First Age and Saruman's machines perished when the Ents destroyed Isengard. A variant of the story of Númenor in *The Lost Road* describes undoubted engine-powered iron ships used by Ar-Pharazôn after Sauron became his chief advisor³; that technology perished in the Downfall. The speakers at the fictional meetings described in 'The Notion Club Papers' in *Sauron Defeated* mention spaceships and space travel a few times; but those meetings are not set in his Middle Earth scenario but in a modern world for which the Middle Earth events are the ancient past.

I now consider Eärendil, who Tolkien found in two lines of Anglo-Saxon poetry⁴ and thought of as the planet Venus as a morning or evening star, and personified as a sailor sailing into the West on a quest, to become one of the main origins of Tolkien's mythology. Tolkien's oldest versions say that his battered wooden sailing ship Vingilot was repaired and set to sail in the sky; a wooden hull floating on unsupported emptiness, sails spread in emptiness. Many images and paintings of him follow this

¹ See: Carpenter, 1977 p.170, Letters 257 and end of 294 (Tolkien, 1981, p. 347 and p. 378), Tolkien, 1987, pp.7,8)

² "they tried to devise ships that would rise above the waters of the world and hold to the imagined seas. But they achieved only ships that would sail in the air of breath. And these ships flying came also to the lands of the New World and to the East of the Old World".

³ "our ships go now without the wind ... but they are no longer fair to look upon" (Tolkien, 1987, p. 67).

⁴ 'Eala Earendel, engla beorhtast ofer middangeard monnum sended' ('Hail Earendel, brightest of angels, sent over the middle enclosure [= Earth] to men').

description⁵. I have seen it called a 'star-ship', but meaning 'a ship which is a star'. This treatment of the sky as an ocean with an upper surface that can be sailed on sea-fashion in an open ship is paralleled in a description of how Laurelin's last fruit was made into the Sun: the fruit's hard casing was split into hemispheres which were nested one inside the other like a two-layered open coracle, with no mention of roofing its hull over. Voyages, mostly Elvish, to Valinor after the Downfall, are in wooden sea-ships carried across Ilmen by unspecified means. It is intended that the reader assumes that the means are magical. Bilbo's voyage to Eressëa at the end of *The Lord of the Rings* is described as being all by sea.

But Bilbo's song 'Eärendil was a mariner' in *The Lord of the Rings* (pp. 246-249), presumably getting its material from reliable Elvish sources in Imladris, says that for his sky voyages "A ship then new they built for him / of mithril and of elven-glass / with shining prow: no shaven oar / nor sail she bore on silver mast", and mentions no wood in its construction. This indeed sounds suspiciously like most people's image of a spaceship.

The Elves and Valar of Valinor were wise, far more so than Men, immortal and so not having each one's knowledge limited to what he can learn and pass on in a Man's lifetime. They likely knew far more of what we call 'modern technology' than they were prepared to use as a matter of routine, or even to reveal to Men, Sindar, Avari, or others, for they could each foresee a personal future of thousands of years of having to live with the effects of such inventions being used. Even the operating principle of Elvenlights is not revealed.

Only Melkor and his servants and followers broke this rule, and at intervals, afflicted Arda with their war-devices for a while, until defeated. Only in theory are the Eldar and Istari likely to have studied such things, to keep memory of them, to recognize them if agents of Melkor try to make them or if Men find about them independently.

Whether or not in the vastness of Eä there are other Ardar englobed in the void, each with its own Valar and inhabitants and history, Tolkien does not say. C.S. Lewis in *Voyage to Venus* (1960, p. 73) wrote that the vast interplanetary and interstellar distances are "God's quarantine regulations" to make sure that each planet's life and culture develops in its

own time in its own way, and given the extent to which he and Tolkien shared their ideas, it is quite likely that Tolkien thought similarly.

Here I consider further how space travel is treated in C.S. Lewis's books. In *Out of the Silent Planet* (a journey to Mars) and *Voyage to Venus*, Lewis describes Professor Wilson as seeking to aid human expansionism regardless of other worlds' natives. The Oyarsa⁶ of Mars once long ago had strongly and thoroughly suppressed native Martian technological development that was approaching space travel capability, and Wilson's spaceship was set by the Oyarsa to self-destruct soon after return to Earth, showing Wilson, and any on Earth who might seek to imitate him that the Powers had effective defences against any future Earth fleet of Wilson-type spaceships; the only modern-type Mars native technology that Ransom found was an oxygen breathing set for high altitude. In *Voyage to Venus* Ransom was ferried to Venus and back by the Oyarsa rather than going in a spaceship. Wilson's new spaceship is lost in Venus's world ocean, and he dies on Venus without passing his invention on. No Earth spacefleet comes from it, and space travel is described as being for gods only. The well-known, unrelated Star Trek and Star Wars scenarios show the disastrously powerful space empires that can develop where routine faster-than-light space travel is possible.

Likewise the Eldar and Valar did not make such things. They likely felt that Arda's beings belonged on Arda and not wandering uncontrolled elsewhere, and that allowing too much curiosity about what is beyond causes trouble, as was shown when allowing routine contact between Númenor and the Undying Lands led at last to Ar-Pharazôn's attack on Valinor. They could easily have built a fleet of craft to explore Eä beyond the realm of Arda.

But they did not. Only once did they allow breach of that rule. Only one spaceship ever by smithcraft took shape in Valinor, and, as a reward for his long hardy seafarings to seek aid for Elves and Men, Eärendil was appointed to steer it and to watch what was happening to exiled Melkor and whatever else happened outside the Walls of Night. He was taught the passwords of the Door of Night and the Gate of Morning where the sky met the horizon at the east and west far ends of Ekkaia the Outer Sea; but he

⁵ For example, two Tolkien Calendar paintings: 'The Door of Night' by John Howe (June 1995); 'Earendil and Elwing' by Roger Garland (October 1989).

⁶ C.S. Lewis's equivalent of Vala, one per planet.

was commanded never to land again on Arda outside Valinor, and likely only the Valar know how its power drive works or how to make it. Once only did he come near Arda, when the fortunes of the war to overthrow Morgoth became desperate. In that battle he swooped low over Angband and destroyed Morgoth's flying dragons and broke open the deep fortress under Thangorodrim. Never again was he or his ship seen by Men except as a remote bright star. Men long to travel outside Arda, and write stories where they do so routinely and bring exciting accounts back to Earth, or fight battles there, or settle on other worlds; but only Eärendil, half Elf and half Man, in truth flies afar across Ilmen and Eä, one only without crew, and sees wonders and strange beings, and at times he returns to Valinor for rest and to meet Elwing, and the Vala Aulë services his craft; but he never takes anyone else with him, and the log of his voyages no man will know until the Great End.

What will cause Dagor Dagorath, the Last Battle and the End of Days? *The Lord of the Rings* and "The Lay of Beleriand" say that in that time the watch of the Valar will fail and that Melkor will come back through the Door of Night to Arda. But since the change of the world Arda has been a sphere, and the Walls of Night are not a hemisphere lid over a flat Earth but a sphere about Earth remote from it, and Sun and Moon no longer go and return through it but are always in the sky somewhere, and each land sees a different horizon line on the Wall of Night. And before Melkor gets in, by whatever means, how will he become unbound? Perhaps Men seeking a way to travel in Ilmen will at last discover for themselves the secret of the Valar, or be told it by someone or something who knows it. When his Ring was unmade Sauron was grievously weakened, but not slain; before Arda was made he was a Maia of the following of Aulë the Smith, and he can still reveal secrets of Aulë's craft if he thinks fit and can find someone who will listen.

So men will make craft like Eärendil's, and will travel in them. Those craft will be sleek, and will bear names of onwardness and far travelling, and will have far greater power per weight than merely at limit range reaching the Moon by huge blasting of explosive liquids; but the power in them will be one that some will say they should not have had. They will not travel far before they find the Walls of Night, hard and dark beyond anything that Man can make. Then, as in the Akallabêth when Ar-Pharazôn saw Taniquetil, doom will hang by a thread, and some

will remember ancient legends and feel awe at the untouched beauty of the heavens. But pride and refusal to be stopped will win, and they will make modern powerful weapons like what their crafts' power drive runs off, weapons which only Aulë should have made and only Manwë should have wielded. With these they will blast breaches in the Walls of Night, and fly through, for the Valar will have shut themselves away too long in their hidden Valinor and their watch over the rest of Arda will have faded. Men will fly at will far across Eä and see strange things, and one ship-faring of them will find Melkor exiled adrift in his ancient bonds, and they will feel wonder.

Then Melkor will lie to them, and call for their pity and help against evil usurpers. They will marvel that in reality has come the 'First Contact' with beings from beyond the world that many have written into fiction. With tools run off their crafts' drives, power of the Valar in the hands of mortal men, they will sever the Ilterendi, and cut off his iron collar which Aulë long ago made from his iron crown, and torch Angainor to pieces, and he will be free. Again a dread deed will nearly remain undone, for one of them will recognize in the collar the remains of the holes where the Silmarils once shone, and with a shock of ancient legend seen real and alive will realize who they have found and what they are about to do; but others will overrule him. Far from their thoughts will be what they should do, to destroy Melkor with the power of their weapons, although they will have the means to, for pity will stay their hands, seeing him helpless in the void. Melkor will seek their help and treatment for his old wounds, and they will aid each other greatly; but in secret he will gather a new host, and at the due time he will attack Arda and Valinor through the broken Walls of Night, and the Last Battle will start. The men who released Melkor will realize too late what had happened, and some will fight against him, but not in time to be of enough effect, for he gathered his host before they armed enough of their craft for such war.

In that battle the Earth will be nearly all overturned and its foundations broken, and the Valar will have to free and arm all capable of it who they can find in Mandos, and much of ancient story will be shown to have been true after all, and Melkor's death and final end will be not by modern weapon but by the black sword of Turin son of Húrin (Tolkien, 1987, p. 333). The Enemy's host and brood and all chances of it seeding again will be brought to

nothing, as had often before been thought to have done and was not so. Eärendil also will have to fight in defence there, and Men will come to know him as he is, and when all is over will at last know his voyages. Arda will be renewed by the labour of all, and it will be as it ought to have been - on Arda - or

so they claim. It may be that some Men who had crossed Ilmen and settled afar on other Ardar which they found and broke into will stay out of the battle, and their story will continue, and there will be other conflicts, other farings across seas and Ilmen and Eä, other heroisms and victories and defeats.

