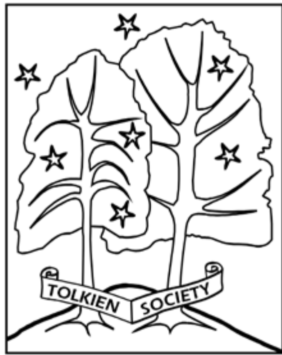
Mallorn

The Journal of the Tolkien Society

Issue 59 • Winter 2018



Mallorn

The Journal of the Tolkien Society

Issue 59 • Winter 2018

Editor: Rosalinda Haddon
Production: Michael Afford

Cover art: *Stones, slopes and a twisted knot of hills* by John Cockshaw (www.frommordortothemistymountains.com)
Back cover: *The river of long and restless roots* by John Cockshaw
Inside: Gordon Palmer: *The Maiden Nimrodel* (p. 3), *Rivendell under the Stars* (p. 65); John Cockshaw: *Farewell to the Shire* (p. 59), *The Mirror and the Golden Wood* (p. 67); G.A.Brady: *Morning Over The Ettenmoors* (p. 5), *The Great East Road* (p. 33), *The Barrow Downs - The Fog Rises* (p. 41), *The Tombs Lie Empty* (p. 42) *Hobbiton* (p. 56); Helen Burke: *untitled* (p. 10), *The Shire* (p. 25); Alexander Genov: *The Shadow of the Past* (p. 15), *A Journey in the Dark* (p. 16), *The Battle of the Pelennor Fields* (p. 49).

editorial

4 **Rosalinda Haddon** A very fond farewell…

articles

6 **Giovanni C. Costabile** Fairy marriages in Tolkien's works
14 **Lawrence Krikorian** Realism in fantasy: *The Lord of the Rings* as "history . . . feigned"
18 **Dale Nelson** The Lovecraft Circle and the Inklings: The "Mythopoeic Gift" of H. P. Lovecraft
33 **Sebastián Alejandro Freigeiro** Beryl, more than just a token?
34 **Eric A. Lynch** Tolkien's Kingdoms of the West: Founded in History
49 **Jean Chausse** The healing of Théoden or "a glimpse of the Final Victory"
52 **Nancy Bunting** Checking the Facts
57 **Nicholas J. S. Polk** A Holy Party: Holiness in The Hobbit

submissions

5 Letters to the Editor
66 Guide for Authors

poetry

64 **Kaleb Kramer** The Long Defeat
64 **Peter Beaumont** The Vow

reviews

65 **Jean Chausse** *Laughter in Middle-earth: Humor in and around the works of JRR Tolkien* edited by Thomas Honegger and Maureen F. Mann

Mallorn is the journal of The Tolkien Society. Published once a year, it considers reviews, scholarly articles, creative essays, poetry and artwork. Contact the Editor if you are interested in submitting an item for a future issue.
All enquiries and manuscripts should be sent by email to mallorn@tolkiensociety.org

The Tolkien Society is an international organisation, registered as a charity in England and Wales, dedicated to furthering interest in the life and works of Professor J.R.R. Tolkien CBE (1892–1973). Founded in 1969, Tolkien remains its President in perpetuo and his daughter, Priscilla Tolkien, became its honorary Vice President in 1986. Alongside **Mallorn**, the Society publishes the bimonthly bulletin Amon Hen. In addition to meetings of local groups (known as 'Smials'), the Tolkien Society organises several UK-based events each year: Springmoot (including the AGM and Annual Dinner) in April, the Seminar in July, and Oxonmoot in September. Visit www.tolkiensociety.org for further information.

Mallorn
ISSN 0308-6674

Copyright © 2018 by The Tolkien Society
www.tolkiensociety.org

All contributors to this volume assert their moral right to be identified as the author of their individual contributions. Each contribution remains the intellectual property of its respective author and is published by the Tolkien Society, an educational charity (number 273809) registered in England and Wales, under a non-exclusive licence.

All rights reserved by the Tozzn Society. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopy, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the copyright holder. Nor can it be circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without similar condition including this condition being imposed on a subsequent purchaser.

A very fond farewell…

Rosalinda (Ro) Haddon
Editor

Four years ago, I assumed the role of editor of *Mallorn*. It has been a grand adventure. I have had the pleasure of communicating with some incredible Tolkien scholars and writers and others who are simply passionate about J.R.R. Tolkien's thoughts and writings. Along this journey, I have discovered that interest in Tolkien is not limited by academics or professional discipline. Mythologists, astrophysicists, nurses, psychologists, philosophers, teachers, researchers and others have all found something in Tolkien's work that fascinates and speaks to them. Age is equally unimportant. I have heard from high school, middle school, and college students as well as retirees and all ages in between.

One of the things that has been so amazing to me is how many themes, motifs, and concepts, folks have found in Tolkien's stories. There have been so many interpretations of aspects of the legendarium. I found myself often wishing I could send some of these to J.R.R.T. to see what he would say about it all.

And I mustn't forget our artists and poets. The poems have been inspirational and have provided a whole other sense or picture of places and events in Middle-earth.

We have received a great deal of artwork over the years from all over the world. One of the unique aspects of *Mallorn* has been the inclusion of this art. It is appropriate and a tribute to Tolkien. Many Tolkien readers had no idea that he was such a talented artist and of how much his artwork contributed to the fullness and reality of the secondary world he created.

Most of all I have come to appreciate our readers and all the contributors to *Mallorn*, for their passion and interest in all things Tolkien. Our volunteer reviewers have been incredibly available whenever called upon. I wish to thank each one for all their efforts over the years.

It is now time for me to turn over the editorship to a new volunteer. I cannot leave the role without thanking Mike and Shaun for all their work and encouragement, and all of you for being such avid readers and contributors. I hope whoever assumes this position in the future will allow me to remain connected as a reviewer. Until a new person is named, please send all your correspondence and submissions to **mallorn@tolkiensociety.org**.

It saddens me to leave as editor, but it is time for me to begin another journey. I will miss you all. Thank you for this wonderful opportunity. It has been both a pleasure and an honor to have been editor of this magnificent Journal.

Namárië

Rosalinda (Ro) Haddon
Editor
mallorn@tolkiensociety.org

Letters to the Editor :

Dear Rosalinda,

….I have two misprints to tell you about, for the Errata you might put into the next issue. On page 35 it's Dickon not Dicken in the Secret Garden…Also on page 35 you have Albion twice instead of Alboin. Albion is an old name for Britain, and Alboin was a king of the Lombards…Finally… on page 20…the author has written Faramir of Rohan when it should read Gondor.

Jessica Yates

Dear Rosalinda,

What follows is a belated letter of comment on *Mallorn* No 58, Winter 17. A good issue in general. I greatly enjoyed the artwork, especially the superb pen-and-ink renderings by GA Brady: 'tis almost a dying art. But Mallorn No58 contains a distressing number of errors of fact. John Carswell writes "Effoliation' has to do with the removal or fall of leaves from a plant." (p 12) But "effoliation" can also mean "to open into leaf", which is probably what Tolkien meant.

And why do writers insist upon interpolating war into Tolkien's writing? "…like unto the prisoner of *war* escaping form the *enemy's* prison (*Tree and Leaf* 60)." (p12, my emphasis) -No, Tolkien writes only the "escape of the prisoner": not "war", not "enemy". And again, "The old corn-mill now makes *weapons for war.*' (p26, my emphases). Where does the writer get this information? Nowhere, not in the text not in the drafts in *The History of Middle-earth,* does Tolkien ever say what the re-purposed mill made, much less that it made "weapons of war".

As for Mabel Tolkien's being a missionary in Zanzibar: a simple check of dates should indicate that it's not true. She didn't have enough *time* to go to Zanzibar. Perhaps the idea came about because she worked for a charity which was sending materials to Zanzibar. And maybe, as Nancy Bunting suggests, she played up the idea. Sadly, the numbering on Bunting's notes seems to have become scrambled.

Again, *Mallorn* has much to recommend it. But it will be cited by scholars, so please get the facts right!

Nancy Martsch

Dear Ro,

I am thrilled to receive the new issue of *Mallorn,* which looks great.

Just one thing, though – where it says in the front "Meet our reviewer," I am referred to as "he". We are living in a time of many gender options, but I am definitely female and my preferred pronoun, as it is called, is "she/her/hers"…

Also, the Khatib Chair was a one-year appointment in 2016, ad my correct title is the one given…on page 44, "Professor Emerita of Religious Studies, St. Francis College."

Kusumita Pedersen

Dear Rosalinda,

I have just received this year's Mallorn and what a fine issue it is too, full of interesting bits and pieces, some of which I still have to digest. It was nice to discover some of my artwork among its pages, something for which I would like to say thank you for including, it was kind of you.

Gordon Palmer

Fairy marriages in Tolkien's works

GIOVANNI C. COSTABILE

Both in its Celtic and non-Celtic declinations, the motif of the fairy mistress has an ancient tradition stretching throughout different areas, ages, genres, media and cultures. Tolkien was always fascinated by the motif, and used it throughout his works, conceiving the romances of Beren and Lúthien, and Aragorn and Arwen. In this article I wish to point out some minor expressions of the same motif in Tolkien's major works, as well as to reflect on some overlooked aspects in the stories of those couples, in the light of the often neglected influence of Celtic and romance cultures on Tolkien. The reader should also be aware that I am going to reference much outdated scholarship, that being my precise intent, though, at least since this sort of background may conveniently help us in better understanding Tolkien's reading of both his theoretical and actual sources.

In *The Hobbit*, we read about Bilbo's Took ancestors:

> It was often said (in other families) that long ago one of the Took ancestors must have taken a fairy wife. That was, of course, absurd, but certainly there was still something not entirely hobbitlike about them, and once in a while members of the Took-clan would go and have adventures.[1]

It is something which Tolkien had had in mind since the very beginning of his writing the book, because in one of the very first drafts (the one John Rateliff calls the Bladorthin typescript) we read:

> It had always been said that long ago some or other of the Tooks had married into a fairy family (goblin family said severer critics); certainly there was something not entirely hobbitlike about them, and once in a while members of the Took hobbits would go and have adventures. [2]

Marriages between men and fairies were not at all uncommon in Celtic folklore, as for instance the Welsh tale known as *Llyn-y-Fan Fach* bears witness, the oldest written version of which is preserved in the British Museum.[3] In this Lady of the Lake tale, a girl who rises out of the lake agrees to marry a local young man on condition that he will not hit her three times. Of course, he does, and she disappears back into the lake. Another example is the *leannan sidhe* in Ireland, literally 'the sweetheart fairy', who offers artistic inspiration in return for love.[4]

The whole corpus of tales involving the fairy-marriage motif is classified as Thompson F302, and there is no doubt that Tolkien knew the tale in some or another version, be it an original Celtic story (Tolkien owned a private Celtic library) or some later retelling, such as the Middle English *Sir Launfal*, itself inspired by the Old French *Lanval*, one of the *Lais* of Marie de France, in which Sir Launfal meets the daughter of the King of Faerie, who bestows on him a magical source of wealth, and will visit him whenever he wants, so long as he never tells anybody about her.[5] Going further back, the nymph Calypso, who keeps Odysseus on her island Ogygia on an attempt to make him her immortal husband,[6] can be taken as a further (and older) version of the same motif.

But more pertinent is the idea of someone's ancestor being considered as having married a fairy. Here we can turn to the legend of Sir Gawain, as Jessie Weston and John R. Hulbert interpret Gawain's story in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as a late, Christianised version of what once was a fairy-mistress tale in which the hero had to prove his worth through the undertaking of the Beheading Test in order to be rewarded by the hand of the *fée* in marriage.[7]

As John R. Hulbert reports, Arthur Charles Lewis Brown summarises a fairy-mistress tale thus:

> The fée was probably always represented as supreme. She falls in love with a mortal and sends one of her maidens to invite him to her land. Several adventurers thereupon set out, but the fée appoints one of her creatures to guard the passage. Naturally, no one overcomes this opposing warrior but the destined hero, who is rewarded by the possession of the fée. [8]

The reasons for the *fée* to fall in love with a mortal usually consist in the chosen one being the bravest warrior, the most skilled poet, or, more simply, the most handsome man of all. In order to explain how this kind of tale could have turned into *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Hulbert writes, quoting Brown once more:

> In a later part of his work Professor Brown argues that the form in which fairy-mistress stories are preserved to us has been much changed by rationalizers "who have modified the original relations of the supernatural actors to make them conform to ordinary human relations. All the Celtic fairy stories, with the exception of the Echtra Condla,[9] show traces of having been influenced by a general tendency to represent the fairy folk as merely human beings living in a marvellous or distant land. Fairy relationships are interpreted after a strictly human pattern." [10]

This sort of rationalisation might also account for elements like Sir Bertilak's castle in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, possibly derived from an otherworldly palace, similarly to the Fisher King's castle, which holds the Grail in the Percival romances. It could also account for the transformation of the imperious host motif[11], who beheads those who fail his tests, into an 'innocent' and somewhat circumstantial pact between Sir Bertilak and Gawain (Sir Bertilak goes hunting every day, and when he returns he exchanges his

winnings for anything Gawain has won by staying behind at the castle). Weston summarises in similar terms (although interpreting the lord of the castle as a magician instead of an imperious host):

> *Firstly*, I think we must admit that Gawain's connection with a lady of supernatural origin is a remarkably well-attested feature of his story. *Secondly*, that between this lady, as represented in the most consecutive accounts of Gawain's adventures, and the queen of the other-world, as represented in Irish tradition, there exists so close a correspondance as to leave little doubt that they were originally one and the same character. *Thirdly*, that in these earlier stories we find, side by side with the lady, a magician, whose connection with her is obscure, but who is certainly looked upon as lord and master of the castle to which she conducts the hero, and which the latter wins. In such stories as *The Carle of Carlisle* and the *Green Knight* the character of the magician has been preserved, while the lady has lost her supernatural quality.[12]

I think that knowing, as we do, that Tolkien had most likely read Weston and Hulbert's theories while working on his and Eric Valentine Gordon's edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, it appears he was thinking about these interpretations when writing the *Hobbit* passage, and by bestowing the Gawain role upon some Took ancestor, he is suggesting that Bilbo is sort of Gawain's descendant, or even that he is virtually comparable to Gawain himself, since Gawain's original story, when compared to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, might be figuratively represented by the same Took ancestor through the latter's relation to Bilbo.

In fact, Gawain's original story is reconstructed through Philology by scholars such as Weston and Hulbert, similarly to the process through which the fairy marriage of Bilbo's Took ancestor is constructed as a hypothesis based on the perceived otherness of the members of the Took family, as well as their adventurous spirit, as observed by other Hobbits.

As far as I know, I am the first researcher to underline this point, which is not as trivial as it may possibly seem, since it represents a confirmation of the idea that Bilbo and Frodo on one hand, Gawain on the other are all expressions of a singular type of hero. Bilbo and Gawain are both outstanding representatives of Englishness (in Bilbo's case, according to Tom Shippey's interpretation of Hobbits in *The Road to Middle-earth*)[13] in their relative times, the Middle Ages for Gawain, and the Victorian age, when Tolkien was educated, for Bilbo.

Gawain was the most beloved character of the Arthurian legend in medieval England since most of the English Arthurian romances had him as their protagonist, no doubt also reflecting popular feelings of the audience besides the intention of any singular poet. William Raymond Johnson Barron wrote that the English preferred Gawain to Lancelot and the *Perceval* continuations to Chrétien de Troyes' works, because they "could not comprehend Courtly Love and preferred action to emotional analysis".[14] Velma Bourgeouis Richmond instead notes the "English regard for moral value" [15], while Phillip C. Boardman argues that the Arthurian romance itself, alongside its Quest structure, pleased a peculiarly English taste.[16]

Bilbo's home on the other end is "in fact, in everything except being underground (and in there being no servants), the home of a member of the Victorian upper-middle class of Tolkien's nineteenth-century youth" [17] and Bilbo himself "is furthermore fairly easy to place both socially and chronologically" [18]: a "bourgeois burglar" from later than the discovery of America, since he smokes a pipe, and more precisely from after 1837, since he receives letters in the morning as an Englishman could only after that date, when the postal service was introduced.