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Gandalf, Frodo, and Sherlock Holmes; myth and reality compared in the works of Tolkien and Conan Doyle

John Ellison

Much has been written about the relationship that Tolkien's writing has, or might have, to the works of authors who were active during his youth or early manhood. Some of these, such as H. Rider Haggard, have been thought to have suggested or originated, motives which occur in *The Lord of the Rings*. Others, such as John Buchan, have been held to share with Tolkien the cultural outlook of late imperial Britain, in the years directly preceding 1914. It may seem strange that Conan Doyle has not been one of the authors discussed in relation to Tolkien in this way. The topic of possible formative influences from, and comparisons with, the "precursors" of Tolkien was the subject of a panel discussion at the 1992 Centenary Conference. Conan Doyle's name was hardly mentioned. There certainly does not seem to be any mention of him, or of the 'Holmes' group of stories, in Tolkien's published letters, or in any other writing by him, or at any rate none of any significance. All the same it is hard to believe that he did not read or become familiar with at least some of the stories, probably in his school-days, in the light of their immense popularity, which far transcended a cult. They were then comparatively new, and were universally read in the same way as certain TV programmes are universally watched nowadays. Their author found that he had originated something that was nothing less than a new popular art form. It would be quite natural to expect at least a few traces to have, "rubbed off" on Tolkien along the way.

There is one very obvious apparent such trace; Gandalf's disappearance down the cleft of Khazad-dûm in the wake of the Balrog, coupled with his dramatic "return" in Fangorn in the following Book. One can hardly avoid remembering Holmes' supposed disappearance down the chasm of the Reichenbach, clutched in Moriarty's grip, and his equally dramatic "return", several years later. However, this has the air of one of those coincidences that sound a little too good to be true; one can see Tolkien retorting, "any fool can see that!", to anyone who mentioned it to him. Perhaps it was a visual image that sparked off some kind of unconscious,

subliminal response; the story concerned, "The Final Problem," was often illustrated with a print or engraving showing the figures of Holmes and Moriarty grappling on the cliff's edge. The point is of some interest because the image is a recurrent one; it had already featured in *The Silmarillion* in the form of Glorfindel's contest with the Balrog in the pass of Cirith Thoronath, after Gondolin's fall. One or two stretches of writing do occur also in *The Lord of the Rings* where, distantly, it is possible to sense the atmosphere of this or that "adventure of Sherlock Holmes" in the background, as a kind of unconscious reminiscence. This kind of thing tends to be brought to the surface as a result of reading *The Lord of the Rings* aloud; the scene in the third book, the first of "The Two Towers", in which Aragorn, accompanied by Gimli and Legolas, is searching the site of the encounter of Éomer's force with Saruman's orc-troop at the margin of Fangorn, for indications of Merry and Pippin's possible fate, is a prime instance (Tolkien, 1966, pp. 91-3). There is no need to seek to define or isolate parallel passages in detail, but the scene may recall to some readers the flavour of more than one passage in which Holmes is searching the ground for clues.

The search for traces of alleged "influences" on Tolkien does not by itself, in any case, achieve anything in particular, whether or not people are convinced by the results. He may have known the Holmes stories well, but even if he did, it is unlikely that he would have attached any special importance to them, or thought of them as anything more than one of the innumerable components of "the leaf-mould of the mind" as he put it, out of which new stories are made. The juxtaposition of Doyle's work with Tolkien's does however, lead one on to a much more fruitful and interesting topic. This is the extraordinary kinship that they display when looked at from the outside, and treated as "literary phenomena". Nearly, but as it turns out, not wholly without parallel, they induce readers to treat their respective worlds as "realities", to believe their components, scenes and characters to have had "real"

existence, in the same sense as the history and constituents of the world we live in. All of us in the Tolkien Society are presumably familiar with the concept of "Middle-earth as a real world". Tolkien formulated it himself, even though he came to feel that it was too much like "a vast game" which could be played to excess. As a result we come to regard Aragorn or Théoden, say, as having existed in historical time in the same sense as say, Julius Caesar or Henry VIII; the distinction between Tolkien's "feigned history" and true history has become blurred. The same impression of reality has grown up around the personalities of Holmes and Dr. Watson, to the point at which letters are addressed to them, or at least to Holmes. It is said that Abbey National plc, whose head office in Baker Street comprises the fictional site of No 221B¹, used to employ (and perhaps even still does) a person full-time to deal with the correspondence which arrives addressed to Mr Sherlock Holmes. What can the works of Tolkien and Conan Doyle have in common, one asks, that provokes this rare and peculiar response?

The collective or individual responses evoked by created works of art of all kinds, from their completion, publication or first performance onwards to all subsequent periods, is now beginning to be thought of as an important branch of study in its own right; "Rezeption" as it has become known in Germany. So the "performance history" of the Holmes novels and stories, and of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* may be worth looking at first, before parallels or similarities are sought within the works themselves. As soon as one begins to do this, certain historical comparisons present themselves.

Neither author came anywhere near being the first in his field, but each one changed and reshaped the genre within which he was working, fundamentally and decisively. The detective genre was already well-established when Doyle brought out *A Study in Scarlet* (1887) in which Holmes and Watson made their bow, and where they meet for the first time; it had, via Dickens and Wilkie Collins, already acquired serious literary pretensions. It is interesting that in that first story the author indulges, through the medium of Holmes, in some pot-shots at his predecessors, Poe and Gaboriau. Tolkien for his part, when he set out to construct an imagined world, was labouring in a field cultivated for long past; contemporaries like David Lindsay and E.R. Eddison

were constructing their own fantasy worlds at the same time. And, like Doyle, he was not backward in disclaiming comparisons with forerunners, however well meant. "I don't know Ariosto, and I'd loathe him if I did." Both authors, almost by accident, initiated procedures which their successors elevated to the status of formal principles.

The pattern in Doyle's case was that of the "English detective story" in which the amateur "great detective," whose intellectual superiority is confirmed by an eccentric personality and esoteric tastes, is accompanied by his faithful friend and chronicler. The professionals, the police, are traditionally presented as "slow in the uptake," and bureaucratically hidebound. The pattern, although subject to one variation or another, and often presented through the medium of the police themselves, has persisted down to our own day, so that Inspector Morse and Sergeant Lewis, with the eccentricities of the one and the symbiotic response of the other, are heirs to a long tradition, (even here their subordinates or colleagues are sometimes presented as uncomprehending, or not very intelligent). On Tolkien's side, as we know, the three-volume format was adopted for reasons of expediency; Tolkien himself insisted that it was a single story, not a "trilogy". The explanatory maps, were developed *ad hoc* and dictated by the nature of the material. Tolkien's successors and imitators, however, seem sometimes to have assumed that the three-volume format, with its introductory map, or its several maps, and its summary at the beginning of volumes two and three, of the preceding content, are formal essentials of a genre. Hence has followed the succession of comparable-to-Tolkien-at-his-bests which has dogged us all ever since.

The vast and permanent popularity of both authors has made itself evident in a variety of similar ways, most clearly in the large number of adaptations to other media each has undergone in succession to the original publications of the work. More directly, they have both been the objects of pastiche, imitation, and parody, and some of the results are worth noting by way of comparison.

Pastiche is essentially derivative fiction mimicking the authors style, undertaken for the purpose of extending the corpus of his work beyond what he has left us. It is represented in Doyle's case by the quite numerous *Adventures of Sherlock*

¹ The apparent site is now at No 239 Baker Street, marked by a plaque; it contains the Sherlock Holmes Museum.

Holmes written by successors, a number having been the work of his son Adrian Conan Doyle; these often take their cue from one of the enticing references by Watson in the “authentic” stories, to cases of Holmes which we never get to hear more about from the author himself. The counterpart to this in Tolkien’s case is familiar to all of us, or most of us, as represented by the activities of writers of “Tolkien-based fiction”. The externals of Tolkien’s writing style, or styles, like the externals of the Holmes stories, are, at least superficially, easy enough to imitate. The legitimacy of this practice in relation to Tolkien is of course a matter of opinion, and is not the issue here, but one could argue that the authors of “pastiche-Holmes” were much closer in culture and outlook to the original authorship than any present-day writer of “pastiche-Tolkien” can of necessity be.

Imitative writing, or to use an alternative expression, “rip-off”, is in essence the same thing as pastiche. The story however, passes as an independent product because all externals, names, places, descriptions and so on, have been so changed or disguised that there is no scope for the successful invoking of the law of copyright. One or two fantasy writers of the post-Tolkien age have been suspected of this. One fairly clear instance in relation to Doyle may be cited (there may well be others). The “Ronald Standish” stories by H.M. McNeil (“Sapper” of “Bulldog Drummond” notoriety), are in essence quite competent Holmes pastiche, although superficially, the locales and individual characters are wholly independent.

Parody is a quite different form of tribute to the original author; to be successful it needs to be an affectionate, even if apparently irreverent tribute, dependent on real familiarity with the original “from the inside”. It has been quite widespread in relation to Holmes, often accompanied by humorous versions of his name, of which “Picklock Holes” is a good instance. In Tolkien’s case we have the well-known *Bored of the Rings* (which is now said to have been parodied in its turn); something of the sort was attempted by BBC radio, shortly before *The Lord of the Rings* serial, produced by Brian Sibley, was itself broadcast for the first time. At this point the present writer has to enter a plea of “guilty”, to a charge of having driven Tolkien and Conan Doyle in double harness (Ellison, 1984), bringing Gandalf out of

retirement to visit Holmes in Baker Street in order to enlist his help in preventing a revived Sauron from taking over control of the Tolkien Society. The serious point behind all this is that the relationship between the two genres is such that it is possible to make the one appear to take on the lineaments of the other, with apparent ease.

The formation of societies (or fan clubs) devoted to the two authors and their works, and the growth of secondary literatures expounding them, or dealing with topics related to them, is likewise illustrative of the broadly similar popular responses they have evoked. Holmes-related societies or clubs proliferate world-wide; listed, they fill a substantial number of pages². The first, or one of the first, of such societies to be founded called itself “The Baker Street Irregulars”, and this and other titles derived from the stories are frequently used as those of societies or clubs whose members may identify themselves with characters in the stories, and dress appropriately for special occasions, in just the same way as some of us do in the Tolkien Society. The extent of serious or “academic” literature relating to Doyle and the lives and careers of Holmes and Watson rivals the extent to which it has developed around Tolkien and his works. Such literature likewise tends to assume that the stories recount events as if they had taken place in reality, and describe personalities as if they had actually lived. One such scholarly monograph (Warrack, 1947)³, for example, once essayed, some considerable time ago, to reconstruct Holmes’ musical career, tastes and repertory from the references that occur in the stories to “real-life” performances, concert-halls and the like: “I have a box for *Les Huguenots*.” says Holmes to Watson at the end of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, adding “Have you heard the de Reszkes?” thus dating that story to the years 1888-91, the years in which the two brothers de Reszke were appearing together in that opera at Covent Garden. This mingling of fact with fiction demonstrates the ease with which the two become one in the mind of the individual reader or Holmes “buff”, transforming Holmes and Watson into “real” people.