The idea of a marriage between a fairy and a hobbit is something which was going to influence *The Lord of the Rings* as well. In the first version of the first chapter, A Long-Expected Party, Tolkien wrote in Bilbo's speech at the party:

> "Lastly to make an *Announcement*." He said this very loud and everybody sat up who could. "Goodbye! I am going away after dinner. Also I am going to get married."
> He sat down. The silence was flabbergastation. It was broken only by Mr. Proudfoot, who kicked over the table; Mrs. Proudfoot choked in the middle of a drink.
>
> That's that. It merely serves to explain that Bilbo Baggins got married and had many children, because I am going to tell you a story about one of his descendants, and if you had only read his memoirs up to the date of Balin's visit – ten years at least before this birthday party – you might have been puzzled.
> As a matter of fact Bilbo disappeared silently and unnoticed – the ring was in his hand even while he made his speech – in the middle of the confused outburst of talk that followed the flabbergasted silence. He was never seen in Hobbiton again. [19]

In the same version of the same chapter, Tolkien further comments:

> The Tookishness (not of course that all Tooks ever had much of this wayward quality) had quite suddenly and uncomfortably come to life again. Also another secret – after he had blowed away his last fifty ducats on the party he had not got *any money or jewelry left*, except the ring, and the gold buttons on his waistcoat. ... Then how could he get married? He was not going to just then – he merely said "I am going to get married". I cannot quite say why. It came suddenly into his head. Also he thought it was an event that might occur in the future – if he travelled again amongst other folk, or found a more rare and more beautiful race of hobbits somewhere. Also it was a kind of explanation. Hobbits had a curious habit in their weddings. They kept it (always officially and very often actually) a deadly secret for years who they were going to marry, even when they knew. Then they suddenly went and got married and went off without an address for a week or two (or even longer). When Bilbo disappeared this was at first what neighbours thought. [20]

Bilbo's 'fortuitous' mention of his marriage prospect seems similar to a rationalisation of the call of the fairy mistress to his lover, in a fashion which cannot but remind one of the theories by Weston and Hulbert. After all, Bilbo is both the bravest warrior and the most skilled poet among hobbits. The very fact that this background served to explain the origins of the protagonist of the actual tale Tolkien was going to write suggests that Tolkien had some sort of fairy mistress-like story in store for Bilbo, even if it would have not actually involved a *fée* but only 'a strictly human [or hobbit?] pattern'.

The fact that the ring (here not the Ring yet) is mentioned in both the passages suggests not only a connection with *The Hobbit*, but the idea that the ring could be associated with marriage, as in a wedding ring, or could be passed on to further generations as inheritance.

This observation would lead us to consider Frodo's role too, as I earlier anticipated. He is not one of Bilbo's direct descendants, as he was in earlier versions (assuming I can call these other versions 'Frodo' also; in some of them he was named 'Bingo'), but his nephew. Nevertheless, he is very close to Bilbo, and they actually live together. He is in the same order of relation to Bilbo as Gawain to King Arthur, thus suggesting that he is himself a Gawain-type hero too. He has a Took side as well, he inherits the Ring and travels to Mount Doom and back again, although not very precisely back again.

Similarities between Frodo and Gawain have been much discussed. The first to present the idea was John M. Fyler in 1986.[21] Since then, Miriam Youngerman Miller, Ricky Thompson and Roger Schlobin[22] have each presented further arguments that reinforced the hypothesis. Personally I am going to follow the same path, in order to evaluate the possibility that hints of the fairy marriage motif underlie Frodo's characterization too. To be clear, I am not going to suggest (and neither did I for Bilbo) that Frodo actually marries a *fée*, but only that some idea of a fairy marriage is subtly implied through the building of his character in *The Lord of the Rings*.

In order to understand precisely how could this be, I am going to further examine the connection between King Arthur and Gawain on one hand and Frodo and Bilbo on the other. More specifically, I am going to focus on the aspects of those characters which relate to time, since the realm of Faërie is consistently portrayed in English folktales as a place endowed with a different timeline from our own, one such that travellers returning home from Faërie often find that centuries have passed while they were "away with the fairies" and everyone they knew and loved is gone.

Conceived in the *Echtra Condla* as the place where there is no death, no strife, no sin and no table-service, Faërie erases the whole of what time negatively entails, including the possibility of disagreement as well as social inequality. Thus it follows that the tales wherein the human lover joins the fairy in the Otherworld are tales of time joining timelessness for a while or, in other words, tales of time being paused, or even, as in the *Echtra Condla* stopped once and for all.

On the other hand, in the fairy-marriage tales, such as *The Lady of Gollerus* [23], wherein the fairy joins her husband in *this* world, it is possible to think of the fairy-marriage as vinculated to conditions, which may even be a clear prohibition of some sort [24], whose setting constitutes the beginning of the time-window wherein the marriage itself may last, before the count-down reaches zero when inevitably the prohibition is ignored and the conditions are therefore violated. These are then tales of timelessness joining time for a while or, in other words, tales of timelessness set in motion, usually only for a while.

Apparently the fairy-marriage of the Took ancestor would have been a tale of the second type, a tale of time paused, or stopped, while Bilbo's "draft marriage" would have been a tale of the first type, a tale of timelessness in motion. Yet this is only a temporary conclusion and we should not be hasty in categorizing these tales, because there is much more at work. Therefore, as I was saying, we should consider the way in which time relates to the above-mentioned characters, and more specifically which is their age connotation.

In her article, Miller also talks about the 'emphasis on youth' shared by *The Lord of the Rings* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. The description of Arthur as 'childgered',[25] glossed by Tolkien and Gordon as 'boyish, merry', finds its pair in the jollity of the Hobbits. She writes:

> Contrary to the frequent depiction in medieval romance of King Arthur as an aged king, a sort of impotent Hrothgar-figure existing primarily to be cuckolded by Lancelot and to be betrayed by Mordred, the Gawain-poet makes a point of describing Arthur as "sumquat childgered" (line 86), which Tolkien and Gordon gloss as "boyish," "merry," deriving the term from child + gere, "mood." "ȝonge blod and his brayn wylde" (line 89) lead him to require "some strange story or stirring adventure . . . some moving marvel that he might believe in" (p. 27) prior to engaging in holiday feasting, an expectation of adventure that the Green Knight so thoroughly fulfills at this particular Christmas banquet. The Green Knight himself generalizes from the youthful Arthur to the members of his court who are characterized by the Knight as "berdlez chylder" (line 280). This emphasis, unusual in Arthurian romance, on youth, its exuberance, its immaturity, its naiveté, and its egocentrism, turns the Green Knight's challenge into a dare (not unlike the famous swimming match between Beowulf and Breca) and Sir Gawain's acceptance of it into a rash act impulsively entered into without a mature understanding of its consequences. [26]

Obviously a reader might also get the impression that King Arthur's boyish mood acts like a sort of pre-figuration, setting the stage for the impressive appearance of the Green Knight, who is described as being 'of hyghe elde', [27] glossed by Tolkien and Gordon as 'in the prime of life'. That we are not concerned with such a case, though, was already clearly pointed out by the Gawain-poet, who described King Arthur's court as "þis fayre folk in her first age". [28]

Miller further continues by observing how similar traits are shared by the Hobbits, who are described as being

between two and four feet tall, propense to laugh "and eat, and drink, often and heartily, being fond of simple jests at all times, and of six meals a day (when they could get them)" [29] and are often mistaken for children, as Aragorn implies when he tells Eomer of Rohan that they are "small, only children to your eyes".[30] Furthermore, the Hobbits are completely unaware of the menace threatening their borders, having appointed other Hobbits as Bounders to keep them safe from dangers lurking beyond the Shire, whereas it is really Aragorn and the other Rangers who keep evil at bay. Similarly, Camelot as depicted in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is a place for music, dances, storytelling and the pleasures of the table, unprepared to confront Morgan le Fay's plots because nobody there knows how to tell serious matters from a playful entertainment.

But how could King Arthur be an inspiration for a character trait of the Hobbits? I think that the answer lies in one of Tolkien's own statements, in Letter 181, that *The Lord of the Rings* 'is planned to be "hobbito-centric", that is, primarily a study of the ennoblement (or sanctification) of the humble'. In this light, we could argue that Tolkien had seen jollity as a quality worth of ennoblement or sanctification, since it had belonged to King Arthur himself. And there are also other parallels between Hobbits and King Arthur: as Verlyn Flieger carefully noted, Frodo parallels a king-like figure when he pulls the Elven shortsword Sting out the wooden beam at Rivendell, echoing the pulling out of the Sword in the Stone.[31]

Furthermore:

> The maimed Frodo's departure oversea from Middle-earth to be healed in Valinor explicitly echoes the wounded Arthur's departure by barge to be healed in Avalon.[32]

The fact that Frodo exemplifies both Gawain and King Arthur can be read as proof of Tolkien's dislike of allegory: in an allegory, each character represents one thing, and one thing only. Tolkien's writing instead is worked out of a whole ensemble of elements, all of which, taken individually, may be read as the only true ones, but the simultaneous consideration of which, discarding allegory, provides the work with a complexity only a true genius could achieve.

If there is a character who most exemplifies King Arthur in *The Lord of the Rings*, that would no doubt be Aragorn. The orphan child raised in foster-care who growing up finds out he is the legitimate heir to a great kingdom is a clear Arthurian reminiscence, as is the theme of the sword associated with kingship, with the Sword in the Stone, Excalibur, paralleling Aragorn's sword, Narsil-Andúril. The riddle concerning the return of the king of Gondor ends with: "Renewed shall be blade that was broken, / The crownless again shall be king" [33], reflecting the Arthurian association of sword and kingship. Furthermore, in Malory's *Morte* Excalibur "was so bright in his enemies' eyes that it gave light like thirty torches", [34] when King Arthur unsheathed it during his first war,[35] similarly to Andúril "gleaming with white fire" at Helm's Deep[36] and on the Path of the Dead.[37]

But we would look to Aragorn in vain if we expected to find any reference to him being *childgered*. Even in his very young age, when he was named Estel, in fact:

> When Estel was only twenty years of age, it chanced that he returned to Rivendell after great deeds in the company of the sons of Elrond; and Elrond looked at him and was pleased, for he saw that he was fair and noble and was early come to manhood, though he would yet become greater in body and mind. That day therefore Elrond called him by his true name, and told him who he was and whose son, and he delivered to him the heirlooms of his house. [38]

The fact that he was early come to manhood, and described as fair and noble, would seem to exclude any possibility of him being 'boyish'. That, though, is only one side of the coin, and that should be immediately transparent as soon as we compare the afore-cited passage to its probable model from the *Gospel of Luke*:

> And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him. 41 Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover. 42 And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast. 43 And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and Joseph and his mother knew not *of it*. 44 But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among *their* kinsfolk and acquaintance. 45 And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him. 46 And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. 47 And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers. (...) 51 And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart. 52 And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man. [39]

The very fact that Aragorn early comes to manhood reveals not so much his coming to manhood, as the stress is instead on 'early', obviously highlighting the exceptional character of the King, but also his relation to time. Frodo, Aragorn and King Arthur have in fact all been read as figures of Jesus Christ, especially (except in Frodo's case) as Christ the King[40], and that also means they are all concerned with the relationship between eternity and time.

The very same final voyage of Arthur to Avalon is studied by Lucy Paton in her 1903 *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*.

> Celtic literature supplies a tradition which is peculiarly instructive when compared with Laȝamon's narrative, and which proves to be highly important in explaining the account of Arthur's stay with Morgain in Avalon, as well as Morgain's relation to both Arthur and Guinevere. This is the story of the summons of Cuchulinn to the other world by Fand, told in the *Serglige*

> *Conchulaind (Cuchulinn's Sick Bed)*, which is preserved in the Lebor na h-Uidre, and therefore represents material very much older than the earliest extant versions of the story of Arthur in Avalon. (...)
> The essential elements of this long story, it will be noticed, represent also those of both the Arthur-Avalon episode and the story of Arthur and the enchantress. In the former, just as two women summon Cuchulinn to the other world, whither, induced by Fand's promise of healing, he sails in a boat guided by a fairy messenger, so two fays come for Arthur, and in a magic boat convey him to the other world for the healing of his wound; there he, like Cuchulinn, dwells with a beautiful fairy queen. [41]

Here again we find the fairy mistress motif, this time attributed to Arthur. However, I do not believe that it was *this* story Tolkien was thinking of when writing of the Took ancestor's fairy wife, especially since there actually is a king who takes a fairy, or elven, maiden as his bride in *The Lord of the Rings*: Aragorn, and his wife, Arwen.

Their story, though, totally subverts the fairy-mistress tale in terms of their relation to Avalon (Aman in Tolkien's legendarium), because it portrays the very opposite of the voyage of the hero to find the fairy, when the fairy instead is the one giving up her chances to go there to embrace the mortal fate of her lover.[42] It would therefore be classified as a fairy-marriage tale of the second type.

Furthermore, Tolkien seems to be playing with the view that Arthur would be Morgan's lover. According to Marjorie Burns and Susan Carter,[43] in fact, Morgan le Fay was one of the most important sources after which the character of Galadriel, the Lady of the Golden Wood, was modeled; nonetheless it is not Galadriel who marries Aragorn, but her grand-daughter Arwen.

Also in *The Silmarillion's* first version, *The Book of Lost Tales*, the earliest of Tolkien's major Middle-earth works, a love-story between a man and an elf-maiden took place (although in the original concept they were both elves, only belonging to different elven peoples). Beren and Lúthien's tale is precisely the one which different scholars, from Dimitra Fimi to Alex Lewis and Elizabeth Currie,[44] have pointed out as the receptacle of diverse Celtic and romance strands. Even there I would say that the initial wandering of Beren, lost through the woods of Doriath, only 'by chance' to meet Lúthien dancing in a clearing, seems to be a reworking of the fairy-mistress motif, only substituting the virtual omniscience and omnipotence of the fée with the Boethian concepts of Providence and Fate, as first pointed out by Dubs,[45] consistent with the Roman Catholic faith Tolkien maintained throughout his life.

The story of *Ogier the Dane*, originally a medieval romance, was retold in a poem by William Morris in his work titled *The Earthly Paradise*, first published in 1868. The poem follows the adventures of the aforementioned Danish hero until he arrives at an island where he meets Morgan le Fay, learns he has been lured there by means of her magic because she is love with him and, reciprocating her feelings, he decides to stay on the island and live there with her happily ever after.

The description of Morgan that Morris writes is a fine piece of literary art, and quite similar to the description of Lúthien in *The Lay of Leithian*. In the two descriptions there are many overlapping phrases. Compare 'the fairest of all creatures'[46] with 'fairer than are born to men'[47]; Morgan's 'dainty feet' with Lúthien's 'her feet were light'; 'as the ... grey-blue haze ... her raiment veiled her' with 'her robe was blue as summer skies'; 'within her glorious eyes such wisdom dwelt' with 'grey as evening were her eyes'; and 'a fresh rose-wreath embraced her head' with 'in her hair / the wild roses glimmering there'.[48]

John Garth reported that Tolkien owned Volume IV of *The Earthly Paradise*,[49] which leads easily to the supposition that the writer also read the first three volumes, making it even more probable that he was influenced by Morris in his descriptions of elven characters of uncomparable beauty, like Lúthien and Arwen. I would add that, if Lúthien, as well as Galadriel, was inspired by Morgan le Fay, that would mean that Beren's wife shared with Morgan only the positive features of the Celtic *fée*, being totally lacking in a dark side, both textually and subtextually, very different from the Lady of the Golden Wood.[50] Maybe the most important couple in Tolkien's works, being also inspired by the Professor and his wife Edith, could even have managed to resist to the temptation of the Ring for their mutual love, long enough to toss it in Sammath Naur and destroy it.

Even if Morris was not the source of the description of Lúthien, Tolkien was certainly inspired by the same literary and folkloric traditions, Germanic, Celtic and Romance in a general sense, those of the fairy-mistress more specifically, as Morris was.

To sum up, we have seen how Frodo might be interpreted as a potential King Arthur who can never become a proper one, since he completely lacks the *physique du rôle*, and also because Aragorn already plays that role. Bilbo in the same way is readable as a debased, half serious, half comic version of Sir Gawain. And all these characters, King Arthur, Aragorn, Bilbo and Gawain, are either married to a fairy or related to a character who married a fairy. Frodo is also

related to characters who married fairies, but Frodo himself can be read as taking part in a fairy marriage.

If we compare the passage where Lady Bertilak offers Gawain her ring in Tolkien's translation, which by the way I think all readers of medieval romances should thank his son Christopher for having it published in 1975, to the moment when Frodo sees Galadriel's ring of waters, Nenya, we cannot but notice the similarity of the descriptions, both regarding brilliant stones, set in precious gold rings, the light of which is related to stars[51]: Lady Bertilak's ring is "of red gold fashioned / with a stone like a star standing up clear / that bore brilliant beams as bright as the sun",[52] while Nenya reflects the rays of the star Eärendil (Venus) when "its rays glanced upon a ring about her finger. It glittered like polished gold overlaid with silver light, and a white stone in it twinkled as if the Elven-star had come down to rest upon her hand.[53]

Incidentally, the Middle English word that Tolkien translates as meaning 'like a star', is the participle *starande*, which literally means 'staring, blazing', as Tolkien and Gordon report in the Glossary to their edition. This means that Tolkien's translation in this case is poetical, following a personal inspiration which also underlies *The Lord of the Rings*.