The energies devoted to academic or pseudo-academic studies of this kind, both in regard to the “historical” Holmes and the “real-world” Middle-earth may have led to a considerable body of

² To avoid misunderstanding, the author of this article should make it clear that he is not a member of any Holmes-related society or club, and is not, specially, a “fan” or student of the Holmes stories in the same way he is in relation to Tolkien.

³ Similar such works are Gavin Brend, *My dear Holmes* 1957 and W.S. Barring Gould, *Sherlock Holmes: A Biography*, 1962.

criticism and exegesis, but this is not at all the same thing as what the literary "establishment" thinks of or treats as academically respectable study. The works of both Tolkien and Doyle have made their way in the world without necessarily being accepted as part of the literary mainstream accorded academically respectable status. There might well be considerable academic "clout" involved in research as regards the sociological aspects of the Holmes stories and their popular following, but it is hard to imagine that such prestige would accrue to a thesis that essayed to elevate them to a literary status routinely accorded to such "serious" writers as, let us say, Henry James or Joseph Conrad. Yet they are now everywhere accepted as having attained the status of "classics". It would seem that *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, half-a-century younger, are well on the way to attaining the same status, if they have not already done so, despite the widely expressed contempt or dislike affected by much of academic literary opinion. The works seem condemned by their very popularity as much as by anything else. It may be that the Holmes stories have only escaped provoking a similar reaction by virtue of having appeared and established their popularity before the academic study of English literature and literary theory had properly got into its stride. By the time the Leavises were up and running it was too late to do anything about it.

We have now to turn to looking within the respective works, in order to identify, if possible, shared features which might help to explain why their popularity and influence seems to represent a tale twice told. The first obvious point of comparison is that the Holmes stories, or most of them, are, essentially, "quest" narratives, like *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, and like them normally depend on the formula of "there and back again". The detective story typically has a "quest" in the sense of a search for a murderer, or the solution to a mystery, at its centre, although not invariably so; it can be and sometimes has been, inverted so as to present the events it narrates from the standpoint of the criminal. This is perhaps rather as though *The Hobbit* had been told from Smaug's point of view, or *The Lord of the Rings* from Sauron's. The "quest" of course does not have exclusively to focus on an intellectual exercise in searching for clues and making deductions based on them; the Holmes stories are presented as "adventures" and drama, excitement and physical danger are as much part of them as they are of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. Thus far, of

course, all of this is very much a piece with other popular literature contemporary with one author or the other; what is striking about the comparison is that in both cases the stories possess a particular point of departure and return. A Holmes story starts, typically, with the appearance of a client at Holmes' and Watson's rooms at No 221B. The client outlines the case to comments by Holmes, who then having accepted the case indicates his intended line of procedure. The first chapter of *The Hobbit* introduces "the clients" and is largely taken up with a planning session for the adventure in prospect. The most prominent and important section of the early part of "The Fellowship of the Ring", prior to the hobbits' departure from Bag End is Gandalf's extended narrative, delivered in Bag End itself, in which he outlines the world situation, and defines the nature of the enterprise, the destruction of the Ring, which has to be faced and attempted if Middle-earth is to be saved.

Ultimate return to Baker Street (as to Bag End) is always implied, if not actually spelt out, as a necessary concomitant of the shape and content of the story. "And when I have detailed those distant events," (as the author intervenes at the end of Part One of *The Valley of Fear*) "and you have solved this mystery, we shall meet once more in those rooms in Baker Street, where this, like so many other wonderful happenings, will find its end". The concept of "there and back again" can be applicable in terms of time as much as it can in terms of space. The sections of *A Study in Scarlet* and *The Valley of Fear* that recount the past histories underlying the events investigated by Holmes, and the frequent narrations of past happenings that occur in the Holmes stories generally, play a similar part in relation to their make-up, as do the references to past Ages that occur, fragmentarily even in *The Hobbit* ("made in Gondolin for the Goblin-wars"), and more especially in *The Lord of the Rings*, to the history of the Silmarils, most of all, Aragorn's narrative of Beren and Lúthien.

The Holmes stories, like *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* are governed by a structured contrast of the principles of right and wrong. This has nothing to do, of course, with the alleged "simplistic opposition of good and evil" beloved of critics who have not read the books carefully (or who perhaps have merely skimmed through them). We don't need reminding that Tolkien's world is *not* divided between 'good' and 'evil' characters without any

possible intermediate stance, but it does of course adhere to a clearly defined moral dividing line, and Doyle's world does just the same. Detective fiction normally implies this of its very nature; crimes are crimes, even though the motives of those who are found to commit them may be complex and demanding of analysis. Dorothy L. Sayers remarks somewhere, through the mouth of Lord Peter Wimsey that detective stories are "the purest literature that we have". Holmes' role is consequently a symbolic as well as a practical one, a crusader for truth and justice, and Moriarty, his counterpart on the other side of the moral divide, is his symbolic counterpart or "double"; on the stage both parts have from time to time been played by the same actor. Gandalf, in describing himself as "the Enemy of Sauron" implies the same thing. Moriarty, be it noted, resembles Sauron⁴ in that he is never encountered face-to-face by the reader, but only in a brief extract of reported speech (and in his case an even briefer one of reported action). He is seen as Holmes' "Great Enemy", and yet his actual role in the body of the stories is minimal. He features in one short story, "The Final Problem", and is mentioned by repute in a few more; and takes on the character of a pervasive, "from behind the scenes," influence in one of the long stories, *The Valley of Fear*. Like Sauron he is a "mythic" figure, simply; operating as such he confers a "mythic" stature on Holmes parallel with his (Colonel Sebastian Moran, his lieutenant, may correspond with The Mouth of Sauron or the Lord of the Nazgul). Again like Sauron, he controls a vast unseen empire of evil, evidence of which, says Holmes, can be deduced even from the numerous petty assaults and seemingly unmotivated crimes which appear to happen at random. Like the tremors at the edges of the web that betray the presence of the foul spider sitting at its centre, says he, using very traditional imagery. Tolkien of course employs the same imagery, in the shapes of Shelob and Ungoliant, to characterise evil as wholly negative and nihilistic in its existence and consequences. Sauron's unseen power is detected, likewise, underlying such a seemingly unrelated event as the storm that blocks the Company's ascent of Caradhras; as Gandalf remarks at the conclusion of this episode, "His arm has grown long."

Further traditional imagery of evil is represented in Tolkien by wolves, both in themselves and as allies

of orcs and assistants in their operations. Sauron/Thû metamorphoses in wolf-shape; the Great Wolf guards the gates of Angband; Gandalf apostrophizes the leader of the wolf-pack that attacks the Company in Hollin as "Hound of Sauron". It hardly needs saying that Conan Doyle employs the like imagery to charge the atmosphere and power the dramatic climax of what is perhaps his most celebrated tale, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. He obviously relished its effectiveness apart from that tale, as he used it similarly to provide imagery and a dramatic climax for "The Copper Beeches", one of the best of the short stories, at least in this writer's view.

Not every evildoer in the Holmes stories is an unmitigated villain, but in the persons of Col. Moran, Grimesby Roylott, and C.A. Milverton, there are enough to balance out with Tolkien as represented by Shagrat, Grishnákh or The Mouth of Sauron. As regards characterisation, the common use of the familiar archetype of "leader and follower", with the insight and visionary capacity of one balancing and contrasting with the simple trust and loyalty of the other, is plain enough. Holmes and Watson share, as do Frodo and Samwise, a relationship made binding by mutually experienced risks and dangers.

No doubt all the foregoing comparisons and parallels are fairly obvious, and are also traceable in much other literature apart from the writings of Tolkien and Doyle, and especially among their contemporaries and immediate forerunners. They do assume weightier significance, in the present writers submission, when they are viewed in the light of another shared characteristic, which, in defining the affinities which the two authors seem to display, may be the decisive one. This has to do with the feeling each of them exhibits for qualities of place and locality, and the ways in which they respectively handle such qualities. A more recent author, only recently dead, has displayed similar tendencies; her writings in consequence seem to be forming themselves into a very similar kind of myth. "Called in evidence", as they will shortly be, they may help to prove the present case.

The myths of both Tolkien and Doyle, as we have seen, both revolve about a central point of rest, which represents "home". Bag End and No 221B, each of them, are evoked with plenty of descriptive detail. Even without Tolkien's associated drawings we can picture the former clearly in our imaginations;

⁴ In *The Lord of the Rings*, that is.

the garden with the row of round windows looking west; the green round front door with the door-knob in the middle; the clock on the mantelpiece and the fire into which Gandalf throws the ring; the curtains he draws to intensify the atmosphere of his narrative to Frodo, and so on. No 221B can be likewise pictured, and indeed has been reconstructed for exhibition purposes, with its easy chairs, the Persian slipper with the tobacco, the rows of reference books, the 'V.R.' in bullet-holes, et cetera. Around about these central places of refuge there stretches a "belt" which consists of the near surroundings, the Shire for one, and London for the other. In these near surrounding areas, descriptive detail is less immediate and profuse, but all the same is carefully selected and balanced. The evocation of the scenes of Middle-earth by means of descriptive detail is clearly one of the principal reasons for the hold Tolkien's writing has over the imaginations of his readers, but the Shire in this respect can be seen to be evoked in more detail than any other region of Middle-earth. It has its own separate map; Tolkien's eye for circumstantial detail, as evident for instance in the descriptions of the stretches of country which Frodo, Sam and Pippin traverse after leaving Bag End, before they reach Crickhollow, is at its most penetrating. All this is necessary to enable Tolkien to achieve, as he calls it, "the inner consistency of reality," while Doyle is proceeding in the reverse direction, using reality, the city of London, as it actually was, to construct a myth with Holmes and Watson at its centre. Therefore 221B Baker Street is surrounded by London evoked by means of numerous telling and effective touches of atmosphere and detail. There are the frequent "peasoup" fogs, that make one side of a street invisible from the other, and which can be hardly be imagined by anyone born after the Clean Air legislation. There are the rains that swirl up and down Baker Street, the "growler" cabs, the sinister figures that may appear suddenly out of the shadows. There are the references, spare and important, to actual locations, or even to persons (the Prime Minister who appears in "The Second Stain" is surely a thinly-disguised portrait of W.E. Gladstone).