It may be objected that the exact inverse of what I am stating could be true, too: the passage in Tolkien's romance may have influenced his translation. In fact, although Christopher stated in the *Preface* of the 1975 publication that the first mention of some form of the translation was made by his father some time after 1950[54], this can provide us with nothing but a possible *terminus ad quem* for it, without any certain *post quem* later than Tolkien's schooldays at King Edward's School in the first decade of the 20th century, when he first discovered *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. I would rather say, though, that Tolkien came to conceive his Galadriel based on his reading of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* than the other way around, because of the above-mentioned elements pointing towards that direction.

And, if both rings are interpreted as playing more or less the same role, that would suggest that there are also hints towards a *liaison* between Frodo and Galadriel, which can be confirmed by Christopher Tolkien's pointing out that "there is no part of the history of Middle-earth more full of problems than the story of Galadriel and Celeborn",[55] the Elven lord who is also her husband, entailing that Galadriel's marriage represented a thematic and narrative *crux desperationis* to his father. That would be understandable if Tolkien really was thinking of Galadriel as a sort of *mediatrix* of femininity, reconciliating the opposite sides of womanhood: the Virgin Mary's virginity and benevolence, on one hand (an inspiration which can be deduced by Letters 142 and 320), and Morgan's evil plots and Lady Bertilak's aggressive display of sexuality, on the other, both inspirations being previously discussed.

Furthermore, Tolkien himself admitted in a late interview[56] that there was some sexual tension in the meeting of the Fellowship of the Ring with Galadriel. The sexual hints of the scene were studied by Daniel Timmons[57], and before that they already had been noticed by director John Boorman, who was going to have a lovemaking scene between the two characters in his never-to-be-realized *The Lord of the Rings* film in the 1970s.[58]

After all, in the same way as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is arguably all constructed on the basis of the different hues and meanings of the Middle English word "grene", which include innocence and immaturity as much as the wantonness of unrestrained lusts[59], only to be denied by chastity or sanctified through marriage, *The Lord of the Rings* similarly plays with sexual allusions in the Galadriel sequence only to subsequently destine Frodo to celibacy and Samwise to a normal Hobbit marriage with Rosie Cotton. If medieval romance could hardly and rarely stand actual fairy marriages with humans, even less so could Tolkien with Hobbits, who after all are already Halflings.

Tolkien arguably realized in his fiction some sort of a subversion of values, with Halflings, who, as I earlier proved, are childlike and therefore less than men in age, stature, strength and valour, performing deeds like slaying the Witch-King and carrying the Ring to Mordor, thus enabling its destruction to take place, whereas such deeds would have been impossible to be performed even by the best among men.

But, if fairy mistresses choose only the best among men to be their lovers, and some hobbits are at the same time better than the best men, as individuals, and less than the average, as members of their race, then logic would require the fairy mistresses to both choose them as their lovers and not choosing them as such. This observation could be the best explanation we have of the complex picture formed by the relations and meetings between hobbits and Elven ladies, comparable as a whole to the enacting of a fake marriage, a green marriage between a child and an adult woman who are playing house with each other, both for educational purposes and for sheer fun (once again likewise to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* where Gawain's pedagogical growth takes place throughout different shades of green corresponding to different instances of courtly merrymaking).

Therefore we have a Hobbit who is like a man-child hero, who will never actually become a man, supposedly married to an Elven lady who is like a wise wife-maiden, who will never age. If we compare these two descriptions, we obtain a noteworthy parallelism. This is what ultimately sets us on the right track. In fact, if the point is greenness as related to age and time, evoking the huge disproportion between time and eternity, and yet their mirroring each other in a fairy-marriage between our own world and Faërie, that surely means that both couples, the one composed of two worlds and the one composed of a Hobbit and an Elf, must be in some sense alike. About the two worlds there is no problem understanding how, their common point being they are both worlds. For the "married" couple the point instead would be that both Hobbits and Elves are, in a sense, fairies. That Hobbits descend from some forgotten creatures of English folklore has been pointed out by Shippey.[60]

Hobbits and Elves are then both the same kind. The Shire is no less a part of Faërie than Lothlórien is, both of them

being idyllic representations of an Earthly Paradise of sorts. Still, through its connection with real-world rural England of Tolkien's youth,[61] the Shire is also a part of our world, further explaining why, besides the differences in stature and maturity, the marriage cannot actually take place but only be hinted at. Their marriage cannot take place because their theoretical tale is neither a first nor a second type, not being clear who is leaving which world to live into which other.

Besides, King Arthur himself was interpreted by Walter Yeeling Evans-Wentz as a Fairy King, as he stated: "We ought, probably, to consider Arthur, like Cuchulainn, as a god incarnate in a human body for the purpose of educating the race of men; and thus, while living as a man, related definitely and, apparently, consciously to the invisible gods or fairy-folk", from whom he descends, and who constitute his court, Gawain included, "a court quite comparable to that of the Irish *Sidhe*-folk or Tuatha De Danann".[62]

To conclude, besides noticing a possible connection between William Morris' Morgan and Tolkien's Lúthien, the main point of my survey is that fairy marriages in Tolkien do not only appear in clear, self-evident forms concerning humans, as is the case with Beren's and Aragorn's, but are also hinted at in semi-visible, subtle allusions concerning Hobbits which are only understandable through an appreciation of Tolkien's study of some scholarly publications from the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, pointing towards a wider awareness of folkloric traditions and a stronger appreciation of Folklore Studies by Tolkien than was previously suspected. Tolkien's mastery is such that he knows how to create the feeling that something is there even when there expressedly is nothing, and this subtle playing with the hints and allusions to a theoretically non-existing romance finds its pair in both the fairy quality of the mistresses and the Hobbits' childlike nature, exhalting at the same time the magic and innocence and the vitality and playfulness of that greenness which, alongside many other senses and connections it finds in the Legendarium, also complies with both types of characters and may be the actual *trait d'union* between them. Furthermore, the Hobbit stress on youth and the deathlessness of the Elves point towards a difficult marriage of time and eternity the own theoretical being of which acts like a sort of constantly repeated prefiguration which cannot find its actual realization in time's course, but has to wait for the moment when the lovers will get "East of the sun, west of the moon.". [63]

Notes

1 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit* (London: Harper Collins, 2012), 13.
2 John D. Rateliff, *The History of The Hobbit. One-Volume Edition* (London: Harper Collins, 2011), 29.
3 Manuscript *BL Add*. 14912.
4 For a detailed treatment of the Irish goddesses and female fairies, see Rosalind Clark, 'Goddess, fairy mistress, and sovereignty: women of the Irish supernatural' (1985). *https://search.proquest.com/docview/303408080* accessed 25/08/2017.
5 For the fairy mistress theme in Old French literature, see Collen P. Donagher, 'Socializing the sorceress: The fairy mistress in Lanval, Le Bel Inconnu and Partonopeu de Blois', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 4 (1987), 69-90.
6 For the fairy mistress theme in Old French literature, see Collen P. Donagher, 'Socializing the sorceress: The fairy mistress in Lanval, Le Bel Inconnu and Partonopeu de Blois', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 4 (1987), 69-90.
7 Jessie Lindlay Weston, *The Legend of Sir Gawain: Studies upon its Original Scope and Significance* (London: David Nutt, 1897) and John R. Hulbert, 'Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt', *Modern Philology*, 14 (1916), 433-62, 689-730. The tale tells of a Green Knight who appears in King Arthur's court and invites the knights to undertake the Beheading Test: whoever accepts the challenge will strike the Green Knight once with his axe, on condition that the latter may return the blow in a year and a day. Sir Gawain volunteers and beheads the Green Knight with a single blow – the latter picks up his head and leaves. Sir Gawain later sets off to find the Green Chapel, and finds instead a castle belonging to Bertilak de Hautdesert, who tells him Green Chapel is less than two miles away. Before going hunting the next day Bertilak proposes a bargain: he will give Gawain whatever he catches on the condition that Gawain give him whatever he might gain while remaining in the castle. Bertilak's wife gives Gawain a kiss, then two kisses, which Gawain dutifully gives to Bertilak in return, then a girdle which protects its wearer from harm, which Gawain does not give to Bertilak. It transpires that Bertilak is the Green Knight, and Morgan le Fay was in control of everything. Gawain escapes unharmed, but keeps the girdle to remind himself of his dishonesty.
8 Arthur Charles Lewis Brown, cited in Hulbert, 'Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt', 438.
9 Hans Pieter Atze Oskamp, 'Echtra Condla', *Études Celtiques* 14 (1974), 207-228. The *Echtra Condla*, a fairy woman invites a mortal, Conle to join her in the Otherworld and gives him an apple. Conle eats nothing but this apple for a month. When the fairy woman returns, Conle jumps on to her ship made of crystal and sails away with her.
10 Arthur Charles Lewis Brown, cited in Hulbert, 'Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt', 438.
11 George Lyman Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916), 82-3.
12 Jessie Lindlay Weston, *The Legend of Sir Gawain: Studies upon its Original Scope and Significance* (London: David Nutt, 1897), 51-2. In *The Carle of Carlisle* Gawain obeys Carle's every demand, including throwing a spear at Carle's face, going to bed with his wife and his daughter, and chopping his head off, thus breaking a terrible curse that made Carle behead any guest that entered the castle and did not completely obey him.
13 Tom Shippey, *The Road to Middle-earth: How J. R. R. Tolkien Created a New Mythology*. (London: Harper Collins, rev. ed. 2005), 92.
14 William Raymond Johnson Barron, 'Arthurian Romance: Traces of an English Tradition', *English Studies* 6 (1980), 5.
15 Velma Bourgeouis Richmond, *The Popularity of Middle English Romance* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1975), 121.
16 Phillip C. Boardman, 'Middle English Arthurian Romance: The Repetition and Reputation of Gawain' in Keith Busby and Raymond H. Thompson, *Gawain: A Casebook* (New York – London: Routledge, 2006), 258.
17 Tom Shippey, *J.R.R. Tolkien Author of the Century* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), 5.
18 Tom Shippey, *J.R.R. Tolkien Author of the Century* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), 5.
19 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Return of the Shadow* (London: Harper Collins, 1988), 14-15.
20 Tolkien, *Return*, 16-17.
21 John M. Fyler, 'Freshman Composition: Epic and Romance', in Jane Chance and Miriam Youngerman Miller, *Approaches to teaching Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1986), 120-22.
22 Miriam Youngerman Miller, '"Of sum mayn meruayle, pat he my3t trawe": The Lord of the Rings and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight', *Studies in Medievalism* III, iii (1991), 345-65; Ricky L. Thompson, 'Tolkien's Word-hord Onleac', *Mythlore*, 75, 20.1 (Winter 1994), 22-34, 36-40; and Roger C. Schlobin, 'The Monsters are Talismans and Transgressions: Tolkien and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight', in George Clark and Daniel Timmons, *J.R.R. Tolkien and his literary resonances: views of Middle-earth* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 71-82.
23 Thomas Crofton Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (Glastonbury, UK: The Lost Library, 2016; 1st edition 1825), 3-20.

In *The Lady of Gollerus*, a tale from Smerwick which has parallels in the Faroe Islands and in the Shetland Islands, a beautiful *merrow*, combing her green hair on the rocks in the sunlight, is seen by a man, who falls in love with her and, in order to win her, steals her *cohuleen driuth*, 'enchanted cap', thus forcing her to marry him. They live together for a few years and have children, before eventually one day, while her husband is in Tralee, she finds the cap while cleaning the house, says goodbye to her children and returns to her underwater realm.

24 For example, this is the case in the above-cited *Llyn-y-Fan Fach*, where it is forbidden to the husband to hit her fairy-wife.
25 (SGGK 86)
26 Miller 'The Lord of the Rings and Sir Gawain and the Green Knight', 351-2.
27 SGGK 844
28 SGGK 54
29 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), I, Prol.
30 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), III, i.
31 Verlyn Flieger, *Green Suns and Faerie: Essays on J. R. R. Tolkien* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2012), 132.
32 Ibid.
33 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), I, x.
34 Thomas Malory, *Le Morte D'Arthur*, ed. Edward Strachey (London: MacMillan and Co., 1919), I, vii.
35 Thomas Malory, *Le Morte D'Arthur*, ed. Edward Strachey (London: MacMillan and Co., 1919), I, vii.
36 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), III, vii.
37 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), V, ii.
38 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), App. A, I, v.
39 *Luke* 2, 40-47; 51-52.
40 Frodo as Christ: see Joseph Pearce, 'Christ' in Michael D.C. Drout, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia: Scholarship and Critical Assessment* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 98.
Aragorn as Christ the King: see Tom Shippey, *The Road to Middle-earth: How J.R.R. Tolkien invented a mythology* (London: Harper Collins, 2005).
King Arthur as Christ the King: "Tennyson re-created *Arthur* as a *Christ-figure*", Edward Donald Kennelly, *Introduction*, xxxiv in Edward Donald Kennelly, ed., *King Arthur: A Casebook* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1996).
41 Lucy Allen Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1903), 29-30.
42 The subversion is not at all new, though. The very same tale *Llyn-y-Fan Fach* I cited earlier had the *fée* come out of the lake where she lived in some underwater realm in order to get together with the male protagonist of the tale. But of course there the idea of sharing her lover's mortal fate is totally lacking.
43 Marjorie Burns, *Perilous realms: Celtic and Norse in Tolkiens Middle-earth* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2008); Susan Carter, 'Galadriel and Morgan Le Fey: Tolkien's Redemption of the Lady of the Lacuna', *Mythlore* 97-98, 34 (Spring-Summer 2007), 71- 89.
44 Dimitra Fimi, 'Tolkiens "Celtic type of legends": Merging Traditions', *Tolkien Studies* 4, no. 1 (2007), 51-71; and Alex Lewis and Elizabeth Currie, *The epic realm of Tolkien* (Moreton-in-Marsh: ADC Publications, 2009).
45 Kathleen E. Dubs, 'Fate, and Chance: Boethian Philosophy in The Lord of the Rings', *Twentieth Century Literature* 27, 1 (Spring 1981), 34-42.
46 William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise Part II* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1896), 280.
47 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand* (London: Harper Collins, 2016), *The Lay of Leithian* I, 21-40, in *Lays* 155).
48 Tolkien, *The Lay of Leithian* III, 625-26, in *Lays* 177.
49 John Garth, *Tolkien and the Great War* (London: Harper Collins, 2003), 185.
50 Galadriel was sorely tempted by the prospect of getting the Ring from Frodo and furthermore she was the subject of rumours spread among the Rohirrim concerning her being a net-weaver and a sorcerer, see J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), II, vii and III, ii.
51 Tolkien's ideas about what stone precisely could have been lodged in Lady' Bertilak's ring could be perhaps deduced from the fact that Nenya is the Adamant Ring, implying that the stone was a diamond. Nonetheless, sapphire presents with a variety called star-stone, *zapphirum stellatum*, which is interestingly also associated to the planet Venus, for example in Dante's *Divine Comedy*: "Dolce colore d'oriental zaffiro", tr.: "Tender tint of orient sapphire" (*Purgatory* I, 14). Aphrodite/Venus was the Greek/Latin goddess of love who had strong connections with the sea, being also called Aphrogeneia, 'Seafoam-born', while Morgan le Fay, Lady Bertilak's instigator, had her name interpreted by John Rhys as Mori-gena, 'Sea-born'. On Aphrodite see Monica S. Cyrino, *Aphrodite* (New York: Routledge, 2010), while a summary of interpretations of Morgan's name is offered in Lucy Allen Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1903), 9.
52 J.R.R. Tolkien, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, with Pearl and Sir Orfeo* (London: Harper Collins, 2006), 71.
53 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), II, vii.
54 J.R.R. Tolkien, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, with Pearl and Sir Orfeo* (London: Harper Collins, 2006), v.
55 J.R.R. Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales* (London: Harper Collins, 2006), 220.
56 J.R.R. Tolkien, *Denys Gueroult interviews J. R. R. Tolkien* (1964), BBC Author Archive Collection, *http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p021jx7j*, accessed 12/08/2017.
57 Daniel Timmons, "Hobbit Sex and Sexuality in The Lord of the Rings", *Mythlore* 23 (2001), 70–79.
58 See Janet Brennan Croft, "Three Rings for Hollywood: Scripts for The Lord of the Rings by Zimmerman, Boorman and Beagle", in Leslie Stratyner and James R. Keller, *Fantasy Fiction into Films: Essays* (Jefferson: MacFarland, 2007), 7-20.
59 See John Gower, *Confessio Amantis* IV, 1491: "upon hir lustes greene"
60 Tom Shippey, 'The ancestors of the Hobbits: strange creatures in English folklore', Lembas-extra 2011, ed. Cecile van Zon (Tolkien Genootschap Unquendor), 97-106.
61 Which has even been supposed to include the 'hobbit' as a Welsh agricultural measure, see Michael Flowers, 'Hobbits?...And what may they be?', *Journal of Tolkien Research* 4, no. 1 (2017). Available at: http://scholar.valpo.edu/journaloftolkienresearch/vol4/iss1/2
Walter Yeeling Evans-Wentz, The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries (Oxford: Henry Frowde, 1911), 309, 316.
62 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings* (London: Harper Collins, 2006), VI, x.