The Shire, and London, provide, so to speak, the foreground areas of their respective worlds; more distant lands beyond them are treated in less detail. Tolkien, in *The Lord of the Rings* is circumstantial enough in dealing with the immediate scenes through which the travellers pass; but there are great tracts beyond or away from them left unfilled. Eriador

away from the Great Road is mostly more or less uncharted territory, and nearly all of Gondor is presented in a cursory overview. Individual sites are delineated plainly enough where necessary, but the total impression that remains is that, placed as we are at one localized point in Middle-earth we see its nearest reaches in sharp focus, and the rest of it in progressively cloudier and more generalised focus as it recedes further away from us. Even Ithilien, to which Tolkien devotes a good deal of attention, is evoked poetically rather than described straightforwardly, as the Shire is. As the outer fringes of the known world are approached, however, description turns to the evocation of the horrifying aspects of the scenery, instead of its picturesque qualities, and landscapes take on bizarre or frightening shapes. It is as though we, sitting safely at the centre of the world, look at it through a lens which distorts it at its edges.

Tolkien's scenic construction of course is much more elaborate and consciously "thought out" than Doyle's. He had to construct a world from scratch, whereas Doyle's lay ready to his hand, to be used as found. The two authors appear to be proceeding in contrary directions, yet they achieve parallel results; the underlying principle works for them both. Tolkien starts out by sketching a mythology, then, by elaborating its history and geography, its landscape and its languages, transforms it into reality. Doyle surrounds his central, fictional characters with real places and scenes, and by the skill with which he manipulates them, succeeds in creating a myth out of their adventures and the scenes in which they are set. The "Holmes and Watson" myth is one in which at times it is still pleasant to believe and which seems to be as evocative overseas as it is in this country; London as it was or seems to have been in the last years of the reign of Queen Victoria, the London of Elgar's *Cockaigne*, the centre of an Empire which left half the map of the world coloured red, the London of a time when income tax was still only a minuscule amount in the pound. And also like Tolkien, Doyle banishes the landscapes of terror to the extremities of his world, to the limits of consciousness; in terms of place only, to the bleak desolation of the Dartmoor, of *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, and one of the short stories; as to place and time to the remote and exotic territories associated with the early Mormons, (*A Study in Scarlet*), or the coal-miners and iron-workers of *The Valley of Fear*. The worlds of Tolkien and Doyle, in short, are constructed spatially, radiating outwards in concentric circles about a central point of

reference which represents “home”. It is perhaps worth remarking that certain fantasy sagas that have been thought to follow in Tolkien’s footsteps such as *The Belgariad* or *The Chronicles of Thomas Covenant* are not constructed like this at all, the readers defining viewpoint or central place of reference shifting as the story proceeds from one part of the imagined world to another. This is not of itself an inferior narrative method, of course, but it is a different one in essence.

Is all of this a little bit fanciful? Maybe. There is available, now, some instructive collateral evidence to back it up. There is a literary myth of more recent origin, which has been evolving over the last decade or more, and which now seems to have achieved its final shape. It may well be a highly profitable myth too, in so far as the inhabitants of the town of Shrewsbury are concerned, they whose lives are most affected by it; let the local Chamber of Commerce remember Ms. Ellis Peters regularly in its prayers! The myth, of course, is that of “Brother Cadfael”.

The writer first understood the mythic potentiality of the Cadfael stories when the Tolkien Society, in the spring of 1994, held its annual general meeting in Shrewsbury. Those readers who were present at that A.G.M. will remember that the Sunday morning event was a “Brother Cadfael” tour of Shrewsbury, in which we visited particular sites mentioned or featured in the stories. We were led by a guide who plainly was very familiar with the details of the stories, and the places or sites in present-day Shrewsbury to which they correspond. It was fascinating to observe how our guide referred to Brother Cadfael as though he was a “real” person who had lived in historical time and walked Shrewsbury’s streets; he, and likewise Hugh Beringar, Abbot Radulfus and the rest of the cast of fictional characters, were now, obviously, as real, or perhaps more real, to her than the historical persons, King Stephen, the Empress Matilda (‘Maud’) and others with whom the author has peopled the background of the stories; as real, or perhaps more real than most other personages of history down to our own day. The Cadfael “myth”, like those of Tolkien and Doyle, is now in the process of acquiring its own set of derivatives; other “medieval whodunnits”, “Cadfael walks” and tours in and about Shrewsbury; books about “the Cadfael country”,

describing Shrewsbury, Shropshire and the Welsh borderlands; and, of course, a television series.

From the present point of view the distinctive and important feature of the “Cadfael” stories is that they display exactly the same kind of “concentric” structure that, as suggested above, provides the foundations of Holmes and Watson’s world, and Bilbo’s and Frodo’s. There is, at its centre, the abbey of St. Mary, with its daily round of services, offices and labours, and within it, Cadfael’s own little province, his hut and herb garden, where he prepares his medicines, and where “clients” come to consult him from time to time, and where his closest friend, Hugh Beringar, so often comes to discuss with him the latest news from the surrounding world, or the progress of his and Cadfael’s current “case” or mystery. Beringar’s role perhaps represents the equivalent of that of the official police in a “conventional” detective story, although he is too efficient and intelligent to qualify as a counterpart of Inspector Lestrade (or of Watson himself, for that matter). In one story,⁵ though, the author cleverly re-uses and adapts the traditional formula of “the thick-headed police inspector”, in the person of a sheriff’s officer who has to deal with the investigation, and with Cadfael himself, in the sheriff’s absence.

Surrounding the central focus of interest, “home”, as it were, Cadfael’s hut and garden, the abbey, its church and buildings is the “foreground area”. This, of course, is the town of Shrewsbury, carefully balanced descriptively, with its references to places and features, the river, the Foregate, the castle, and so on, which still exist. The town performs the same function as London and the Shire do in their respective worlds. Beyond it is country near and far, a middle and far distance into which Cadfael has to venture in many of the stories, but always with the implication of “there and back again”, the proviso that when the mystery has been solved, he must return to the daily monastic routine and his own particular tasks within it. The edges of the picture perhaps do not quite correspond to the bizarre, “distorted” landscapes of Mordor; all the same, the total impression left by the stories as a whole is that the chief events and disasters of the period, the battle of Lincoln, the sieges of Oxford or Winchester, or the depredations of Geoffrey de Mandeville, take place at a comfortably remote distance from the centre of

⁵ *Monk’s Hood*

Cadfael's world⁶. (Hugh Beringar would be an ideal candidate for Strider's job as Chief of the Rangers). In the last story of all, significantly, Cadfael actually disobeys the monastic Rule by pursuing his quest beyond the limits the Abbot, his monastic superior has ordained for him, and at the end of the tale, he returns to the abbey prepared to face rejection and dismissal from the Order, but is actually received "back into the fold".

Quite a few individual explanations have been put forward in the foregoing paragraphs for the abiding sense of reality that seems to attach to the respective creations (or 'sub-creations') of Tolkien and Doyle; some of them at least, apply separately, no doubt, to many other tales. Are they, therefore, significant here in that they operate collectively? And what other works may there be, or may there have been, which generate a similar response? It could be argued that television series or "soap operas" because a great many people come to regard their characters as "real" persons, qualify likewise. There is a far-reaching distinction, however, which falls to be made between, on the one hand the media of sight and sound, and on the other, the medium of the written word, operating on the reader's perception through the exercise of imagination, unaided. The latter, being non-specific, operates at a deeper level. Conversely, acted versions of literary works quite frequently disappoint expectations formed by the experience of reading. Moriarty has featured considerably in acted versions of "Holmes" because

on the stage or the screen he cannot remain hidden and exercise the mythic power with which the author has endowed him; confronted in person he must rely on such dominance as the player of the part can assume for him.

An additional factor that must have operated in favour of Holmes and Cadfael is frequency; the equivalent for Tolkien was the sheer scale and extent of his vision. Four novels and ten times as many short stories, appearing serially, resulted in a progressive build-up of reader expectations. Similarly, had the sequence of "Brother Cadfael" stories been broken off after, say, two or three of them, and not continued, to our pleasure, for another fifteen or so, we could hardly have seen him in quite the same kind of light. But this on its own is not conclusive. It applies, for instance, to the "Horace Rumpole" series, not to mention the "Inspector Morse" ditto; and the latter additionally exploits the possibilities of a single defined locality, the city of Oxford, in the same way as with Holmes' London or Cadfael's Shrewsbury. These characters are probably too much bound up with our own time and involved with our everyday world, to take on any mythical significance, at least at present. They need, perhaps, the patina that only time can give them; the reality of their surroundings needs to recede some distance into the past. For now our two principal storytellers have had only one single successor.

Or can others suggest alternatives?

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⁶ The siege of Shrewsbury by King Stephen's force is of course a major exception; but it occurs early in the sequence of the stories, before their "mythic" status has become fully established.

Reviews

The Peoples of Middle-earth. (The History of Middle-earth XII)

Edited by Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins, 1996. £25.

This, the twelfth and final volume of *The History of Middle-earth*, returns to the composition of *The Lord of the Rings*, being for the greater part of its length concerned with the evolution of the Prologue and Appendices to that work. Various later writings, including, at long last, the paper on the reincarnation of Glorfindel and what exists of *The New Shadow*, take up the remainder of the book.

Most of the supplementary writings (Appendices and Prologue) were composed subsequent to the main body of the *Lord of the Rings* narrative. Tolkien was under severe pressure both to finish them in time for publication of *The Return of the King*, and to trim them to fit within the allotted space. As we shall see, these constraints had a detrimental effect on the final versions.

It might be noted at this point that although in most cases there was a fairly straightforward line of development of each particular text from its earliest drafts to its final published form, there was also (as one might expect with Tolkien) some shifting about and repositioning of sections of texts before the definitive arrangement was arrived at. Some of this process simply involved taking out some of the passages of lore and history which had come up in the main narrative and relocating them in the Prologue or Appendices.

The Prologue has origins nearly concurrent with the start of writing *The Lord of the Rings*, but incorporates further changes and expansions beginning in about summer 1948. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this work is how Tolkien handled the new, 'true' account of Bilbo's finding of the One Ring. In 1947 he had sent Sir Stanley Unwin what he considered no more than a 'specimen' of a rewritten Chapter V of *The Hobbit* containing the new account. He was greatly surprised to receive in July 1950 proofs of the next edition of *The Hobbit* incorporating those changes; however, he accepted the publication of this version, but with the necessity of now having to adjust the text of *The Lord of the Rings* to accommodate the existence of the new version in the published *Hobbit*. He hesitated between

leaving the old 'Birthday Present' account in the Prologue and having Gandalf reveal the true story in Chapter II, in a rider added to the text, or giving the true account in the Prologue, but he settled for the latter.