Giovanni Carmine Costabile (MPhil, b. 1987) holds an Mphil in Philosophy from the Università della Calabria in Italy. Indipendent scholar, freelance translator, writer, and private teacher, he has published on Tolkien, War and Medieval Literature on the journal of Tolkien Studies (XIV, 2017), on Inklings Jahrbuch (34, 2017) and in the Peter Roe series of the Tolkien Society (Death and Immortality, 2017), besides for Limina Mentis in Italy (2016/2018). He presented papers at the Tolkien Seminar 2016 in Leeds, at Raduno Tolkieniano 2017 in San Marino, at Oxonmoot 2017 and at the NUME roundtable last October in Florence. As a translator he published an authorized Italian version of an essay by Verlyn Flieger on Tolkien scholar and research-partner Oronzo Cilli's webpage Tolkieniano (April 2017). His first monography, Oltre le Mura del Mondo: Immanenza e Trascendenza nelle opere di J.R.R. Tolkien, including a foreword by Fr. Guglielmo Spirito, an introduction by Fr. Alberto Quagliaroli, and the afterword by Oronzo Cilli, is forthcoming. He takes delight in writing short stories and composing poetry and songs, and he published a selection of his poems in a book titled Lingue di te (Aletti, 2017), besides being nominated 'Federician Poet' for being a finalist at the poetry contest Il Federiciano 2017 in Rocca Imperiale (Italy).

Realism in fantasy: *The Lord of the Rings* as "history . . . feigned"

LAWRENCE KRIKORIAN

When I was a graduate student in English at UCLA, 1984 to 1987, the literary criticism of Jacques Derrida, called Deconstruction, was in vogue. A complete stranger in the same PhD program, a woman, once said to my face in a hallway of Rolfe Hall, "It's all just tropes!" She meant, I fear, we can make literary text mean things other than its author's intent. And her chance commentary gives one the gist of the Derridean critical game: to undermine the novelist's, poet's or playwright's authority. Evidently Derrida's springboard was the assumption that no author knew what he or she was talking about when it came to his or her own work. In this essay upon the feigned historicity of Tolkien's LOTR, I defy such 1980s critical nonsense and pursue an answer to the question, "What did it mean for this specific author to 'feign history'?" Many readers of LOTR over the decades have confessed to me, "I know it's only fantasy fiction, but it feels more real to me than the history of our world." By "many readers" of LOTR I mean American people. Maybe they do not know U.S. history very well, or feel less connection to American history? For instance, my ancestors did not arrive in the States until after 1900, so I have less visceral connection, for example, to the American Civil War, 1861 to 1865, than some of my current neighbors do. But no, we Americans, though lacking a history as long as British history, are pretty well schooled in our country's history, involuntarily!

Regarding history, permit me to get something unpleasant over with now: readers of LOTR who feel more connection to Gondolin or Númenor or Minas Tirith than they do to their own real history; are not losers. They are not fearful little geeks and nerds who cannot make it in this world, the real world, so they do not bother with its history, choosing instead to lose themselves in fantasy books. Rather, these readers' overwhelming feeling that the history of Middle-earth is real is a highly intelligent reaction to Tolkien's inspired composition of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*.

Indeed, JRRT's "history . . . feigned" makes somewhat unnecessary mere "willing suspension of disbelief." My first *Mallorn* essay (May 2013) argued that Tolkien's making ***minor characters full- or three-dimensional characters*** was one way to make LOTR feel realistic. Another way Tolkien made LOTR feel real, not fantastic, was by feigning history. The present essay considers JRRT's ***locating the plot in "realistically 'feigned' history"*** in a fantasy novel. These are his words from the now-famous and oft-mined "Foreword to the Second Edition":

> But I cordially dislike allegory in all its manifestations, and always have done so since I grew old and wary enough to detect its presence. I much prefer history, true or feigned, with its varied applicability to the thought and experience of read-ers [italics mine]. (Tolkien, *LOTR* 50th xxiv)

One easily imagines JRRT writing this passage in his "Foreword" not only to us readers but to his friend C.S. Lewis, whose allegorical Narnia books by this time had all appeared in print. In fact, by 1965 Lewis was dead, but that would hardly stop their conversation in Tolkien's mind! "History . . . feigned"; not "allegory."

How does an author feign history?

Some of Tolkien's feigned historical brush strokes as it were, are so light, we do not notice them as such. For example, at the beginning of "The Council of Elrond", Frodo tells Gandalf:

> 'I feel ready for anything,' answered Frodo. 'But most of all I should like to go walking today and explore the valley. I should like to get into those pine-woods up there.' He pointed away far up the side of Rivendell to the north.
> 'You may have a chance later,' said Gandalf. 'But we cannot make any plans yet. There is much to hear and decide today.' (Tolkien, *LOTR* 50th 239)

There is no evidence that poor Frodo ever got to hike up "the side of Rivendell to the north." But Tolkien's inclusion of this minor plot detail—a plan of Frodo's to do some walking like Tolkien, Lewis and the other Inklings did in summer—is not merely a sign of Frodo's wishing to be relieved of the terrible responsibility of bearing the Ring, by going hiking! Tolkien's inclusion of this minor detail not only depicts Frodo as a normal sentient being; it also adds historical realism to the text. Writers of history sometimes record in their text's odd minor details. In the New International Version of the Bible, one reads:

> Seated in a window was a young man named Eutychus who was sinking into a deep sleep as Paul talked on and on. When he was sound asleep, he fell to the ground from the third story and was picked up dead. Paul went down, threw him-self on the young man and put his arms around him. "Don't be alarmed," he said. "He's alive!" Then he went upstairs again and broke bread and ate. After talking until daylight, he left. The people took the young man home alive and were greatly comforted. (Acts 20: 9-12)

The phrase "talked on and on" is very funny. And the inclusion of such a plot detail in the New Testament of the English Bible is certainly historical. Did the young man

fall both asleep and to his death out of fatigue or boredom? Would St. Paul have wanted Doctor Luke to include this detail in the account of the Acts of the Apostles because he, Paul, was proud of what happened? Odd details like this are part of history. And Tolkien's feigned historical brush stroke regarding Frodo's hiking plans is an odd, oft-forgotten detail in the plot of LOTR.

LOTR is bracketed by farmers—Maggot and Cotton. But the novel is also bracketed by history, immediate and ancient. So, Ham Gamgee holds forth in Chapter 1, "A Long-Expected Party." He recounts the immediate past regarding Bilbo; Sam's dad is speaking to Miller Sandyman and

the unnamed stranger at the The Ivy Bush, not to mention Daddy Twofoot. And the very title of "The Shadow of the Past," Chapter 2 of LOTR, was originally "Ancient History" according to Christopher Tolkien's *History of Middle-earth Vol. VI The Return of the Shadow*. Decades later at the end of LOTR how many times is Frodo told that he is about to be locked up in a tower, so he can write the tale of the Fellowship's quest, else poor old Bilbo (and the whole world) will be dreadfully disappointed? Tolkien's emphasis throughout LOTR on ***recording*** what really happened, makes us readers literally feel lucky that we have the ***true history*** of Middle-earth. Indeed, Frodo hands Sam *The Redbook of Westmarch*, one of whose prior titles crossed out was *What we did in the War of the Ring*, and turns his face from the Grey Havens to the Sea (Tolkien, *LOTR* 50th 1027).

First mention of an event or a place in feigned history can confuse readers, but subsequent reference begins to accrue the ring of authenticity. For example, the Mines of Moria are repeatedly named in *The Hobbit*. Therefore, when we get to mention of Azog and Bolg in "The Battle of Five Armies," we have heard the history of Thorin's sires Thrain and Thror in their lifelong battles with goblins (Tolkien, H 95 and 339). Clearly, ***adumbration*** is necessary to feign history. The Mines of Moria become inter-textual history, bridging The Hobbit and LOTR in "Journey in the Dark." Another form of inter-textual adumbration is Tolkien's love of ***revisiting scenes***, of rewriting them, of revision itself. One of readers' favorite examples are the inter-textual wolf attacks, one in *The Hobbit* and the next in LOTR. Whereas Tolkien stages an exciting wolf attack including Bilbo in "Out of the Frying Pan, Into the Fire," the wolf attack in LOTR, omitted from the Peter Jackson movies, takes the cake. This time Gandalf does not chuck pretty-colored flaming pine cones down on vicious Wargs. He grows to enormous height, stoops, plucks a flaming log from the Fellowship's protective campfire, and directly addresses the Hound of Sauron before setting the whole grove atop the low hill on fire.

Eyewitness accounts abound in LOTR. But many are not accounts of the immediate past. Gandalf cautions Frodo in "Shadow" that he knows so much that he cannot for time's sake and will not, for Frodo's sake, tell him everything he knows. And much of that knowledge is first-hand. Elrond is even more ancient:

> 'You remember?' said Frodo, speaking his thought aloud in his astonishment. 'But I thought that the fall of Gil-galad was a long age ago.'
> 'So, it was indeed,' answered Elrond gravely. 'But my memory reaches back even to the Elder Days. Earendil was my sire, who was born in Gondolin before its fall; and my mother was Elwing, daughter of Dior, son of Luthien of Do-riath. I have seen three ages in the West of the world, and many defeats, and many fruitless victories.
> 'I was the herald of Gil-galad and marched with his host. I was at the Battle of Dagorlad before the Black Gate of Mordor, where we had the mastery: for the Spear of Gil-galad and the Sword of Elendil, Aiglos and Narsil, none could withstand . . .'
> (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 243)

Not only the highest, like Elrond, function as living history. So, do the lowest, including Gollum. In LOTR Book IV, Gollum's "Tales out of the South" are told during his guiding Frodo and the reluctant Sam to Mordor, first during the abortive walk to the Black Gate, then the deadlier one to Shelob's Lair (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 641). He had heard of Gondor 500 years ago when Deagol yet lived as did Gollum's or Smeagol's grandmother.

Mention of Aiglos and Narsil leads us readers to a fifth way of feigning history. Frodo has the One Ring, and reluctantly displays it in "The Council of Elrond." Aragorn bears Narsil, and before "The Ring Goes South," it is re-forged into Anduril. Bilbo possesses the sword he names Sting,

which shines blue when orcs are present because it was forged in Gondolin. Aragorn asks Frodo to draw Sting on the Nine Walkers' journey. These ***objects from the distant past*** arise throughout LOTR. One such object, a Palantir, literally enables one of the strong to look into the past, so a Palantir is doubly history feigned in that it came from the past and allows one to look into the past. Marvelous, literally. At Aragorn and Arwen's wedding, Lord Elrond not only places his daughter's hand in Aragorn's; he surrenders to the King the Scepter of Annuminas (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 972). Readers learn in the Appendices that the Scepter is the most ancient "work of Men's hands" in Middle-earth (Tolkien, LOTR 50th, 1043 note 1). Ancient stone doors the protagonists often can neither initially open nor even locate at first,

abound in *The Hobbit* and LOTR: the trolls', the one into the Lonely Mountain; the Doors of Moria Gate, the smaller stone door leading off Balin's Tomb over which Gandalf and the Balrog vie, the one atop Cirith Ungol that Sam cannot open, which turns out to be no door at all.

After reading the over-one-thousand-page text of the novel, bracketed by history immediate and ancient, one is not left bereft. As Tolkien recalls in his "Foreword to the Second Edition" readers who had written to him by 1965 had one criticism of LOTR with which JRRT agreed: "the book is too short" (Tolkien, LOTR 50th, xxiii). But the door of the sub-created world is not closed after Sam returns to Rose and Elanor! The ***Appendices*** themselves contribute to the sense of true history one gets while reading LOTR. Even if one only glances at them, the Appendices offer timelines and family trees of both the high and the low, Aragorn and Sam. The Appendices also offer mini-histories of the languages of various races, from Elves to orcs. My phrase "both the high and the low" is significant: British readers were probably sick of reading kings-and-battles histories that ignore common people. Furthermore, Lewis and Tolkien shared a grand philosophical idea: the highest cannot exist without the lowest.

Intra-textual and inter-textual confirmation of the history of Middle-earth, arises often in LOTR. This method of feigning history differs from authorial adumbration in that characters within the text confirm other races or countries' history for them. Théoden tells Merry and Pippin (information given by the high to the low) that the people of Rohan in fact have knowledge of the Holbytla from 500 years ago when they were new to the Anduin, Gollum was still Smeagol, and Deagol yet lived. LOTR thus confirms the pre-history of the "Stoors" (Tolkien, LOTR 50th, 52 and 557). Gandalf first suggests that Gollum and the Hobbits are connected genetically, to Frodo's disgust, in "The Shadow of the Past." But this is confirmed by King Théoden as another "legend of Rohan" (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 499 versus 557). And the testimony of peoples more ancient than the Rohirrim, like the Pukel Men or Wild Men, confirms the history of other more-ancient peoples. Ghan-buri-Ghan tells Théoden how "Stonehouse folk" of Gondor were stronger 3,000 years ago (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 832). As written above, the Ages-old conflict of the Dwarves and the Uruks over Moria, bridges *The Hobbit* and LOTR in a deep way.

Most people who open the book LOTR comment on its ***maps***. Fans of the book consult and enjoy its maps. They lend a touch of the historical that probably derives from Tolkien and his son Christopher's having consulted maps in The Great War and its sequel. Merry tells Pippin in "The Uruk Hai":

'You seem to have been doing well, Master Took,' said Merry. 'You will get almost a chapter in old Bilbo's book, if ever I get a chance to report to him.
* * *
'I shall have to brush up my toes, if I am to get level with you. Indeed, Cousin Brandybuck is going in front now. This is where he comes in. I don't suppose you have much notion where we are; but I spent my time at Rivendell rather better. We are walking west along the Entwash. The butt-end of the Misty Mountains is in front, and Fangorn Forest.'
(Tolkien, LOTR 50th 458)

Knowledge of maps is important not only to avid readers of LOTR, but to the Fellowship's quest to save Middle-earth. Yes, much derivative fiction penned in the shadow of LOTR through the years boasts maps, but they often appear to have sprung out of nowhere, which they did. In contrast, I note the smaller, more focused maps of *The Hobbit* yielding to the comprehensive maps of Middle-earth in LOTR. Yet even

they give little detail at their eastern edges, since the cruel peoples of Harad, the Southrons, the Easterlings, the Black Númenoreans—all are better left unknown!

Readers of British literature are used to novels' epistolary conventions. Late 18th and all 19th Century novel readers enjoyed reading other people's mail, so to speak, while reading a novel. But epistolary conventions do not necessarily feign history. If one broadens the topic to ***old documents***, which include letters, we can find many, many texts within the text in LOTR. 16 years after Bilbo's party, Gandalf rode to Minas Tirith and gained access to Denethor's hoard of lore in the nick of time to find Isildur's handwritten description of the fiery writing still visible on Sauron's ring before it cooled. Only thus—by reading a 3,000-year-old paper—is Gandalf the Grey able to perform the test of putting the Ring in Frodo's little fire, verifying that it is in fact The One. And Gandalf himself commits Ring-information to writing but leaves it in Butterbur's inept hands at Bree. Gandalf's letter does and does not help. It becomes recent history by the time Butterbur remembers it! And the letter does convince Frodo to take the road with Aragorn. But Butterbur's months-long delay in delivering the letter to the Ring-bearer, nearly destroys the quest before it has begun. The fact that none except Saruman and Gandalf has ever read the Isildur account, coupled with Butterbur's not valuing Gandalf's letter enough to have it delivered, may be Tolkien's oblique comment upon most of the world's placing low value upon language committed to paper. By "placing low value" I mean our real world in 2018 doing so, not ancient people's on Earth and in Middle-earth who did not practice any writing. Some races in Middle-earth have never taken up writing, have remained committed to oral tradition: the Ents and the Rohirrim maintain oral traditions both ancient and detailed, as did the ancient Greeks.

In the documentary DVDs following Peter Jackson's movie renditions, Patrick Curry says LOTR is "profoundly pluralistic"; thus, one expects a feigned history of Middle-earth to include much on ***race relations***. And readers are not disappointed. Treebeard is puzzled by the fact that Halflings have been omitted from "the old lists" (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 464). But Treebeard calls the lists "old" and he himself is around 27,000 years old, so the lists "that I learned when I was young" must be older still (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 464). No need to recount the age-old conflict between Elves and Dwarves. Its adumbration between The Hobbit and LOTR all readers acknowledge. The conflict is adumbrated further by Legolas and Gimli, whose friendship brings a kind of reconciliation and literary closure that gets sealed when we readers learn in the Appendices that Gimli goes with his friend to Elven home where Galadriel awaits him, her lock bearer. Those who don't bother to read the Appendices miss this closure. Historic.

One common means of feigning history from 18th Century fiction Tolkien notably avoids: using a dash to "protect people's privacy by concealing their first name." So, Joseph Heller mocks Richardson, Fielding, etc. by calling the one character Major —-—de Coverly in *Catch-22*. Authors used the long dash to give their novels (nouvelles = news in French) a sense of having really happened. Heller mocks this cheap trick, and Tolkien does not bother using it at all. In "The Council of Elrond" Boromir calls Sauron "Nameless" for different reasons (Tolkien, LOTR 50th 245)!

In the "Foreword to the Second Edition," Tolkien faces the issue of historicity most directly by pointing us to LOTR Chapter 2, "The Shadow of the Past":

> The crucial chapter, 'The Shadow of the Past,' is one of the oldest parts of the tale. It was written long before the foreshadow of 1939 had yet become a threat of inevitable disaster, and from that point the story would have developed along essentially the same lines, if that disaster had been averted. Its sources are things long before in mind, or in some cases already written, and little or nothing in it was modified by the war that began in 1939 or its sequels . . .
> (Tolkien, LOTR 50th xxiv)

By contrasting the War of the Ring with World War II's coming to England, Tolkien is halting allegorists who would see "The Ring as nuclear energy" or whatever (again, Patrick Curry in the DVD documentaries, referring to Tolkien's letter on the subject of the U.S.' using atom bombs). Tolkien is also using language such as "crucial," "oldest," "long before," and using "foreshadow" as a noun, a thing, not a literary verb. Again, 'The Shadow of the Past' was originally entitled "Ancient History"—that class in school that nearly bored British and American students to their own untimely deaths in Tolkien's day: kings and battles. And strong evidence of Tolkien's genius lies in the indubitable fact that he has interested, not bored, us hundreds of millions of LOTR readers in a 1,000+ page war novel about, in the abstract, nothing but kings and battles! Even for Americans who are subconsciously and Constitutionally anti-monarchical, the passage describing Aragorn's coronation, at which Faramir gives the King's lineage at length, is very moving. Perhaps we Americans relish it because we distinguish it from the sordid history of murderous European kings; as feigned?

Works Cited

The Bible: New International Version. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1983. Print.

Tolkien, Christopher. *History of Middle-earth Volume VI, The Return of the Shadow*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1988. Print.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Annotated Hobbit 2nd Edition*. Ed. Douglas A. Anderson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002. Print.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Lord of the Rings 50th Anniversary Edition*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004. Print.

Lawrence Krikorian has taught English since 1984, studied at the Tolkien Archive in Milwaukee since 2005, but his love of LOTR reaches back even unto the First Age: junior high school!

The Lovecraft Circle and the Inklings: The "Mythopoeic Gift" of H. P. Lovecraft

DALE NELSON

1. Introduction: Could/Should Lovecraft Have Been a Mythopoeic Society Author?

In 1967, in the midst of the Hobbit Craze, the late Glen Goodknight founded the Mythopoeic Society in southern California. Bulletins began to appear in 1968, and the Society's journal, *Mythlore*, was first published in January 1969.

Anyone who knows of the Society will associate it with Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, C. S. Lewis's Narnian books, and the genre of high fantasy. One might also recognize the Society's interest in the mystical thrillers of Charles Williams, such as *The Greater Trumps*, *The Place of the Lion*, and *All Hallows' Eve*. The three authors were the outstanding members of the Inklings, an Oxford group whose participants met in pubs and college rooms to critique their works in progress, swallow pints of draft beer, and talk uproariously. Tolkien's dedication of the first edition of *The Lord of the Rings* included his fellow Inklings.

Early Mythopoeic Society 'zines featured plenty of Inklings-related commentary and also art, including drawings by fan favorites Tim Kirk and George Barr. In the first issue of *Mythlore* and the February 1969 *Bulletin*, Goodknight solicited articles on the three Inklings and kindred authors such as George MacDonald and G. K. Chesterton – and, surprisingly, H. P. Lovecraft.

Lovecraft! As a dyed-in-the-wool racist, indefatigable atheist, and philosophical materialist writer of pulp horror stories, he was an odd addition to a list emphasizing the Christian Inklings and kindred spirits. And, in fact, so far as I have noticed, no article on Lovecraft has appeared in a Mythopoeic Society 'zine, unless perhaps there were, say, a brief report on *The Dream-Quest of Unknown Kadath*[1] in one of the Society branch reports that used to appear in *Mythprint*.

Goodknight, rightly in my opinion, didn't invite people to contribute articles on Lovecraft's epistolary-circle friends Robert E. Howard and Clark Ashton Smith to Mythopoeic Society publications. For one thing, there was already a well-established fanzine devoted to sword and sorcery fiction, *Amra*. Although Barr and Kirk contributed art to *Amra* as well as to the Mythopoeic Society 'zines, one wouldn't have expected in *Amra* to see articles on hobbits, the Istari, the Ringwraiths, the Stone of Solomon, Marcellus Victorinus, Simon the Clerk, Meldilorn, Tinidril, and Puddleglum; and no more should one have expected articles in *Mythlore* on King Kull, Crom, Solomon Kane, Maal Dweb, Satampra Zeiros, and Namirrha. Howard's pulp adventures of Conan the barbarian don't qualify as mythic just because they contain gods, dragons, and magicians. As for Smith -- he wrote stories in the Howard vein but with the swordsmanship toned down and the weird morbidness cranked way up.

However, it seems that Lewis and perhaps Tolkien read Lovecraft and that his work left its mark. Perhaps Goodknight's inclusion of Lovecraft made sense. I'll come back to that possibility.

2. The Inklings and the Lovecraft Circle: Any Connections?

Tolkien, Lewis, and Williams and their friends met in person sometimes two or more times a week at the height of the Inklings. Except for his New York City sojourn, Lovecraft lived in Providence, occasionally making bus trips and seeing cronies along the way, but relying on an immense correspondence for most of the contact between himself and members of his circle. I won't attempt to say precisely who was in and who was not in Lovecraft's "circle," but will mention just three of his fellow authors: Howard, Smith, and Donald Wandrei.

Devotees of fantastic fiction have wondered if the Inklings knew the work of the Lovecraft circle, and vice versa. Several points of likely or certain awareness may be summarized as follows:

[1] By sometime late in his life, Clark Ashton Smith, short story writer, poet, and artist, had read *The Hobbit* and some of *The Fellowship of the Ring*, according to a posting by "calonlan" on 30 Nov. 2011, in an Eldritch Dark discussion thread. "Calonlan" appears to have known CAS personally.

[2] Lovecraft himself had read more than one of Charles Williams's spiritual thrillers. Their orthodoxy spoiled them for HPL. He wrote:

> Essentially, they are not horror literature at all, but philosophical allegory in fictional form. Direct reproduction of the texture of life & the substance of moods is not the author's object. He is trying to illustrate human nature through symbols & turns of idea which possess significance for those taking a traditional or orthodox view of man's cosmic bearings. There is no true attempt to express the indefinable feelings experienced by man in confronting the unknown . . . To get a full-sized kick from this stuff one must take seriously the orthodox view of cosmic organisation -- which is rather impossible today. (as quoted in S. T. Joshi, *I Am*

Providence, page 878; I'm indebted to a 21 April 2016 posting by John Rateliff on his Sacnoth's Scriptorium blog for this reference)

Lovecraft could not have read *Descent into Hell* and *All Hallows' Eve*, which contain perhaps the most "Lovecraftian" sequences in Williams's seven novels.

[3] Lewis almost certainly not only read, but was influenced by, a story by Lovecraft correspondent and Arkham House co-founder Donald Wandrei. On one of the last pages in his short novel *The Great Divorce*, Lewis acknowledges his indebtedness to an American science fiction story, the title and author of which he has forgotten. This appears to be "Colossus," which appeared in the January 1934 issue of *Astounding*. Wandrei's story plays with the idea of our universe being of subatomic tininess as compared to a super-universe; the hero journeys from the one to the other. Lewis's novel involves a bus trip from hell to heaven. In the fiction, "'All Hell is smaller than one pebble of your earthly world; but it is smaller than one atom of this world, the Real World.'"

[4] Tolkien evidently read a 1963 paperback anthology called *Swords and Sorcery*, edited by L. Sprague de Camp, who gave him a copy. The anthology contains Lovecraft's tale in the manner of Lord Dunsany, "The Doom That Came to Sarnath," Smith's "The Testament of Athammaus," and Howard's Conan story "Shadows in the Moonlight." According to de Camp, who visited Tolkien in 1967, Tolkien liked the Conan story. Tolkien's own copy of de Camp's anthology was offered for bids on ebay a few years ago. *http://www.tolkienlibrary.com/tolkien-book-store/000971.htm*

[5] It is reasonably likely that Lewis read Lovecraft's *At the Mountains of Madness* and "The Shadow Out of Time" in *Astounding*. His reading of American pulp magazines is certain. Below, I'll say something about possible influence of Mountains on Lewis's *Out of the Silent Planet* and of "Shadow" on Lewis's *Dark Tower* fragment.

All that doesn't come to a *lot*, but it's more than might have been expected.

Inklings-Lovecraft circle awareness didn't get a good chance really to develop. Robert E. Howard killed himself before the Inklings had produced very much writing. He died in 1936; *The Hobbit* was published in 1937, and Lewis's *Out of the Silent Planet* was published the following year. Lovecraft died in 1937. Smith died in 1961, but it seems that his career as a writer of fantastic fiction had concluded about the same time as the deaths of Howard and Lovecraft. Williams died unexpectedly following surgery in 1945; Lewis died in 1963; and Tolkien died ten years later.

3. Literary Influences: Any in Common?

Tolkien and Lewis on the one hand, and Lovecraft, Howard, and Smith on the other, probably shared an interest in the ersatz myth-making of Lord Dunsany. (Dunsany, in turn, was, I believe, influenced by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. I suspect that Dunsany's dream-worlds came out of the "deep romantic chasm" of Coleridge's "Kubla Khan." Rather than attempting any longer argument here, I will simply invite the reader to undertake a thought experiment. Suppose "Kubla Khan" were unknown till now, and was published as a newly-discovered work by Lord Dunsany. I think you'll agree that it's very "Dunsanian" – though Dunsanian *avant le lettre*, as it happens, and better than Dunsany.)

Dunsany seems very important to the American authors but not to the British ones. His cynical outlook would appeal to the Lovecraft circle, not to the Inklings. I see Dunsany as an "anti-Tolkien" because Dunsany flaunts the unreality of his dream-worlds. "The Distressing Tale of Thangobrind the Jeweller, and of the Doom That Befell Him," ends, "And the only daughter of the Merchant Prince felt so little gratitude for this deliverance that she took to respectability of a militant kind, and became aggressively dull, and called her home the English Riviera, and had platitudes worked in worsted upon her tea-cosy, and in the end never died, but passed away at her residence." Admittedly, this is an extreme example. (*Mythlore* published two articles on Dunsany in its first 102 issues.)

I have little doubt that all six authors read stories by Algernon Blackwood. Certainly Lewis, Tolkien, and Lovecraft did. Tolkien mentions Blackwood in his "Guide to the Names in *The Lord of the Rings*" (in Jared Lobdell's *A Tolkien Compass*, first edition). In youth, Lewis wrote enthusiastically to Arthur Greeves about Blackwood's *John Silence*, which contains "Ancient Sorceries," mentioned below. Lovecraft praises Blackwood in his survey, *Supernatural Horror in Literature*.

Whether Blackwood influenced any of these authors other than Lovecraft is another question. I have argued for the possibility, for example, that Tolkien's screeching Nazgûl owe something to Blackwood's "The Wendigo." Blackwood's "The Willows" is perhaps the story Lovecraft would most have liked to have written in all the genre of weird fiction: "Here art and restraint in narrative reach their very highest development, and an impression of lasting poignancy is produced without a single strained passage or a single false note." The strange creature glimpsed in the tumbling Vermont flood waters of "The Whisperer in Darkness" may remind readers of something glimpsed in the swollen Danube of "The Willows."

Lewis esteemed William Hope Hodgson's The House on the Borderland and Lovecraft praised it and other works by Hodgson, whose "cosmicism" was probably an important influence on him.

Lovecraft and Tolkien esteemed M. R. James's *Ghost Stories of an Antiquary*. For attestation, see Lovecraft's survey Supernatural Horror in Literature and the Extended Edition of Tolkien's *On Fairy-Stories*. There's a strong element of antiquarianism in many of Lovecraft's stories, and the citation of rare occult volumes by Lovecraft probably derives from James, although Lovecraft's grimoires were apt to be invented and James's were sometimes real. I have argued that Tolkien's conception of Gollum may owe something to James's haunter in "Canon Alberic's Scrap-book" (and to the

accompanying drawing by James McBryde).

In *Mythlore* #1 (Jan. 1969), Glen Goodknight mentioned Arthur Machen as an author who might be of interest to Mythopoeic Society readers, and Lee Speth eventually wrote about him in a couple of issues of *Mythlore*.

Machen is best known for a few classic weird horror novellas. David Llewellyn Dodds has prepared a so-far-unpublished edition of the early manuscript commonplace book (Bodleian MS. Eng. e. 2012) kept by Charles Williams with interactive contributions by his friend, Fred Page. An entry (p. 124) citing Machen's horror novella "The Great God Pan" opens up the possibility that Williams entertained the idea of treating Merlin as being the offspring of Pan. It may be mentioned that Machen and Blackwood were involved with Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn for a time, and Williams may have been a member too. (The evidence is not certain; see Grevel Lindop's biography, *The Third Inkling*, page 66.) Of the authors mentioned in this paper, Machen, Blackwood, and Williams were (if only for a time) the most interested in organizations devoted to the occult. Machen's beautiful Grail story, "The Great Return," prefigures some of the exalted passages in Williams's fiction, such as the Mass in *War in Heaven*.

Lovecraft and Howard knew Machen's early horror fiction well enough to seek to imitate it: Lovecraft's "Dunwich Horror" is heavily indebted to "The Great God Pan," which it mentions, and Howard's repulsive "Black Stone" seems to owe a lot to Machen's "Shining Pyramid." It's likely Smith had read Machen, but I don't suppose Tolkien had read the Welsh-born author. The 1969 catalogue of Lewis's library includes Machen's novel *The Secret Glory*, which awkwardly combines the Holy Grail and a bitter satire of English public schools. The catalogue includes books that, I'm sure, had been Joy Gresham Lewis's books; it is possible that CSL never looked at it.

H. Rider Haggard may be the author most worthy of exploring by readers who are interested in a literary predecessor who was really important for the Lovecraft circle and the Inklings.

Tolkien, who seems usually cagey about influences, admitted to the importance, for his own writing, of the Sherd of Amenartas in Haggard's *She* as an intriguing device that gets the adventures started. From Haggard and, probably, Haggard's imitators, and from Jack London, Robert E. Howard would have derived the notion of modern-day protagonists connecting via "racial memory" with heroes inhabiting ancient realms of adventure (cf. Howard's "Valley of the Worm," etc.).

Lewis seems to have read all the Haggard romances he could get his hands on, and is surely recalling *She* in his Victorian-era Narnian tale, *The Magician's Nephew*, when he imagines the formidable beauty Jadis creating havoc in London. I will draw upon his provocative review of a biography of Haggard below. Haggard gets name-checked by Charles Williams when Roger Ingram salutes Inkamasi, chief of the Zulus, in *Shadows of Ecstasy* (Chapter 4). Lovecraft saluted Haggard's *She* as "really remarkably good" in his *Supernatural Horror in Literature*.

Other predecessors were important to the one group and not to the other. For Tolkien and Lewis: William Morris and George MacDonald. For Lovecraft, Howard, and Smith: Poe.

4. Might Lovecraft Have Influenced Lewis and Tolkien?

Lewis almost certainly read Wandrei's "Colossus" in the January 1934 *Astounding Stories* and may have been an habitual reader of the magazine by then or soon afterwards.

It is entirely possible that Lewis read *At the Mountains of Madness*, which was serialized in the February, March, and April 1936 issues. Where Haggard wrote "lost race" novels about ancient civilizations surviving in remote regions of today's world, Lovecraft, here, sends a Miskatonic University expedition to the most remote region of the earth, there to find living vestiges of a civilization predating the appearance of mankind.

Mountains devotes many pages to the expounding of earth's distant past as decoded by Dyer and Danforth, who peruse wall art created by the non-human Old Ones. The art reveals who the Old Ones were, namely ancient scientists from other worlds, who were responsible for the origin of life on earth. John Garth has argued that Lewis began to write *Out of the Silent Planet* in May or June 1937 (*https://johngarth.wordpress.com/2017/03/31/when-tolkien-reinvented-atlantis-and-lewis-went-to-mars/*), and readers may remember how, on a beautiful and ancient Martian island, Ransom puzzles out the primordial history of the solar system by examining carvings. These carvings exhibit the truth of the Christian story of the war in heaven in which Satan was cast out. Writers of adventurous romances such as Haggard could use wall art as a device for hinting at the history of the distant past, but Lovecraft and Lewis use this idea specifically for the depiction of the most antique origins.