Although the *Note on the Shire Records* was added to the Prologue only in the second edition, Christopher Tolkien observes that his father noted that it 'belongs to Preface to *The Silmarillion*.' This is a significant matter, deserving closer examination, as it was this 'Note' which dismantled the framing mechanism for *The Silmarillion* that had survived for the past half-century.

The initial scheme of *The Book of Lost Tales* had the 5th-century Angle Eriol sailing West to Tol Eressëa where the fairies of that Lost Isle relate to him the tales of the Elder Days. He writes down the stories after Tol Eressëa has been dragged back to the Great Lands and become Britain. This design was soon revised, probably to make it more coherent chronologically, the mariner's name being altered to Ælfwine, who this time sails from Britain to Tol Eressëa where he now learns the tales both from the writings which he finds there and from the lips of the Elven sage, Pengolod, before returning home. And this remained the scheme in which the tales of the Elder Days were framed for almost all the rest of the time in which Tolkien actively considered them. Even some of the material in the present volume adheres to this format.

The Lord of the Rings was explained as being based on extracts from the 'Red Book of Westmarch', which in its origin was Bilbo's and Frodo's diary, but was supplemented with accounts of the North and South Kingdoms and other Third Age (and hobbitic) material. So far, then, so good: Ælfwine's recounting of the First Age myths and legends survives into our own history and is the basis for *The Silmarillion*; while the Red Book survives through the Hobbits (who must be assumed to live on in the primary world) and contains much of the later history of that world, and is an entirely distinct ancient text. But in the second edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien introduced his *Note on the Shire Records*, which says: 'But the chief importance of Findel's copy is that it

alone contains the whole of Bilbo's "Translations from the Elvish". These three volumes were found to be a work of great skill and learning in which, between 1403 and 1418, he had used all the sources available to him in Rivendell, both living and written. But since they were little used by Frodo, being almost entirely concerned with the Elder Days, no more is said of them here.' Those three volumes contained, then, *The Silmarillion*, an arrangement which makes Ælfwine's tales redundant.

Why did Tolkien make this change? Having two sources, Ælfwine's book and the Red Book, for two distinct eras of the history of the ancient world seems perfectly reasonable and coherent, and it is very difficult to see why Tolkien should have rejected the arrangement. The only reason that this reviewer can think of is that Tolkien felt that the 'straight road' to (and from) the West could not possibly be any longer available by our time, and so not available to Ælfwine, and that the *Silmarillion* had to be 'transmitted' by some other means, the most obvious one being that by which *The Lord of the Rings* had been communicated.

Or would it be wiser to regard this change as a temporary aberration which Tolkien would have rejected had he given the matter more thought (although it must be admitted that our knowledge of his thought on this matter is far from complete)? Certainly the adoption of the Red Book as the sole source for the history of the Three Ages removes the special connection with English history which the invented mythology, in its original form, was meant to have. Was this change a sign that Tolkien had, by the mid-sixties, finally let that old dream go?

What became the first part of Appendix F, 'The Languages and Peoples of the Third Age', began as a kind of Foreword containing mostly general remarks about the 'Common Speech of the West' and the languages and scripts of the races of Middle-earth. Although this text was to prove unsuitable for his purposes, Tolkien was to reuse elements from it in later versions of Appendix F as well as in the Foreword to the first edition of *The Lord of the Rings*. (This Foreword is helpfully reprinted in the present volume.) He was here concerned not only to set forth the general linguistic background which had for so long been evolving, and which the emergent histories of the Second and Third Ages had enlarged, but to justify his procedures of 'translation' from those languages into the names and conventions used in the

book; or, rather, we might say that he was concerned to demonstrate to the reader that the names and usages encountered in the text were justifiable within the more general linguistic context of the epic, and were not simply the product of whim. (Of course, a good many *were* the product of whim, but Tolkien had more than enough ingenuity to overcome that problem.) Especially interesting is the discussion of how Hobbit-names were dealt with, with many examples given of the 'real' names in their original form, such as *Batti Zilbirapha* for Butterbur. Unfortunately, as Christopher Tolkien notes, this material vanished with the final draft as sent to the publishers, an indication of the extreme pressure that Tolkien was under: the published appendix might have been different, perhaps fuller, in more benign circumstances.

Underlying much of Tolkien's thought on the matter of translation was an awareness of the need to justify the names of the Dwarves given in *The Hobbit*. There the Dwarves have names taken direct from the *Elder Edda*. Obviously, these could not be the 'real' names of the Dwarves. Tolkien's solution was ingenious: (i) the Dwarves' true names they keep to themselves and never tell to outsiders; (ii) they adopt 'outer' names typical of the speech of the Men among whom they live; (iii) the Dwarves around the region of Dale therefore adopted 'outer' names in the language of the Men of Dale; (iv) the Men of Dale spoke a language related to the Common Speech roughly in the same way that Norse is related to Standard English; (v) the Dwarves' outer names can then be properly given equivalents in Norse. And so Fili, Kili, and all the others can be justified. It will be noted that this solution to a feigned 'problem' in translation ends up casting new light on the Dwarves, and serves to round out their character. In fact, Christopher Tolkien considers that the Dwarf-names in *The Hobbit* provided a starting-point for the whole structure of the Mannish languages in Middle-earth. One begins to get the feeling that Tolkien actually *welcomed* such problems since working out their solutions ended up influencing, and indeed creating, much of the matter of Middle-earth beyond the immediate area of the problem.

The evolution of the Family Trees of the leading hobbit families is here shown mainly by redrawing each original genealogical table as it stood before subsequent emendation in preparation for the next version. Here are not only the tables for Baggins,

Brandybuck, Took and Gamgee, but also those for the respectable families of Bolger and Boffin. We learn that the latter two had made it into typographic form before being rejected from Appendix C. Although the exact reason is not apparent from surviving documentation, this is surely another example of the pressure which Tolkien had to cope with in preparing the Appendices. (It is unclear, too, whether those printed versions of the Bolger and Boffin trees survive: they are not reprinted in this volume; it would be nice to see them.)

The trees of all the families underwent enlargement and elaboration as Tolkien got to grips with the ramifying interrelationships through marriage of the families while at the same time making them consistent both with each other and with the bits of Shire history in the matter, say, of family 'homelands', or of the Thainship. (The chief of the Hobbits of the Shire was at first called the 'Shireking' or 'Shirking', but Tolkien wisely, changed it to Thain.) It might be noted that Sam and Rosie's fourteenth and last child, Lily, survived right up until her removal on the first proof.

Next come the Calendars. Given Tolkien's attention to the detailed consistency of his imagined world, it is hardly surprising that he should have put some considerable effort into constructing the calendrical systems of Third Age Middle-earth. Even so, all but the most hardened of his readers may find that the detailed working-out of the reckonings used by the Hobbits (as derived from the Dúnedain and before them the Eldar) requires their full attention. It will be needed in understanding, say, the chart of the New Era calendar of the Fourth Age. But the final form of Appendix D as published lacks much of the sophistication and detail of the material presented here, and Christopher Tolkien remarks again that had circumstances been otherwise the form of the appendix would have been different. So, yet again, we are made aware both of how hard Tolkien strived to achieve his vision and of how the sheer pressure of time and space prevented the full flowering of that vision.

Next is examined a piece of writing which did not form part of *The Lord of the Rings* but which is of significance in the development of the history of the Second Age and the rise and fall of Númenor: *The Akallabêth*. This text was derived mainly from *The Drowning of Anadûnê* and to a slighter extent from

The Fall of Númenor. The matter of Númenor can be traced back to an outline of about 1936, although the idea can be discerned in the isle of Eneadur and the Shipmen of the West in *Ælfwine of England* of about 1920. Basically, Númenor was part of the history of the invented world and had to be worked into the history of that world between the events of *The Silmarillion* and those of *The Lord of the Rings*, once the significance of such history became apparent. This significance seems to have become clear to Tolkien during the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, but it was not until the composition of the Tale of Years that he filled in the details and made of them a consistent whole. It may be noted that *The Notion Club Papers*, dealing in its own way with Númenor, was written in a gap near the end of writing the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*. (This was pointed out during the 1996 Tolkien Society Seminar by *Mallorn* editor Pat Reynolds.)

The present examination of *The Akallabêth* is carried out by means of a comparison with the text published in *The Silmarillion* in order to save the space of a full reproduction. The most significant editorial change in the published version was the complete removal of all references to *Ælfwine* and Pengoloð, *The Akallabêth* being originally a speech of Pengoloð to *Ælfwine*. Thus, the 'authentic text' began: 'Of Men, *Ælfwine*, it is said by the Eldar that they came into the world ...' We are therefore still in the period when the *Ælfwine*/Pengoloð origin of the *Silmarillion* – and now, significantly, post-*Silmarillion* – material still applied. Perhaps it is of importance that Tolkien himself seems never to have gone back over his manuscripts to perform such wholesale deletions as were necessary once the 'vehicle' of *Ælfwine* had been dropped. Other editorial changes were made by Christopher Tolkien in the published version for the sake of consistency; some of them are now regretted.

Appended are some interesting, if rough, manuscripts bearing on the marriage of Míriel and Ar-Pharazôn.

The next three parts, 'The Tale of Years of the Second Age', 'The Heirs of Elendil' and 'The Tale of Years of the Third Age', I shall treat together, given that their single theme is the elaboration of the history of the Second and Third Ages with especial reference to the ancestry of Aragorn. It should be noted that such a brief survey, here as elsewhere, does far less than justice to Christopher Tolkien's painstaking and

detailed exposition of the evolution of these texts. Here we shall pause just to notice some of the more interesting points.

The chronology of the Second Age began as a very brief 'Time Scheme' concerning the reigns of the Númenórean kings, starting with the Great Battle which concluded the First Age and ending with the Downfall of Númenor and the gathering of the Alliance between Elves and Men to defeat Sauron. At the beginning of this brief text, Tolkien noted "'Ages" last about 3000 years.' What reasons he had for assigning this length of time to an Age, or, indeed, why time should be partitioned into Ages in the first place, as though they were more than the cultural artefacts of societies which have an interest in history, we do not know. But once he had established that time-scheme for the Ages then he had more than 6000 years in which to elaborate the history of the world from the Elder Days to the end of the Third Age.

There is an interesting glimpse of Aragorn in a note pencilled beside calculations on the average lifespan of Númenóreans: 'In character Aragorn was a hardened man of say 45.'

Notable is the fact that the final year of the Second Age was established as 3441 very early on and was never subsequently changed despite accumulating complexities in the history. Was there a significance to that number that is now lost?