There's another incident in Lovecraft's *Mountains* that may have contributed to the first novel of Lewis's space trilogy. Readers of the latter may remember the moment when Ransom, who has sojourned for some weeks among the Malacandrians, sees human beings again, and for a brief moment beholds them through Martian eyes (Chapter 19). In *Mountains*, the narrator comes to the point of imaginatively identifying with a small group of Old Ones – revived after a sleep of many millions of years, and attacked by dogs (which hadn't evolved, yet back in their time), and confronted by human beings for the first time: "frantically barking quadrupeds," "frantic white simians with the queer wrappings and paraphernalia." Of course, just as the carvings that reveal the past may derive from Rider Haggard, the bizarre effect of seeing humans through other creatures' eyes may derive from Gulliver's Fourth Voyage, when the narrator, after his happy sojourn among the Houyhnhnms, sees himself and other humans as ugly Yahoos. And, of course, not every literary effect derives from an earlier one.

In any event, it's true that Lewis never names Lovecraft,

but rather Lindsay, Wells, and Stapledon as spurring his turn to writing science fiction; still, such parallels remain striking.

As does the difference in execution. Lewis integrates Ransom's learning of the truth more deftly into the story, while some readers have probably found the many pages about the history of the Old Ones to be tedious. Lovecraft keeps inserting little promises into the narration to assure the reader that frightening events are yet to be related. It is clumsy, but many readers are willing to go along and enjoy those pages for their own sake.

There's a great deal of affinity between Lovecraft and Lewis, though, in that they were writing highly imaginative, and also very literate, romances marked by their beliefs but also notably by their reading. In *Mountains*, the echoes of Coleridge ("Kubla Khan") and Poe (*Arthur Gordon Pym*) accumulate, while *Silent Planet* draws on Milton (*Comus*) and Wells.

What about Lovecraft's other story to be published in *Astounding*, "The Shadow Out of Time"? Perhaps Lewis read that one too, in the June 1936 issue, and if he did, it seems likely that it left marks on his unfinished science fiction novel *The Dark Tower*, which was probably started soon after Lewis wrote *Out of the Silent Planet*.

Lovecraft seems to have aspired, in his last years, to write stories that transcended horror fiction, even if they were meant to have horrifying finales; he hoped to evoke awe and wonder. This is especially true of "The Shadow Out of Time." Conversely, Lewis was writing, in *The Dark Tower*, a story with strong horror elements. We might expect that "The Shadow Out of Time" and *The Dark Tower* would be the stories in which each author was closest to the other, and I think that is what we do find.

In both stories, the framework includes the possibility of explanation of anomalous memories and dreams. In both, a vaguely-described device effects a transference of consciousness from our contemporary time to another time. There, the contemporary man's mind inhabits a body differing in degree (*Dark Tower*) or utterly in kind ("Shadow") from his rightful body. This character consults the vast resources of a library seeing information about the place and time in which he finds himself, and learns about dreadful possibilities there. It appears from the *Dark Tower* fragment, and is certainly true in "The Shadow Out of Time," that a threat to our own world is revealed as possible. Unusually for Lovecraft, there's even an element in this story relating to one human being's faithfulness to another (a son's loyalty to his father), while Lewis's story was going to develop Scudamour's love for a worthy woman.

Differences between the stories become pronounced. Lovecraft's narrator has little to do in the remote time to which his consciousness has come but to write, read, and look around. Lovecraft trusts mostly to the innate interest of his "world-building" and his description of exotic scenes to keep the reader paying attention to the many paragraphs preceding the final "shock" (when Peaslee, in our time, finds in an Australian ruin a manuscript written millions of years ago in his own handwriting; it's not a shock because the reader has known all along that Peaslee's dreams and memories of his mental sojourn in the distant past were genuine). The disquisition on the Great Race's culture will seem to some readers to belong in an appendix. I think it is justifiable given the story's supposed nature as a testimony of actual experiences.

In contrast, *The Dark Tower* seemed to have been weaving the narrative and the expository material together more smoothly. We're given brisk, if frightening, accounts of the strange goings-on in the Othertime for several pages. Then comes calamity, with a sudden and unplanned swapping of minds between the two times. As soon as Lewis gets Scudamour into the Othertime, the young man finds himself embodied as a Stingingman who is on the verge of stabbing the woman who is the counterpart of Scudamour's fiancée in our world, and Scudamour must act quick-wittedly as his Othertime attendant informs him of a crisis occurring right then, with an attack by White Riders. In fact, Lewis is more like a "pulp writer" than Lovecraft at this point!

Lovecraft's agenda in *Mountains* and "The Shadow Out of Time" includes a depreciation of what he regarded as conventional morality. The narrator in the Antarctic story comes to appreciate that, despite their exotic biology, the Old Ones "were men." That is, they were rational creatures (what the Martians call *hnau* in *Out of the Silent Planet*), actuated by scientific pursuits, but also creators of slaves that are controlled by hypnosis; while the Great Race creatures cull "defectives" and practice "fascistic socialism." Contrary-wise, the morality in *Tower* is Christian, evident in the abhorrence with which the good characters regard the Othertime's Nazi-like use of human beings as subjects for medical experimentation and their conditioning as slaves of the state without wills of their own.

Although Lewis and Tolkien didn't set themselves to write methodical retellings of Christian doctrine and the Bible in the modes of science fiction and fantasy, they wrote from deeply Christian imaginations, and this fact is abundantly evident in various ways in their fiction. For example, in *The Lord of the Rings* Aragorn is an ancient *type* of Christ the Savior; in *That Hideous Strength* corrupt human beings try to raise a new "Tower of Babel."

I don't think that Lovecraft set himself to write a body of stories that systematically mocked and parodied Christianity, but it's reasonable to consider *At the Mountains of Madness* as a discovery of the genesis of mankind that flouts the First Book of Moses, with mankind being evolved from ancestors that were created by the Old Ones; or to consider "the Dunwich Horror" as a parody of the Incarnation; or to consider the various occult books of the Mythos, such as the *Necronomicon*, as parodies of the Bible, with revelations around which cults form, and which hint at eschatological calamities due when the stars are right again. Lovecraft also employed occasion, incidental references to the Bible, as when, in "The Colour Out of Space," the weird lights that appear on the tips of tree-branches are likened to the tongues of fire that rested on the heads of the apostles at Pentecost.

What about Tolkien, by the way – did he write anything along late-Lovecraftian lines? Yes indeed: the unfinished *Notion Club Papers*. Here we have a group of male scholars gathering for cultivated conversation, notably about the possibility of time- and space-travel; one scholar theorizes that it might be possible to become "attuned" to a meteorite and become psychically aware of alien worlds, not just in our solar system but beyond. One could easily imagine Lovecraft writing a story developed from just such an idea.

As with Lovecraft's "Shadow," the reality of dream-glimpses is basic to the developing story. Notion Club scholars begin to correlate their dreams and nightmares, which, it transpires, are putting some of them into contact with a primordial catastrophe on Earth involving transgressive contact with a superhuman entity called Zigūr. They study fragments of an archaic language that provides hints of a disaster that happened before the sinking of Númenor/ Atlantis – and that bursts violently into the modern world of the scholars, unleashing destructive winds that, for most meteorologists, are inexplicable. One recalls the terrible wind-forces that Peaslee fears will emerge from the ancient Australian ruins, in "The Shadow Out of Time."

I don't know if Tolkien read Lovecraft's story. It isn't very fanciful to hypothesize that Lewis owned that issue of *Astounding* and passed it on to his friend. Lovecraft would have agreed fervently with Tolkien's remark, in "On Fairy-Stories," that a story may address the hunger "to survey the depths of space and time" and the wish "to hold communion with other living things." The former desire is one of the main things in Lovecraft's mature fiction, and he put his own spin on the latter in "The Shadow Out of Time," by imagining the members of the Great Race as sending out psychic feelers in order to connect with rational beings of other species. Lovecraft didn't believe in the Creator, but he would have had some respect for Tolkien's notion of the literary artist as "sub-creator," since, like Tolkien, he was at pains to produce a sense of the reality of his "secondary worlds."

I think that, when Lovecraft began to write stories that have become identified as "Cthulhu Mythos" stories, he improvised books, entities, etc. in a fairly *ad hoc* and tongue-in-cheek manner, but became preoccupied by the possibilities of a corpus of *lore* as he wrote the two stories that this paper has discussed at most length. "The Shadow Out of Time" is certainly a sequel to *At the Mountains of Madness*, and, conservatively, it would be easy also to integrate material from "The Whisperer in Darkness" into a scheme of Lovecraftian cosmic lore.

If the editor of *Astounding* had pressed Lovecraft for more novellas and novels, Lovecraft would, I believe, have been likely to have deliberately elaborated and explored a sort of "Cthulhu Legendarium" – grandiose science fiction in which Cthulhu himself might have had little to do. Certainly a fascination with imagined *lore* emerges late in Lovecraft's career. Had Lovecraft lived for several more decades, might he even have run into something like the perplexities of Tolkien, as regards reconciling the "facts" published so far and proposing new ones? We know from *The History of Middle-earth* that Tolkien eventually worried about the Orcs: how could they be a rational but irredeemable species? Similarly, Lovecraft might have become uneasy about the consciousness-transference aspect of his late fiction; is it possible to square that with strict materialism?

However, as things were it was easier to write another horror story for *Weird Tales* rather than to write a further story with long stretches of lore. "The Dreams in the Witch-House" and "The Haunter of the Dark" may be better written than some of Lovecraft's earlier fiction, but they seem to add little to Lovecraft's achievement. I'm reminded of Lewis's remark, in "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard," that *Ayesha*, the long-delayed sequel to *She*, is better written but lacking in mythopoeic power as compared to the earlier book.

5. What About Lovecraft's Literary Deficiencies?

At this point, having contended for Lovecraft as something of a peer of Lewis and Tolkien, I should emphasize that, in important respects, this isn't the case. Lewis's *Experiment in Criticism* helps us to see why Lovecraft may often fairly be considered a bad writer. The *Experiment* also helps to explain his work's appeal to readers who know, and love, works of high literary quality.

Everyone who cares about literature should read Lewis's book. He asks us to start, not from the idea of good or bad books, but with reading. What are the characteristics of good reading, and what are those of bad?

Bad reading desires the same old thing and yet insists upon superficial novelty (hence, a bad reader prizes formulaic fiction but promptly puts aside a book upon remembering that he or she has already read it); it uses literature to as a means to pass the time for want of something better to do, and may use literature to get a train of ego-pleasing fantasies started; it is inattentive to words. The corollary is that those who habitually read badly will be put off by good writing, which invites, requires, and rewards attention.

Lovecraft has often been characterized as a bad writer. One might amuse oneself by critiquing a number of Lovecraft's relatively earlier efforts. Rather, let's take what is probably his best story, "The Colour Out of Space." In this story Lovecraft exercises a grave and effective style, but, to consider just one sentence, he slips here: "It was a monstrous constellation of unnatural light, *like a glutted swarm of corpse-fed fireflies dancing hellish sarabands over an accursed marsh*" (my italics). Here the simile runs away with the story, *weakening* the description of the eerie light pouring from a well because the figurative expression is so distracting. It is tactless to compare a real frightening and bizarre thing to a hypothetical frightening and bizarre thing. And it will be seen that one should *not* read this sentence attentively. If one does really pay attention to what it says, one may reflect that fireflies don't eat flesh. It is awkward to refer figuratively to an "accursed marsh" given that a literal well and a reservoir are so important to the story's plot.

Lovecraft has the bad habit of using an intense rhetoric

too soon. In another of his best efforts, *At the Mountains of Madness*, his narrator describes his first sight of the tremendous range: "In the whole spectacle there was a persistent, pervasive hint of stupendous secrecy and potential revelation; as if these stark, nightmare spires marked the pylons of a frightful gateway into forbidden spheres of dream, and complex gulfs of remote time, space, and ultradimensionality." He's over-egging the pudding, as far as that early point in the story in concerned, since so much more has yet to happen; and it's clumsy for him to use the simile about the mountains appearing "as if" they were a gateway into "gulfs of remote time, space, and ultradimensionality," since that's apparently what they more or less turn out to be (Chapter 3, Chapter 12).

Lovecraft also practices a kind of cod-portentousness through a certain overuse of *that* and *those*, which he probably picked up from reading so much pulp fiction. Here are some examples from early in the next chapter of *Mountains*: "that daemon mountain wind must have been enough to drive any man mad," "the hatred of the [explorers' dogs] for those hellish Archaean organisms," "One had to be careful of one's imagination in the lee of those overshadowing mountains of madness," "When we came on that terrible shelter," etc.

And so on. Badness in Lovecraft's fiction may also include inept handling of plot, including supposed "surprise" endings and recycling of situations, and so on. "The Whisperer in Darkness," for example, one of the key Cthulhu Mythos tales, compromises its resourceful use of local color and intriguing recent news (the discovery of Pluto), its uncanny atmosphere and imaginative vistas, with a noticeable prolongation of the final episode that relies on a rather stupid narrator and a disguise that is likely to be obvious to the reader, but, unconvincingly, not to the man on the spot. In *Mountains* Lovecraft awkwardly combines pedantic exposition of the Old Ones' civilization, including conclusions about motives and the like that could hardly have been conveyed by pictorial carvings, with reticences and hints.

Lovecraft didn't finish high school, and his writings occasionally betray the vicissitudes of the autodidact – sometimes extensive learned material that reflects his self-selected studies combines with sketchy or erroneous background. Thus, in *Mountains*, it seems he has got up a lot about geological periods, but may betray a weak grasp of how petrifaction works or the inevitable consequences of aeolian erosion. The narrator and his companion flee over the mountains in an airplane with the windows open, i.e. not a pressurized cabin, at high elevation, and experience nothing worse than cold and racket. When they land, at first Lovecraft remembers to say that they suffer from the rarefied air of a high altitude, but he seems to forget all about this for many pages, and has the two running for their lives eventually. Dyer and Danforth learn that he Old Ones flew to earth from interstellar space by *the beating of their wings*. When Robert E. Howard wrote of the elephant-headed folk, in the Conan story "The Tower of the Elephant," thus flying through space, perhaps he didn't realize the impossibility; but Lovecraft?

6. Does Lovecraft's Mature Cthulhu Mythos Fiction Partake of Lewis's "Mythopoeic"?

If Lovecraft's Cthulhu Mythos fiction conforms to criteria adduced by C. S. Lewis as qualities of mythopoeia, that might help to show why some readers return to it despite defects that no amount of special pleading can completely excuse. This paper will turn to that task in a moment.

By "Lovecraft's mature Cthulhu Mythos" fiction is meant "The Shadow Over Innsmouth," "The Whisperer in Darkness," *At the Mountains of Madness*, and "The Shadow Out of Time." This is a very short list compared to what many Lovecraft fans would offer for "the Cthulhu Mythos." They would probably add "The Call of Cthulhu," "The Dunwich Horror," "The Dreams in the Witch House," "The Thing on the Doorstep," "The Haunter of the Dark," and perhaps others, as stories that are deliberately related to one another through Lovecraft's use of common references and concepts. The "Mythos" elements in these, however, seem more incidental, or the story to lack gravity, as compared to the ones I have selected. Someone new to Lovecraft who reads the four I have cited and wants to read more will probably enjoy these other stories without feeling that they add much to the lore of the Mythos, and probably will feel that they are relatively conventional horror stories by comparison. Perhaps there is more "Mythos" in "The Mound," conventionally regarded as a collaboration between Lovecraft and Zealia Bishop. The detestable subterranean K'nyan civilization wallows in slavery, cruelty, mutilation, etc., so this story is more gruesome than the four stories I've chosen.

I've ignored Lovecraft's "Dream-World" stories such as *The Dream-Quest of Unknown Kadath* and relatively conventional horror stories such as "The Picture in the House" (which Dickens's Fat Boy – "'I wants to make your flesh creep'" -- in *Pickwick* should have related), the Ambrose Biercesque "In the Vault," the Poesque "Cool Air," and the Satanist *Case of Charles Dexter Ward*.

Although the term "Cthulhu Mythos" has become widely used, it isn't Lovecraft's coinage, and readers should not assume that he took pains to make everything consistent as between every story that mentions Cthulhu, the *Necronomicon*, etc. However, the details in the four late stories I've focused on are probably consistent. Lovecraft seems originally to have had two motives in repeating names of places, forbidden books, entities, and persons in his stories: to provide a (bogus) sense of "lore," and to amuse himself and his writer-friends in a playful in-group way, a little as Lewis did, not to his friend's liking, when he alluded to Tolkien's "Numinor" in one of the Ransom books, *That Hideous Strength*.

Tolkien is sometimes said to have desired to create "a mythology for England." Lovecraft evidently wanted to evoke a sort of "mythology for New England," since the Mythos stories usually have connections to that region.

For example, if a long quotation may be allowed, here is the opening (after an epigraph from Charles Lamb) of Lovecraft's "Dunwich Horror"; in some moods, the reader may find it to be the best thing in the story:

> When a traveller in north central Massachusetts takes the wrong fork at the junction of the Aylesbury pike just beyond Dean's Corners he comes upon a lonely and curious country. The ground gets higher, and the brier-bordered stone walls press closer and closer against the ruts of the dusty, curving road. The trees of the frequent forest belts seem too large, and the wild weeds, brambles, and grasses attain a luxuriance not often found in settled regions. At the same time the planted fields appear singularly few and barren; while the sparsely scattered houses wear a surprisingly uniform aspect of age, squalor, and dilapidation. Without knowing why, one hesitates to ask directions from the gnarled, solitary figures spied now and then on crumbling doorsteps or on the sloping, rock-strown meadows. Those figures are so silent and furtive that one feels somehow confronted by forbidden things, with which it would be better to have nothing to do. When a rise in the road brings the mountains in view above the deep woods, the feeling of strange uneasiness is increased. The summits are too rounded and symmetrical to give a sense of comfort and naturalness, and sometimes the sky silhouettes with especial clearness the queer circles of tall stone pillars with which most of them are crowned.
>
> Gorges and ravines of problematical depth intersect the way, and the crude wooden bridges always seem of dubious safety. When the road dips again there are stretches of marshland that one instinctively dislikes, and indeed almost fears at evening when unseen whippoorwills chatter and the fireflies come out in abnormal profusion to dance to the raucous, creepily insistent rhythms of stridently piping bull-frogs. The thin, shining line of the Miskatonic's upper reaches has an oddly serpent-like suggestion as it winds close to the feet of the domed hills among which it rises.
>
> As the hills draw nearer, one heeds their wooded sides more than their stone-crowned tops. Those sides loom up so darkly and precipitously that one wishes they would keep their distance, but there is no road by which to escape them. Across a covered bridge one sees a small village huddled between the stream and the vertical slope of Round Mountain, and wonders at the cluster of rotting gambrel roofs bespeaking an earlier architectural period than that of the neighbouring region. It is not reassuring to see, on a closer glance, that most of the houses are deserted and falling to ruin, and that the broken-steepled church now harbours the one slovenly mercantile establishment of the hamlet. One dreads to trust the tenebrous tunnel of the bridge, yet there is no way to avoid it. Once across, it is hard to prevent the impression of a faint, malign odour about the village street, as of the massed mould and decay of centuries. It is always a relief to get clear of the place, and to follow the narrow road around the base of the hills and across the level country beyond till it rejoins the Aylesbury pike. Afterward one sometimes learns that one has been through Dunwich.
>
> Outsiders visit Dunwich as seldom as possible, and since a certain season of horror all the signboards pointing toward it have been taken down. The scenery, judged by any ordinary aesthetic canon, is more than commonly beautiful; yet there is no influx of artists or summer tourists. Two centuries ago, when talk of witch-blood, Satan-worship, and strange forest presences was not laughed at, it was the custom to give reasons for avoiding the locality. In our sensible age—since the Dunwich horror of 1928 was hushed up by those who had the town's and the world's welfare at heart—people shun it without knowing exactly why. Perhaps one reason—though it cannot apply to uninformed strangers—is that the natives are now repellently decadent, having gone far along that path of retrogression so common in many New England backwaters. They have come to form a race by themselves, with the well-defined mental and physical stigmata of degeneracy and inbreeding. The average of their intelligence is woefully low, whilst their annals reek of overt viciousness and of half-hidden murders, incests, and deeds of almost unnamable violence and perversity. The old gentry, representing the two or three armigerous families which came from Salem in 1692, have kept somewhat above the general level of decay; though many branches are sunk into the sordid populace so deeply that only their names remain as a key to the origin they disgrace. Some of the Whateleys and Bishops still send their eldest sons to Harvard and Miskatonic, though those sons seldom return to the mouldering gambrel roofs under which they and their ancestors were born.

What may for the sake of convenience be called "Lovecraft Country" is, like Mervyn Peake's Gormenghast, a real addition to the inventory of imaginary places. One might compare to the Dunwich description, the loving evocation of the grounds of Bracton College in Lewis's *That Hideous Strength*. There, of course, Lewis is not playing the ominous organ pedal that Lovecraft foots in the "Dunwich" passage; but in both cases the reader is invited to *slow down* and enjoy the antiquarian description:

> The only time I was a guest at Bracton I persuaded my host to let me into the Wood and leave me there alone for an hour. He apologised for locking me in.
>
> Very few people were allowed into Bragdon Wood. The gate was by Inigo Jones and was the only entry: a high wall enclosed the Wood, which was perhaps a quarter of a mile broad and a mile from east to west. If you came in from the street and went through the College to reach it, the sense of gradual penetration into a holy of holies was very strong. First you went through the Newton quadran-gle which is dry and gravelly; florid, but beautiful, Gregorian build-ings look down upon it. Next you must enter a cool tunnel-like pas-sage, nearly dark at midday unless either the door into Hall should be open on your right or the buttery hatch on your left, giving you a glimpse of indoor daylight falling on panels, and a whiff of the smell of fresh bread. When you emerged from this tunnel you would find yourself in the medieval College: in the cloister of the much smaller quadrangle called Republic. The grass here looks very green after the

aridity of Newton and the very stone of the buttresses that rise from it gives the impression of being soft and alive. Chapel is not far off: the hoarse, heavy noise of the works of a great and old clock comes to you from somewhere overhead. You went along this cloister, past slabs and urns and busts that commemorate dead Brac-tonians, and then down shallow steps into the full day-light of the quadrangle called Lady Alice. The buildings to your left and right were seventeenth-century work: humble, almost domestic in charac-ter, with dormer windows, mossy and grey-tiled. You were in a sweet, Protestant world. You found yourself, perhaps, thinking of Bunyan or of Walton's *Lives*.

There were no buildings straight ahead on the fourth side of Lady Alice: only a row of elms and a wall: and here first one became aware of the sound of running water and the cooing of wood pigeons. The street was so far off by now that there were no other noises. In the wall there was a door. It led you into a cov-ered gal-lery pierced with narrow windows on either side. Looking out through these, you discovered that you were crossing a bridge and the dark brown dimpled Wynd was flowing under you. Now you were very near your goal. A wicket at the far end of the bridge brought you out on the Fellows' bowling green, and across that you saw the high wall of the Wood, and through the Inigo Jones gate you caught a glimpse of sunlit green and deep shadows.

I suppose the mere fact of being walled in gave the Wood part of its peculiar quality, for when a thing is enclosed, the mind does not willingly regard it as common. As I went forward over the quiet turf I had the sense of being received. The trees were just so wide apart that one saw uninterrupted foliage in the distance but the place where one stood seemed always to be a clearing: surrounded by a world of shadows, one walked in mild sunshine. Except for the sheep whose nibbling kept the grass so short and who sometimes raised their long foolish faces to stare at me. I was quite alone; and it felt more like the loneliness of a very large room in a deserted house, than like any ordinary solitude out of doors. I remember thinking, "This is the sort of place which, as a child. one would have been rather afraid of or else would have liked very much indeed." A mo-ment later I thought, "But when alone — really alone — everyone is a child: or no one?" Youth and age touch only the surface of our lives.Half a mile is a short walk. Yet it seemed a long time before I came to the centre of

the Wood. I knew it was the centre, for there was the thing I had chiefly come to see. It was a well: a well with steps going down to it and the remains of an ancient pavement about it. It was very imperfect now. I did not step on it, but I lay down in the grass and touched it with my fingers. For this was the heart of Bracton or Bragdon Wood: out of this all the legends had come and on this, I suspected... the very existence of the College had originally depend-ed. The archaeologists were agreed that the masonry was very late British-Roman work, done on the eve of the Anglo-Saxon invasion. How Bragdon the wood was connected with Bracton the lawyer was a mystery, but I fancy myself that the Bracton family had availed themselves of an accidental similarity in the names to believe, or make believe, that they had something to do with it. Certainly, if all that was told were true, or even half of it, the Wood was older than the Bractons. I suppose no one now would attach much importance to Strabo's *Balachthon*, though it had led a sixteenth-century Warden of the College to say that, "We know not by ancientest report of any Britain without Bragdon." But the medieval song takes us back to the fourteenth century.

In Bragdon bricht this ende dai
Herde ich Merlin ther he lai
Singende woo and welawai.

It is good enough evidence that the well with the British-Roman pavement was already "Merlin's Well," though the name is not found till Queen Elizabeth's reign when good Warden Shovel surrounded the Wood with a wall "for the taking away of all profane and hea-thenish superstitions and the deterring of the vulgar sort from all wakes, may games, dancings, mummings, and baking of Morgan's bread, heretofore used about the fountain called in vanity Merlin's Well, and utterly to be renounced and abominated as a gallimaufrey of papistry, gentilism, lewdness and dunsicall folly." Not that the Col-lege had by this action renounced its own interest in the place. Old Dr. Shovel, who lived to be nearly a hundred, can scarcely have been cold in his grave when one of Cromwell's Major Generals, conceiv-ing it his business to destroy "the groves and the high places," sent a few troopers with power to impress the country people for this pious work. The scheme came to nothing in the end; but there had been a bicker between the College and the troopers in the heart of Bragdon, and the fabulously learned and saintly Richard Crowe had been killed by a musket-ball on the very steps of the Well. He would be a brave man who would accuse Crowe either of popery or "gentilism"; yet the story is that his last words had been, "Marry, Sirs, if Merlin who was the Devil's son was a true King's man as ever ate bread, is it not a shame that you, being but the sons of bitches, must be rebels and regicides?" And always, through all changes, every War-den of Bracton, on the day of his election, had drunk a ceremonial draught of water from Merlin's Well in the great cup which, both for its antiquity and beauty, was the greatest of the Bracton treasures.

Since Lewis has treated us to a couple of pseudo-antiquarian quotations, we may read a bit of pastiche also from "The Dunwich Horror." Lovecraft's narrator writes:

In 1747 the Reverend Abijah Hoadley, newly come to the Congregational Church at Dunwich Village, preached a memorable sermon on the close presence of Satan and his imps; in which he said:

"It must be allow'd, that these Blasphemies of an infernall Train of Daemons are Matters of too common Knowledge to be deny'd; the cursed Voices of *Azazel* and *Buzrael*, of *Beelzebub* and *Belial*, being heard now from under Ground by above a Score of credible Witnesses now living. I my self did not more than a Fortnight ago catch a very plain Discourse of evill Powers in the Hill behind my House; wherein there were a Rattling and Rolling, Groaning, Screeching, and Hissing, such as no Things of this Earth cou'd raise up, and which must needs have come from those Caves that only black Magick can discover, and only the Divell unlock."

Mr. Hoadley disappeared soon after delivering this sermon […].

A little later in the story, we get this:

"Nor is it to be thought," ran the text as Armitage mentally translated it, "that man is either the oldest or the last of earth's masters, or that the common bulk of life and substance walks alone. The Old Ones were, the Old Ones are, and the Old Ones shall be. Not in the spaces we know, but *between* them, They walk serene and primal, undimensioned and to us unseen. *Yog-Sothoth* knows the gate. *Yog-Sothoth* is the gate. *Yog-Sothoth* is the key and guardian of the gate. Past, present, future, all are one in *Yog-Sothoth*. He knows where the Old Ones broke through of old, and where They shall break through again. He knows where They have trod earth's fields, and where They still tread them, and why no one can behold Them as They tread. By Their smell can men sometimes know Them near, but of Their semblance can no man know, *saving only in the features of those They have begotten on mankind*; and of those are there many sorts, differing in likeness from man's truest eidolon to that shape without sight or substance which is Them. They walk unseen and foul in lonely places where the Words have been spoken and the Rites howled through at their Seasons. The wind gibbers with Their voices, and the earth mutters with Their consciousness. They bend the forest and crush the city, yet may not forest or city behold the hand that smites. Kadath in the cold waste hath known Them, and what man knows Kadath? The ice desert of the South and the sunken isles of Ocean hold stones whereon Their seal is engraven, but who hath seen the deep frozen city or the sealed tower long garlanded with seaweed and barnacles? Great Cthulhu is Their cousin, yet can he spy Them only dimly. *Iä! Shub-Niggurath!* As a foulness shall ye know Them. Their hand is at your throats, yet ye see Them not; and Their habitation is even one with your guarded threshold. *Yog-Sothoth* is the key to the gate, whereby the spheres meet. Man rules now where They ruled once; They shall soon rule where man rules now. After summer is winter, and after winter summer. They wait patient and potent, for here shall They reign again."

That must be the text that launched a thousand fics – fanfic efforts, that is. It must be the longest stretch Lovecraft

composed as from his well-known and (to judge from its frequent appearances in his stories) fairly readily available *Necronomicon*. The *Necronomicon* is not only a conjurer's grimoire, but a work of the "real" pre-history of the earth. The latter aspect of it (only that!) makes it akin to Tolkien's *Red Book of Westmarch*.

An important difference between the Inklings and the Lovecraft circle authors must lie in their sense of their audience. Williams's novels were, for the most part, intended as "holiday" fiction, but at any rate for publication in book form, from Gollancz (also George Orwell's publisher) or Faber. Other Williams books were published by Oxford University Press. Lewis and Tolkien were also published by Oxford, and their fiction generally appeared in hardcover book form and from respectable publishers. Lovecraft, Howard, and Smith, however, wrote with hope of publication in pulp magazines, notably *Weird Tales*, with its inevitably trashy cover paintings of pinup girls threatened by sadistic heathen priests and the like. They'd have known that the majority of their readers evidently wanted crude sensationalism.

From his letters, it appears that Lovecraft liked to shock readers but eventually aspired to something more poetic, as with stories such as Blackwood's "The Willows." The conflict can break out into the open in Lovecraft's stories. In "The Shadow Over Innsmouth" he is at pains to create a strong element of regional flavor and a whole implied secret history of an obscure New England port town. One might compare the importance of setting in this story with that in Blackwood's much-anthologized tale of an autumnal French hill-town, "Ancient Sorceries." Lovecraft's narrator learns a great deal about the history of Innsmouth, a reclusive Massachusetts town dating to colonial times. But despite his labors over these matters, Lovecraft's inner pulpster will not be suppressed. The narrator questions an alcoholic geezer who imparts swatches of important background information regarding Innsmouth's inhabitants, economy, etc. The scene culminates, however, in the geezer looking past the narrator's shoulder and seeing something frightening; whereupon he screams, and Lovecraft actually *sounds out* the screams: "'EH—AHHHH—AH! E'YAAHHHH. . . E—YAAHHHH! . . . YHAAAAAAA!'" One supposes that Lovecraft, if he had known that his story was going to appear in a book published by, say, Knopf, would have caught himself and omitted them. How astonishing it would have been if Tolkien had sounded out the screeches of the Nazgûl. The closest any Inkling comes to transcribing some horrible sound is Tolkien's spelling-out of Gollum's unpleasant swallowing-noise in The Hobbit, where children were intended as his primary audience.

7. Lovecraft as a Mythpoeic Writer Continued: Who Are His Peers?

In several places, C. S. Lewis discussed fantasists who wrote works that are compelling despite serious literary faults. These remarks might help us to understand why readers, perhaps including ourselves, read and reread Lovecraft -- despite criticisms of his philosophy and recognition of defects in his style and characterization.

In "On Stories," "On Science Fiction," "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard," and other pieces, Lewis championed the legitimacy of science fiction and fantasy. Lovecraft, whom Loewis never mentions, is not a peer of Coleridge ("The Rime of the Ancient Mariner," "Kubla Khan," "Christabel"), Stevenson (*The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*), or Tolkien (*The Lord of the Rings*). Lewis cited these as works in which the gift for great fantasy has been complemented by "specifically literary powers." But the mythopoeic gift can exist where an author lacks literary powers or is unwilling to take the trouble to exercise them.

I'd like to suggest that Lovecraft is best understood as a peer, usually a lesser peer, of mythopoeic authors such as George MacDonald, Rider Haggard, and David Lindsay.

First, I'll quote from Lewis's remarks on the literary defects of these three mythopoeic authors. I think many readers will perceive a relevance to Lovecraft. I'll note that each author held to some kind of philosophy. Then I'll present some of what Lewis had to say about what he calls the "mythopoeic gift." I'll conclude by suggesting that Lovecraft makes a fourth with the three authors listed at the beginning of this paragraph.