The final version of the Tale of Years of the Second Age had, inevitably, to be pruned for publication.

The texts of 'The Heirs of Elendil' give a detailed chronology of the Kings of Arnor and Chieftains of the Dúnedain in the North Kingdom and of the Kings and Stewards of Gondor. This was not published but a very compressed version surfaced in Appendix A, on which see further.

Also discussed is a genealogical table for the descendants of Angelimir, the twentieth prince of Dol Amroth, Imrahil's grandfather, which has some dates well into the Fourth Age and gives the previously unpublished name of Faramir and Éowyn's child.

The earliest text of the Tale of Years of the Third Age concentrates on events in the Shire and on the history of the Ring, rather than on Arnor and Gondor, for its relatively few entries. This developed into a long and elaborate chronology which had much added detail both on hobbit history and on that of the wider world. The chronology proper ends with the memorable words: 'With their passing ended the

Third Age, the twilight between the Elder Days and the Afterworld which then began.' And the commentary ends: '... for Gondor and Arnor are no more; and even the chronicles of the House of Elessar and all their deeds and glory are lost.' But, yet again, these passages were not in the chronology as finally published, for the publishers wanted something in a much more 'staccato' style.

A distinction is drawn between the chronology proper, which ends in Third Age 3021, and the commentary which encloses it: the former is presented as an extract from the Red Book, while the commentary is written by a later editor. The status of this editor is uncertain: it could be Tolkien himself as the editor of material from the Red Book. This is plausible in so far as the commentary is made much later than the chronology since, as noted above, the editor refers to the loss of the chronicles of the House of Elessar as though that time were very long past. Yet one is not quite sure if Tolkien-as-editor quite fits the bill since the commentator seems a little too involved emotionally with his material, while Tolkien-as-commentator in *The Lord of the Rings* as we have it is much more detached and scholarly. Perhaps Tolkien's own feelings on the matter underwent a subtle shift after the completion of this version of the Tale of Years, and the changed tone of the published version is not entirely owing to the required compression.

The account of the Realms in Exile in Appendix A had its origins as a shortened form of *The Heirs of Elendil*, with quoted extracts from the Red Book. Tolkien apparently did it this way, again, in response to the need to save space.

Here also we find the early versions of the Tale of Aragorn and Arwen. It took Tolkien some time to see it as an isolated piece instead of, possibly, part of the Realms in Exile account, but he finally saw that it was indeed a distinct entity. It remains, in this reviewer's opinion, a supreme example of Tolkien's 'high' style.

Also examined here are earlier versions of *The House of Eorl* and of *Durin's Folk*. Notable in the former is a struck-out passage referring to the presence of Elladan and Elrohir at the Battle of Calenardhon. The latter contains a good deal on Thorin's history, and on the longevity and domestic life of the race, which did not survive into the printed version and (apart from an extract in *Unfinished Tales*) has not seen print until now.

In the Foreword to *Sauron Defeated* Christopher Tolkien warned that a history of the Appendices would prove 'both far-ranging and intricate'; and so they have. Even so, the intricacies are unravelled as clearly as they can be, and we should be thankful that this work has been accomplished within the span of *The History of Middle-earth*.

The Appendices can be seen as a consolidation of the historical, linguistic and other material of the Second and Third Ages which had arisen in the course of writing *The Lord of the Rings*. We might consider them as written both to bring order to Tolkien's own thoughts on the background to *The Lord of the Rings* and to provide that background for readers of the book. Certainly he was aware of the interest that that kind of material evoked. In a letter to Rayner Unwin of 6 March 1955, he remarked that it was 'a tribute to the curious effect that story has, when based on very elaborate and detailed workings of geography, chronology, and language, that so many should clamour for sheer "information", or "lore". But the demands such people make would again require a book, at least the size of Vol. I.'

But it was those very elaborate and detailed workings which resulted in such difficulties in preparing the Appendices for publication. While recognising the stress which Tolkien suffered in preparing the Appendices against severe constraints in both time and space we must balance the fact that Tolkien himself must have severely underestimated the effort needed to complete them. Had they been ready and finished when publication of the work was agreed upon, then history might have been different; but they were still to achieve.

This is not the place to rehearse the complex history of the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*; suffice it to say that Tolkien seems not to have given sufficient thought to the time and effort necessary to prepare for publication anything beyond the immediate narrative of the book. It is not clear exactly when he conceived the necessity of having extra matter giving background material to the story, but he plainly left its composition until after the completion of the bulk of the narrative. Ideally, he should have got down to the Appendices in earnest immediately after the narrative's completion and had them more or less ready for printing before offering the book for publication. At least that way he would have been in a better position to resist demands for their compression. But he may well not have started in earnest at an early enough time (and in any case he

had his normal crowded academic schedule to cope with), and in the end found himself having to complete the large and complex task of ordering the historical and other aspects of his invented world in just about the worst possible circumstances.

Whoever is to blame for the debacle, it is a pity that, as we have seen repeatedly, Tolkien had to apply so much curtailment and compression to the Appendices. Notably, they were not re-expanded for the second edition of *The Lord of the Rings*. Perhaps some future editor will one day provide a reconstruction of the book with the Appendices as they should have been.

As an aside, we know that Tolkien had initially hoped to have *The Lord of the Rings* published with *The Silmarillion*. Given how long he would have needed to finish the latter work, one can only assume that he was being extraordinarily optimistic about the patience of his publishers!

The various later writings constituting the last third of the book come from various times between about the early 1950s and the last year of Tolkien's life. Such relatively precise dating is made possible only because many of the writings were done on dated waste paper passed on to him by Allen & Unwin.

A primarily linguistic essay, editorially titled *Of Dwarves and Men* (the first page is missing), perhaps dating to the early 1970s, discusses the Dwarves' linguistic capabilities, comments on representations of Dwarvish writing in *The Lord of the Rings*, reviews their historical relationships with Men, looks at the history of Mannish languages, and goes into the matter of the different races of Men (Driûgs, Middle Men, etc.). Here is some fascinating information on the origins and names of the races of Dwarves other than the Longbeards, information not altogether consistent with some of that given elsewhere. Tolkien seems never to have explored the Dwarves as thoroughly as he might, and the new information in the present book is as extensive as anything already published. We have a glimpse of an ancient history in which Men and Dwarves entered into cooperative living arrangements wherein their complementary skills worked to the advantage of all.

The history and languages of the first Men to come west, the Atani, are discussed, as also the Drúedain, although the section which was extracted for *Unfinished Tales* is not reprinted here. Hobbits

and the languages of the Men of Middle-earth are looked at, as well as the development of the Common Speech.

The Shibboleth of Fëanor is a late (c.1968), unfinished essay largely involved with Elvish linguistic change and naming practices, but which happens to touch on a number of related topics. (The title is editorially supplied from a phrase in the text.) This is an instance of Tolkien noticing a minute linguistic point and attempting to find an explanation for it within the context of an established, and hence unalterable, historical and linguistic structure which could be added to but not contradicted. The specific sound-change concerned need not be gone into here, save that the discussion stresses a trait of elvish linguistic evolution which may not have been apparent before: whereas changes in human language occur in an unplanned and, as it were, unconscious fashion, the Eldar, to the contrary, planned the changes in the languages they spoke. Once a change was agreed upon by the most respected loremasters, then it would be rapidly adopted by all the speakers concerned; only, in this particular case, the change was drawn into the whole complex business of the death of Míriel after Fëanor's birth, and Finwë's remarriage to Indis of the Vanyar.

A lengthy passage on Galadriel (it was his observation of her linguistic usage as quoted in *The Lord of the Rings* which started Tolkien on this theme) finishes the main part of the essay. Part of this has been printed in *Unfinished Tales*, but some comments here seem appropriate. Tolkien seems in his later years to have become greatly concerned to elevate Galadriel's status and to exculpate her from any guilt in the rebellion of the Noldor. In her initial appearance in *The Silmarillion* she is something of a minor character; she does not take the Oath of Fëanor, but she is still 'eager to be gone' to Middle-earth, and her part in the Kin-slaying is unspecified. (A marginal note to the effect that she fought *against* Fëanor is presumably a late addition, made at the same time as Tolkien's very late note on the subject that we shall shortly come to (see X.128).) But in the present essay she becomes just about the equivalent of Fëanor himself: 'she was strong of body, mind, and will, a match for both the loremasters and the athletes of the Eldar...' Something of a clue may be found a little later on:

Even among the Eldar ... her hair was held a

marvel unmatched.... and the Eldar said that the light of the Two Trees, Laurelin and Telperion, had been snared in her tresses. Many thought that this saying first gave to Fëanor the thought of imprisoning and blending the light of the Trees that later took shape in his hands as the Silmarils. For Fëanor beheld the hair of Galadriel with wonder and delight. He begged three times for a tress, but Galadriel would not give him even one hair. These two kinsfolk, the greatest of the Eldar of Valinor, were unfriends for ever.

So Galadriel's hair, like the long-established Silmarils, caught the light of the Two Trees. In a sense, Galadriel was a kind of living Silmaril. The Silmarils were in Tolkien's heart, and, quite by chance, he had created a character who could be considered a living embodiment of them. Hence, perhaps, his retrospective attempt to make her spiritually stainless, which involved her resistance to Fëanor in both the matter of the Silmarils and that of the Kin-slaying at Alqualondë where, in the present essay, 'she fought fiercely against Fëanor in defence of her mother's kin', repeated in a 1973 note, wherein she makes her own way back to Middle-earth with Celeborn.

Galadriel's refusal to give Fëanor a tress of her hair prompts two reflections: (i) if she had let him have one, then he might not have felt the need to make the Silmarils, and a good deal of trouble (to say the least) could have been avoided; (ii) no wonder that the Elves 'stirred and murmured with astonishment' when Gimli (surely unknowingly) repeated Fëanor's request when the Company of the Ring sailed from Lothlórien.

Notes to the essay discuss mother-names and the names of Finwë's descendants; Christopher Tolkien omits one Note on phonetic 'taste' and 'theory'. Also discussed are the vexed question of Gil-galad's parentage, which involves a reworking of some elvish genealogy from what we already know; the name 'Felagund'; and the names of the sons of Fëanor, where there is a new story about the death of one of them.

In the same period as the preceding piece, Tolkien wrote a discussion about the Elvish linguistic element *-ros*, here given the title 'The Problem of *Ros*'. But only afterwards did he realise that an already published note invalidated the extensive and

minutely detailed discussion he had produced. But the linguists will doubtless find much to chew over in any event.

And here in print at long last is the piece on Glorfindel, written in the last year of Tolkien's life, which has been eagerly awaited since its existence was first revealed in 1977 ("The Filial Duty of Christopher Tolkien", Bill Cater, *Sunday Times Magazine*, 25 September 1977, pp.61, 63), and which has since given rise to many a discussion about the relationship between the Glorfindels of Rivendell and of Gondolin. (There are in fact two distinct essays on the subject, but since the second seems to have followed the first at no great interval, they can be treated as one.) Oddly enough, Tolkien, taking note of the 'somewhat random use of the names found in the older legends', thought that both Glorfindels were the same person because the 'repetition of so striking a name, though possible, would not be credible'. This seems a rather slender basis for such a conclusion, but since that is Tolkien's opinion, it is one that can hardly be questioned. (Just to clarify: such an opinion might well be questioned if Tolkien had long held the firm view that they really were different persons, and only now made a very late, and possibly transitory, change to that view; but the real situation here is one of addressing a point which had not even been considered before, and on which no firm view had been established in the first place.)

Nevertheless, on the basis of this identity, Tolkien felt its acceptance would 'actually explain what is said of him and improve the story', thus leading to another example of his ingeniously using a problem that has arisen in order to extend and deepen his understanding of the world he has created. We may at this point note that here Tolkien thinks the name 'Glorfindel' 'is now difficult to fit into Sindarin, and cannot possibly be Quenyarin', another instance of the extraordinary concern with details that have stood for years, if not decades, but which in his later years he considered would no longer fit in.

In the present essay we learn that, while the spirits of the rebellious Noldor slain in Middle-earth would apparently return to Mandos, they were denied incarnation in a new body made for them by the Valar specifically because of the Ban set upon their return to Valinor. However, in Glorfindel's case, because of his heroic stand against the Balrog, thereby allowing Tuor with Idril and Eärendil to escape the ruin of Gondolin, Manwë treated him as a

special case and permitted his reincarnation. It is noted here also that Glorfindel 'had no part in the kinslaying of Alqualondë', which we did not know before and seems typical of Tolkien's rather pietistic exoneration of anyone he came to especially favour (like Galadriel) of that episode. It seems specious in any case that Glorfindel should have got this privileged treatment. Were there no other Elves who had fought heroically in Beleriand (and bear in mind that when Glorfindel fell to the Balrog, he was protecting refugees from Gondolin in general, not Tuor and family in particular)?

The reincarnated Glorfindel remains long in Valinor, and indeed becomes nearly an equal of the Maiar, but is thought to have returned to Middle-earth before the end of the Second Age, about 1600SA, although Tolkien had also considered the possibility that he had returned in the company of Gandalf in c. 1000TA.

Also written at this time was a note on Elvish reincarnation which is left mostly unprinted except for a passage concerning Dwarves which entertains the apparently contradictory notions (a) that the spirits of the Seven Fathers of their races could be reborn in their kindreds, and (b) that the spirit of each of the Fathers should 'fall asleep, but then lie in a tomb of his own body, at rest, and there its weariness and any hurts that had befallen it should be amended. Then after long years he should arise and take up his kingship again.' A further note comes down on the side of the latter notion. This method of reincarnation (if one can call it that) is critical upon the preservation of the body of the Father from all outside harm, a dubious proposition in the dangerous world of Middle-earth.

Further discussions in this section touch on the Five Wizards (now it is said that the two 'Eastern Wizards' were sent to Middle-earth in the Second Age, with Glorfindel, and played a part in preventing the unification of the forces of Men of the East which would have vastly outnumbered those of the West), and on Círdan the Shipwright (who goes back to the very early days of the Elves, and who was granted a vision by Ulmo of Eärendil's ship which he would in time to come help build).

The *Dangweth Pengoloð* – the Teachings of Pengoloð – of probably the early 1950s exists in a fine illuminated manuscript. This considers the matter of change in Elvish languages, related as it is to the perception of time that Elves have as contrasted with

that of mortals. These teachings are addressed by Pengoloð to Ælfwine, and thus go back to a time when *The Silmarillion* was still essentially based on Ælfwine's writings.

A short piece, *Of Lembas*, again as by Pengoloð, reveals that *lembas* is made from the corn originally brought forth by Yavanna in Aman and subsequently taken to Middle-earth.

The New Shadow was begun as a sequel to *The Lord of the Rings* some time in the 1950s (more specific dating is not possible), but set aside and only returned to in about the mid-sixties. There is not much of it – some 7½ pages of printed text in this book – and it perhaps does not merit the attention which its notoriety has focused upon it. Set in the reign of Eldarion (Tolkien is inconsistent in assigning it an exact date) we follow the involvement of the aged Borlas (younger son of Beregond, and so the brother of Bergil, whom Pippin meets in Minas Tirith) with a shadowy cult associated with one Herumor and which appears to be associated with various disquieting goings-on. In his letters, Tolkien referred to a 'secret Satanist religion' in *The New Shadow*.

This was written in the kind of third-person narrative which Tolkien seems never to have mastered, all rather wordy: it is just not the same kind of narrative as that in *The Lord of the Rings*, although it is difficult to pin the difference down. Tolkien himself eventually thought it not worth doing, and one suspects he was right. I think we may regard *The New Shadow* as non-canonical, in so far as we might want to know what happened later on in the Fourth Age.

The very last piece of writing in this book, and so in *The History of Middle-earth*, is *Tal-Elmar*, dated to the mid-fifties. It concerns the first meetings between the 'Wild Men' of Middle-earth and the Númenóreans in their early voyages to Middle-earth before the Downfall. Tal-Elmar is the last child of Hazad, one of these Wild Men, whose father, Buldar, took to wife Elmar, seemingly a woman of the *Atani* who was captured in a raid. Tal-Elmar is Hazad's youngest son, and takes after his father's mother. Hazad himself is distinguished by his having seventeen sons and a beard five feet long. The story, so far as it goes, concerns the arrival of ships off the nearby sea-coast, and Tal-Elmar's reception by the

disembarked Númenóreans, who think Tal-Elmar is one of their own.

From some names written on the last page of the manuscript, Tolkien may have thought of Tal-Elmar subsequently visiting other places in Middle-earth, so perhaps a tour of the lands was contemplated (but in a rejected version of the opening section, the story starts with: 'In the days of the Great Kings when a man could still walk dryshod from Rome to York (not that those cities were yet built or thought of) ...').

It is far from clear how Tolkien considered this story as it was to have stood in relation to the other writings on Middle-earth, not least because it does not seem to have described anything of great historical significance: as Christopher Tolkien remarks, it is a 'departure from all other narrative themes within the compass of Middle-earth'. Tolkien later noted that it was the 'Beginnings of a tale that sees the Númenóreans from the point of view of the Wild Men.' Considering that here we have a writing which looks at some of the history not, for once, from the point of view of the Elves, it may be the case that after *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien was fascinated by the concept of looking at aspects of the *legendarium* from points of view which do not depend on the 'mainstream' Elvish-Númenórean-Hobbitic 'tradition'. Given the foregoing remarks about the removal of the Ælfwine/Pengoloð framing device for *The Silmarillion*, not to mention the differing 'traditions' of the Downfall of Númenor (see IX.406), there seems to be if not a pattern, but at least a hint, of a growing awareness of the subjective nature of the construction of history, and that different viewpoints need to be taken into account before a more objective history can be considered. Much more could, I think, be said on this and one hopes that it will be considered as a subject for exploration at a future time.

The material in this book on the development of the Appendices to *The Lord of the Rings* reveals tantalising glimpses of what a more complete book might have looked like, but also reveals the extreme difficulties in which Tolkien found himself in order to get them finished within a reasonable time.

The various later writings reveal all manner of fascinating sidelights on aspects of the *legendarium* but are, to this reviewer, somewhat disturbing in that they show Tolkien becoming increasingly hypercritical about extreme *minutiae*, and taking an attitude with regard to certain of his characters (i.e.

Galadriel and Glorfindel) which might well be described as fussily pietistic, and which one feels that a liberal dose of irony would greatly have benefited. Given also that in some of the very late pieces he gets certain details of the existing 'history' wrong (although in these instances he may not have had his manuscripts and typescripts ready to hand), one is very uncertain as to the 'canonicity' of some of this material, especially when it involves altering aspects of the history which have been fixed for years or decades. The prime example must be the radical alteration to the cosmology discussed in *Morgoth's Ring*, but such changefulness surfaces in many other places, not least in the writings in this book. Doubtless such reminders of the essentially arbitrary nature of the creations of *any* writer will be disturbing if that writer has, as in Tolkien's case, succeeded in creating a world which seems to move and have its own being beyond the pages of the book. However, we should not forget that much of his later writing may well be located in an experimental rather than a definitive stage, when ideas and concepts are neither accepted nor rejected, and do not necessarily need to affect the existing solid foundations. But it is ungrateful to carp because a writer (or any kind of creator) does not always stand at the height of his powers, and we should instead be thankful for the excellences that have been achieved, and which, in this case, are so great as to put even Tolkien's own other work into the shade.

One of the problems in ending reviews of previous volumes of *The History of Middle-earth* has

been to find a new form of words to describe Christopher Tolkien's editorial achievements in producing these books. Here is someone with the purely academic ability to examine, understand and explicate a vast amount of sometimes disparate and inchoate typescripts and manuscripts of varying degrees of legibility, and in discussing them to show in detail how concepts and characters have changed or shifted in significance over time and between different texts; and here also is someone with the unique advantage of a long and intimate acquaintance with the subject-matter itself. I would not go so far as to claim that no-one else could have undertaken this task; but any outside academic editor would have had to be extraordinarily good. So everyone who has a serious interest in the writings of J.R.R. Tolkien must be thankful that the task of editing them fell to the one person most capable of undertaking it.

The whole series of *The History of Middle-earth* is a tremendous achievement and makes a worthy and enduring testament to one man's creative endeavours and to another's explicatory devotion. It reveals far more about Tolkien's invented world than any of his readers in pre-*Silmarillion* days could ever have imagined or hoped for. Any understanding of the shape and nature of Tolkien's imaginative art as it evolved over his lifetime must depend on a thoroughgoing study of the *History*, wherein the matter of Middle-earth is portrayed in all its grandeur.

Charles E. Noad

J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist and Illustrator Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull London: HarperCollins, 1995. £35-00.

That this is the first full-length study of Tolkien's art and illustration to appear, amid the plethora of writings, good, bad and indifferent, that have accumulated around this or that aspect of his literary output, is in its way evidence of the power and prevalence of an inherited 'received idea'. This is the belief, widely held, that talent, knowledge and expertise in any one particular field somehow disqualify their possessors from exercising these attributes in any other one. Tolkien is himself a good example, like many other academics of the older, long established sort (some of their present-day

successors display no such reticence). Because he was by profession a philologist, and, stemming from, that, a teller of tales, he was reluctant to put himself forward as possessing any knowledge or qualification in other fields, including that of art, illustration and design. "The pictures seem to me mostly only to prove that the author cannot draw," as he remarked of his illustrations for *The Hobbit*.

The old saying that "the cobbler should stick to his last," quite often on the other hand turns out not to be true at all. Outstanding talent or ability in one direction does from time to time declare itself in other

and quite different directions, in relation to one and the same person. In Tolkien's case, however, the prevalence of "the received idea," has worked to the disadvantage of his drawings, paintings and artwork in various forms. These have been thought of or treated as a sideline, attractive and sometimes striking accompaniments to the serious business of his writings, scholarly and literary, but of only subsidiary import in relation to his work, aims and achievements. The great achievement of the authors of this book is to show us all otherwise; they demonstrate that all through his life Tolkien's art was as central an expression of his creativity as his writing, and an integral part of the processes that have made his imagined world a living reality for us today.

The authors' approach to their task is, naturally, a chronological one; they take us through the extant material, much of it appearing in published form for the first time, from Tolkien's earliest efforts as a child to the splendid late drawing, "The Hills of the Morning," which they understandably see as a fitting climax and epilogue to his life's work as an artist, and which most appropriately takes its place as the frontispiece to this book. This drawing was shown in the exhibition, at the Bodleian Library, that accompanied the 1992 Centenary Conference, but it has not previously been reproduced, and will come as a complete surprise to many, as will quite a number of other works reproduced here, others also for the first time. This especially applies to the drawings and paintings Tolkien produced up to the age of twenty or thereabouts, before he started to write the mythology that first took shape as *The Book of Lost Tales*. These provide the subject-matter of the first chapter of this book, and will alter the perceptions of most readers, for prior to the 1992 exhibition virtually none of this early material had made its appearance. It now seems that Tolkien's gifts as an artist, expressed simply through the media of landscape and topographical art, declared themselves at a very early stage. The first important change of direction in his art, evident in the works covered by and illustrated in the second chapter of this book, "Visions, Myths and Legends," coincides with his earliest writings, and thereafter the two sides of his creative endeavour are inseparable. In view of the quality of some of his early landscapes and topographical drawings one may indeed regret that he only rarely returned to this form of art in later life, though the authors do reproduce several interesting examples from 1940 and later.

As the story proceeds the correspondences between Tolkien's practice as author and storyteller, and as artist and illustrator, become steadily more apparent. The authors devote a chapter to "Art for Children," principally of course, the "Father Christmas Letters," written and illustrated for his children, and the illustrated story, "Mr Bliss." In these he developed his talent for a light-hearted, "anecdotal" kind of line drawing somewhat akin to the art of the cartoonist, which had been evident now and then in his early work. In its turn this made available a wider range of reference for his drawings and paintings for *The Hobbit* which represent the core material of his art, the expression of it that has become the most familiar to readers, and which takes up the central and longest chapter of this book. It reflects the way in which his experience in providing orally told stories for his children eventually issued in the writing of *The Hobbit* and thereby supplied the essential balance and contrast needed as the counterpart of the heroic legendary world of *The Silmarillion*. The volumes of "The History of Middle-earth," most of all those dealing with *The Lord of the Rings*, have helped us to understand and appreciate the almost obsessional care which Tolkien lavished on the shaping and perfection of narrative, as displayed typically in the successive redraftings of the early chapters of *The Lord of the Rings*. Precisely the same impulse can be seen in operation in the reworking of version after version, all reproduced here, of important illustrated scenes such as "The Hill: Hobbiton-across-the-Water," or "The Elvenking's Gate." The process by which scenes such as these gradually evolved has not previously been open to inspection in such detail, and likewise it can now be seen how Tolkien's conceptions of sites described in *The Lord of the Rings* such as Orthanc, Helm's Deep or Dunharrow, were formed out of successive experiments in drawing the details of their appearance so as to work out the finalised descriptions in words. The authors make the interesting point that many of these "working drawings," are concerned with the architecture and layout of fortresses and strongholds, and seem interconnected. It is therefore rather remarkable that Tolkien's interest in this direction, developed as an aid to the actual description of the places conceived by means of the written word, then has to express itself finally in an elaborate finished drawing, of Barad-dûr seen at close quarters, which is not actually an illustration of a scene in *The Lord of the*

Rings at all. "The Forest of Lothlórien in Spring," likewise not an illustration of any specific scene in the book, provided a similar outlet in its own way for his idealised vision of its tree-clad beauty.

The authors draw an effective parallel between Tolkien's narrative method, his use of the descriptive imagery of journeying or, "The Road," to draw the reader's interest and imagination forward into the progress of the story, and pictorial devices in his art, such as the use of a central feature, a path or a river, as in the painting, "Rivendell," to draw the viewer's eye deep into the picture and towards the distant landscape of the imagination. Of course this is a familiar and frequently used device in landscape painting and there are very many instances of it in the work of the old masters, but Tolkien claimed not to be "well acquainted with pictorial Art," and his use of the motive must therefore have been primarily instinctive.

With the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, a chapter in the history and development of Tolkien's art also closes. In so much of his later writing (otherwise than "The Tale of Tuor" and the "Narn i Hîn Hûrin") narrative is left behind in favour of general, more abstract theoretical topics, the construction of a consistent cosmology around Middle-earth, the problematic reincarnation of Elves and the differing destinies of Elves and Men. Story-telling gives way to research, if one can put it that way. In a similar sort of way, his art ceases to deal with the representation literally of scenes and events and turns to the exploration of patterns of always increasing subtlety and variety, represented both by the innumerable "doodles," on old envelopes and newspapers, and by the working out of designs for Númenórean textiles or for heraldic devices for Elves and Men, and their houses and descendants. The late drawing of "The Hills of the Morning," draws the threads of Tolkien's artistic interests together in one, because although it portrays an imagined scene it also represents a sophisticated virtuoso piece of pattern-making in its own right.

Where, one is inclined to ask, did the inspiration for all this very varied output come from, and what were Tolkien's sources, if any? The authors tell us that Priscilla Tolkien recalls that her father visited galleries in Italy with her while on holiday in the 1950s. But apart from the reference, already mentioned, in a late published letter, to his lack of acquaintance with "pictorial Art," there is virtually

nothing in his writings of various kinds which provides any sort of a clue to his own experience of the visual arts. On the other hand, of course, there are plenty of indications, in his descriptions of, for instance, Théoden's hall at Edoras, or of the stone statues of the Kings of Gondor that line the great hall of Minas Tirith, that he thought of the sculptural and decorative arts as being highly developed in Middle-earth, (and conversely, see his references to the crudity and barbarity of orcish efforts). His memory was no doubt quite as retentive in regard to visual images as it was in relation to words, languages and literature, and it might be said that he had trained his visual memory, through his early topographical drawings and paintings, as much as he had trained his verbal and linguistic memory through the medium of ancient languages. The wealth of visual imagery in the narrative, particularly in *The Lord of the Rings*, is particularly evident in reaction to plants, trees and natural forms, of which he was a constant observer both in life and in his art, topographical and otherwise. The authors also helpfully remind us of the sources and influences which must have been available to him in the course of reading or of everyday life without the necessity for any special investigations or inquiry on his part – the "Arts and Crafts movement"; the designs of William Morris; the work of illustrators such as Arthur Rackham (an admitted influence) or Edmond Dulac; the influence of Symbolism in various forms; even the Japanese prints which he bought for his rooms in his undergraduate days. Even though he plainly had no direct dealings with the "art world," of his time, he must to quite a considerable extent have become aware of contemporary trends.

The whole book has been most handsomely produced, and the copious illustrations provide by far the most comprehensive overview of Tolkien's artistic output that has ever been made available. Its price may initially seem high, but certainly seems much less so if one takes into account the complexity of the task of reproducing so many works in such a variety of media, water-colour, pen-and-ink, pencil or crayon. The authors have joined the select few who have made an essential and original contribution to Tolkien studies; their devoted work and obvious love of their subject should receive the enthusiastic response from all serious readers of Tolkien's works that they richly deserve.

John A. Ellison

Contributors

Mark Abley was born in England in 1955, he grew up in Alberta and Saskatchewan. He attended the University of Saskatchewan, then Oxford University thanks to a Rhodes Scholarship. He now writes features for Quebec's principal English-language newspaper, the *Montréal Gazette*. His previous books include *Blue Sand*, *Blue Moon* and *Beyond Forget: Rediscovering the Prairies*. He lives with his wife and two daughters in Pointe Claire, Quebec.

Anthony Appleyard lives in Manchester and works for UMIST as a computer assistant and programmer. He scuba dives. He was given a copy of *The Hobbit* in childhood, but his interest in Tolkien started properly in 1956 when he found a copy of *LOTR* in a library. Since then he has had a few articles published in Tolkien-associated periodicals. He is in the email group TolKLang.

Ian Collier lives in Oxford and is joint editor of *Mathom* and a leading light in Armari Smial.

John Ellison's interests include music (classical, romantic and early twentieth-century), some kinds of literature (but not others) and drawing and painting in watercolours.

John Flood doesn't live in a cottage in Devon with a cat called *Goldberry*. Indeed, he doesn't have a cat at all. He is an English graduate of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth and of University College, Dublin. He is currently a student of theology at Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Dublin 3, where he is a precarious candidate for the priesthood.

Charles Noad is the Tolkien Society's Bibliographer, a collector of Tolkien, and a proofreader of the *History of Middle-earth* series. His other interests include William Blake and astronautics.

Gordon Palmer is a self taught artist striving for the illustrative excellence of H.J. Ford, and still seeking that elusive 'Tolkienesque' quality he feels his work sometimes lacks. He also enjoys excursions into Middle-earth, penning the odd tale or two. Married to Val (thanks for all the photocopying!) they have a 10 year old son, James, currently intrigued by blarogs.

Pat Reynolds is a curator of Social History at Buckinghamshire County Museum and an NVQ tutor at the Bletchley Park Trust. She likes bricks and words, and is learning Italian in order to discuss Tolkien in that language.

Daniel Timmons is a doctoral candidate at the University of Toronto, Canada. His dissertation is on Tolkien's scholarship and the critical history of his books. He has forthcoming articles on Tolkien, Golding, and aspects of literary theory for *English Studies in Canada* and *The Journal for the Fantastic in the Arts*. He is presently compiling a collection of new essays on Tolkien and Literary History, which will have contributions from T.A. Shippey, Verlyn Flieger, and William Senior.

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