[a] MacDonald (1824-1905)

MacDonald wrote several book-length fantasies, including *Lilith* (Lovecraft fans should read the first few chapters and see if they aren't gripped by them), *Phantastes*, *The Princess and the Goblin*, *The Princess and Curdie*, and *At the Back of the North Wind*, as well as some fantastic short stories (such as "The Golden Key") and novellas ("Photogen and Nycteris") that Lin Carter reprinted in the Ballantine Adult Fantasy series. I think that the style in these works is often better than unobjectionable, but occasionally (perhaps in "The Wise Woman," for example) he drifted into the faults evident in his many long realistic novels. Lewis may be thinking specifically of the novels, when he says, in the introduction to his MacDonald anthology, that "the texture of his writing as a whole is undistinguished, at times fumbling," sometimes verbose, sometimes showing a Scottish "weakness for florid ornament," sometimes "an oversweetness picked up from Novalis."

Incidentally, when W. H. Auden introduced readers to MacDonald's two great fantasies for adults, *Phantastes* and *Lilith*, he said the Scottish author was equal to, or even superior to, the best of Poe. That should intrigue Lovecraft fans, who of course know of their idol's devotion to Poe.

[b] Haggard (1856-1925)

Lewis bemoaned "the clichés, jocosities, frothy eloquence" in which Haggard indulged in his romances about Ayesha. Lewis noted an irony – that Haggard seems amused, when writing of Allan Quatermain, of the "unliterary" manner of the narratives related by the "simple hunter. It never dawned on him that what he wrote in his own person was a great deal

worse – 'literary' in the most damning sense of the word."

By the way, if this isn't too much of a digression -- Haggard and Lovecraft are alike in that the unexpected never happens in their stories. Yes, of course, plot developments occur that we might not have seen coming. A first-time reader of She doesn't expect its appalling climax. But these developments are the sort of thing that is to be expected in fantastic adventure. By "the unexpected" I mean something that is truly of value in the story but that we hardly think was foreseen by the author during the time the work was being written and that is, in a sense, "gratuitous," and yet pleasingly right. In *Perelandra*, during Ransom's chthonic battle with the Un-man, he glimpses a bizarre segmented creature much farther down, and realizes how little he knows of this young world. Earlier he has glimpsed peculiar merpeople and cannot tell whether they are rational creatures or animals. There are several such unexpected incidents in *The Lord of the Rings*. When Tom Bombadil puts on Sauron's dreadful Ring – and *nothing happens*; when Galadriel could have taken the Ring from Frodo -- and renounces it; when Sam sees Gollum studying the sleeping Frodo and reaching a tentative and tender hand towards him – these are truly unexpected moments, and they manifest the greatness of *The Lord of the Rings* in a way different from, and complementary to, the rigor and reality of its imaginary languages and other oft-noted, carefully-worked-out features of the book do. In Chapter 5 of Williams's *Greater Trumps* there's the conception of a hidden game-board with splendid golden figures in motion – a marvelous enough image, in itself; and then we see that one of the figures, the Fool, is either motionless or moving so rapidly that its motion is beyond the power of the human eye adequately to perceive. There's something wonderful in this. This kind of invention seems to me to be on a whole higher level than anything in Haggard or the *Weird Tales* authors.

Perhaps this digression, if that's what it is, can be carried farther. Something Haggard supplied and that Tolkien and Lewis understood, probably intuitively, was the value of the "point of rest" in literary art. I derive this concept from an illuminating essay in Coventry Patmore's *Principle in Art*. As I wrote years ago in an issue of *Beyond Bree*: beginning with examples derived from paintings, Patmore finds a *punctum indifferans*, a "point, generally quite insignificant in matter, on which, indeed, the eye does not necessarily fix itself, but to which it involuntarily returns for repose." This object is, in itself, "the least interesting point" in the whole canvas, but "all that is interesting" in the picture "is more or less unconsciously referred to it." In a landscape it might be the "sawn-off end of a branch of a tree." In Raphael's "Dresden" Madonna, it is the Infant's heel. The point of rest doesn't create harmony where it does not exist, but where it does exist, "it will be strangely brought out and accentuated by this in itself often trifling, and sometimes, perhaps, even accidental accessory." Patmore proposes this test: "Cover [these points] from sight and, to a moderately sensitive and cultivated eye, the whole life of the picture[s] will be found to have been lowered."

Patmore includes literary examples drawn from Shakespeare – the "unobtrusive character of Kent" in *King Lear*, etc. Kent is "the eye of the tragic storm which rages round it; and the departure, in various directions, of every character more or less from moderation, rectitude, or sanity, is the more clearly understood or felt from our more or less conscious reference to him." Other Shakespearean characters also serve as a "peaceful focus radiating the calm of moral solution throughout all the difficulties and disasters of surrounding fate: a vital centre, which, like that of a great wheel, has little motion in itself, but which at once transmits and controls the fierce revolution of the circumference."

I think this helps us to understand Bombadil's very real contribution to our enjoyment of *The Lord of the Rings*. Always in the back of our minds, while we are occupied by the hurry and tumult of so many persons and events, we have the sense of that one "insignificant" but whole, innocent, incorruptible person in his realm that is only a pinpoint on the map of Middle-earth. Gandalf emphasizes just this in his comments at the Council of Elrond. If summoned to the Council, Bombadil "'would not have come.'" If the dreadful issues bound up with the Ring were explained to Bombadil, "'he would not understand the need.'" If the Ring were given to him, he would forget it or discard it, because "'[s]uch things have no hold on his mind.'"

Patmore says that "a point of rest and comparison is necessary only when the objects and interests are many and more or less conflicting." If he had had a copy of *The Lord of the Rings* at hand, he would have been able to cite a perfect example of such a "point" in the character of Tom Bombadil. (Patmore's strong dislike of *She* is explained in his essay "Unnatural Literature," in *Courage in Politics and Other Essays*.)

In Haggard's *She*, the manservant Job may serve as the point of rest. Haggard kills him off (from sheer terror) at the point when he is no longer needed for such a function. It might be granted that a "peaceful focus radiating the calm of moral [he may mean here what we call "psychological"] solution throughout all the difficulties and disasters of surrounding fate" might have been alien to Lovecraft's literary aims.

In "On Stories," Lewis contrasts a dramatic high point in Haggard's novel *King Solomon's Mines* with a movie version he'd seen. In the former, the heroes face the prospect of starving slowly in a cold, pitch-black tomb surrounded by the dead (Chapter 18). In the movie, they are threatened by earthquake and volcanic eruption. Lewis deplored the substitution, which meant, instead of "a hushing spell on the imagination" imparted by the sense of the deathly, that one was given a "rapid flutter" of nervous excitement, soon dispelled.

Something like this distinction applies within some Lovecraft stories. For example, in "The Whisperer in Darkness," the narrator listens to a recording surreptitiously made at night, and then mailed to him, by an isolated, elderly correspondent in rural Vermont. The recording is evidence that beings not of this earth, who moreover traffic with dark

and terrible powers, are meeting a human agent and communicating with him in weird, buzzing voices. Lovecraft conjures a sense of dread. But at the end of the story there's some rigmarole in which the elderly correspondent has been impersonated by one of the creatures, using imitation hands and face made of wax, sitting in the shadows. This preposterous pulp-magazine "thrill" is a real letdown, each time the story is read. Lewis praised Haggard: "From the move of his first pawn to the final checkmate, Haggard usually plays like a master. His openings – what story in the world opens better than *She*? – are full of alluring promise, and his catastrophes triumphantly keep it." The same isn't true of Lovecraft.

[c] Lindsay (1876-1945)

In *A Voyage to Arcturus*, the only one of Lindsay's books that Lewis seems to have known, the "style is appalling," etc. To Ruth Pitter, Lewis said *Arcturus* was "diabolical, mad, childishly ill-written in places" (letter of 9 July 1956). And there are places, in Lovecraft's earlier writings, where the style is so bad that one remembers the Inklings' game of reading aloud from Amanda McKittrick Ros's *Irene Iddesleigh* to see who could go the longest with a straight face. That book is available online, and one might amuse oneself by reading from it about Little Hugh ("At the age of six, Sir John, abhorring the advice of his many friends," etc., in Chapter 15) and then perusing Section 2 of Lovecraft's "Arthur Jermyn."

Lindsay, Haggard, and MacDonald possessed a mythopoeic gift, as I think Lovecraft did to some degree, and also held, like Lovecraft, to non-mainstream philosophies that their admirers often champion despite criticism. MacDonald contended for an unorthodox version of Christianity. Haggard held, Lewis says, to "an eclectic outfit of vaguely Christian, theosophical and spiritualistic notions, trying to say something profound about that fatal subject, 'Life.'" Lindsay's "intolerable" novel propounds a "ghastly vision," as Lewis said. About Lindsay's "vision" in *Arcturus* there has been some controversy. It seems to be Gnostic, along the lines that the world we know is somehow a false world, but some souls, perceiving this great truth, may glimpse the ineffable Sublime to which their true selves are akin. Lewis perceived a kinship between Lindsay's thought and that of Schopenhauer or the Manicheans, and, uncharacteristically, suggested that adults should "think twice before introducing it to the young" because a "youngster" could "damage himself" by reading it (letter of 31 Jan. 1960 to Alan Hindle).

Lovecraft's mechanistic materialism is widely recognized. However, it's in his letters that Lovecraft most copiously expounded it. In his stories, his concern is primarily with readers' emotions and imagination, and he doesn't much argue with them. Lewis offered remarks in "On Science Fiction" that could apply to Lovecraft's better Mythos stories: "It is sobering and cathartic to remember, now and then, our collective smallness, our apparent isolation, the apparent indifference of nature, the slow biological, geological, and astronomical processes which may, in the long run, make many of our hopes (possibly some of our fears) ridiculous." Lovecraft would have approved everything here except the two uses of "apparent."

Lewis said that Charles Williams wrote a kind of novel in which the everyday and the marvelous are brought together. This kind of writer, Lewis said, shows the "marvelous" (or perhaps the strange, the uncanny, the weird, the terrible….) invading the everyday world, so that there is a "violation of frontier." In "Notes on Writing Weird Fiction," Lovecraft said, "I choose weird stories because they suit my inclination best—one of my strongest and most persistent wishes being to achieve, momentarily, the illusion of some strange suspension or violation of the galling limitations of time, space, and natural law which for ever imprison us and frustrate our curiosity about the infinite cosmic spaces beyond the radius of our sight and analysis."

It may be a matter for debate, to what degree in a given story the philosophical agenda may be distinguished from the mythpoeia. Writing of George MacDonald, Lewis declared: "What he does best is fantasy – fantasy that hovers between the allegorical and the mythopoeic. And this, in my opinion, he does better than any man."[2] "MacDonald is the greatest genius of this [mythopoeic] kind whom I know. But I do not know how to classify such genius. To call it literary genius seems unsatisfactory since it can coexist with great inferiority in the art of words… It is in some way more akin to music than to poetry… It goes beyond the expression of things we have already felt. It arouses in us sensations we have never had before, never anticipated having…. It gets under our skin, hits us at a deeper level than our thoughts or even our passions," etc.

Lewis adds: "The critical problem with which we are confronted is whether this art – the art of myth-making – is a species of the literary art. The objection to so classifying it is that the Myth does not essentially exist in *words* at all. We all agree that the story of Balder is a great myth, a thing of inexhaustible value. But of whose version – whose *words* – are we thinking when we say this?" Lewis continues,

> For my own part, the answer is that I am not thinking of anyone's words. No poet, so far as I know or can remember, has told this story supremely well. I am not thinking of any particular version of it. …What really delights and nourishes me is a particular pattern of events, which would equally delight and nourish if it had reached me by some medium which involved no words at all – say by a mime, or [relatively few words, such as] a film. … To be sure, if the means of communication are words, it is desirable that a letter which brings you important news should be fairly written. But this is only a minor convenience. …In poetry the words are the body and the "theme" or "content" is the soul. But in myth the imagined events are the body and something inexpressible is the soul.

And here, from Lewis's "On Stories": "In inferior romances, such as the American magazines of 'scientifiction'

supply, we often come across a really suggestive idea. But the author has no expedient for keeping the story on the move except that of putting his hero into violent danger. In the hurry and scurry of his escapes the poetry of the basic idea is lost. In a much milder degree I think this has happened to [H. G. Wells] in the *War of the Worlds*. What really matters in this story is the idea of being attacked by something utterly 'outside'. As in *Piers Plowman* destruction has come upon us 'from the planets'. If the Martian invaders are merely dangerous – if we once become mainly concerned with the fact that they can *kill* us – why, then, a burglar or a bacillus can do as much." The key to the story is that the danger is of *extraterrestrial* origin.

This is often a problem for a writer such as Lovecraft. He has difficulties contriving what to *do*, with the mechanics of plots, when probably the real center of gravity is the *idea* of a "cosmic" weird menace. And so he resorts, once again, to the narrator who is falsely accused of insanity, or who fears that mankind will go mad when it learns what he knows -- and which has evidently *not* caused him to lose his reason – Lovecraft's narrators never, in fact, do go mad. (Perhaps the narrator of "The Rats in the Walls" hallucinates the sound of scurrying rats; if so, the trauma apparently allows him to reason accurately in every other respect.) Lovecraft deserves some sympathy for his struggles with the requirements of plot, particularly when writing for the pulps, given that the imaginative center of his stories is often something not, in its essence, narrative in nature.

The mythopoeic gift, Lewis came to believe, is distinct from literary artistry. "This gift, when it exists in full measure [as in Haggard's *She*], is irresistible. We can say of this, as Aristotle said of metaphor, 'no man can learn it from another'. It is the work of what Kipling called 'the daemon'. It triumphs over all obstacles and makes us tolerate all faults. It is quite unaffected by any foolish notions which the author himself, after the daemon has left him, may entertain about his own myths." Though Lewis saw Lindsay as a bad writer – his style is, "at times (to be frank) abominable" -- he found *Arcturus* (that word again)"irresistible."

In that very valuable late work *An Experiment in Criticism*, Lewis turned to the discussion of myth. Here he was thinking primarily, I suppose, of the ancient stories we usually think of as myths. Again he states that the "mythical quality" may come through despite defects of literary artistry. "The man who first learns what is to him a great myth through a verbal account which is baldly or vulgarly or cacophonously written, discounts and ignores the bad writing and attends solely to the myth. He hardly minds about the writing. … The value of myth is not a specifically literary value, nor the appreciation of myth a specifically literary experience."

Lewis adds – and this is surely significant for Lovecraft, given the oft-mentioned objection that HPL "telegraphs" the endings of his stories such that what apparently is meant to be a surprise is no surprise, "The pleasure of myth depends hardly at all on such usual narrative attractions as suspense or surprise. Even at a first hearing it is felt to be inevitable. And the first hearing is chiefly valuable in introducing us to a permanent object of contemplation – more like a thing than a narration – which works upon us by a peculiar flavour or quality.… Sometimes … there is hardly any narrative element."

Lovecraft had to write *something* in order to capture the mood of "a strange sense of adventurous expectancy" that he cherished from his dreams; and so also for "cosmic outsideness."

Moreover, Lewis adds, "Human sympathy is at a minimum. We do not project ourselves at all strongly into the characters." Critics may sometimes have condemned Lovecraft's characters for lacking depth and complexity. It would be profitable to ask how much depth and complexity a given character should have for a given story. In "The Shadow Over Innsmouth," we need to be able to take an interest in the protagonist-narrator as a plausible college student because, insofar as Lovecraft pulls off what he is aiming for (cf. Aristotle's *anagnorisis*), appalling moments of recognition for himself and for the reader are supposed to happen simultaneously. In *At the Mountains of Madness* the characters need to be believable as scientists, but that will come primarily by means of the narration's use of geologic, topographic, etc. detail – which Lovecraft got up conscientiously. Those who have read about how bad Lovecraft's style is supposed to be might read the first few pages of this short novel. They will find that Lovecraft could command a disciplined and specific but haunting style. Thereafter, their feeling about photographs of Antarctic regions may be affected by Lovecraft.

Lovecraft's central characters in the Mythos stories are usually scholarly bachelors. As with M. R. James's antiquarian ghost stories, this is economical and appropriate; the problem arises when too many of the stories are read at the same time so that repetitiveness becomes an issue.

Lewis says that the persons in a mythic story "are like shapes moving in another world." Odysseus, as a clever and strong Hero, is a "mythic" shape himself. Ludwig Horace Holly, in Haggard's *She*, is not. He is one of us, who finds himself in "another world." The same is true of Mr. Vane in MacDonald's *Lilith*. Lovecraft's Mythos protagonists are of this latter type. Perhaps this difference would help us to see how the truly mythic differs from the mythopoeic.

8. What Factors Disqualify HPL (and Members of His Circle) as Mythopoeic Authors Comparable to the Inklings?

I think the essence of the Lovecraftian mythopoeic quality, as opposed to the inevitable trajectory of the stories towards horror, can be stated concisely: *the great secret is that the universe, including this planet, was – and is – haunted* – or even "infested."

The logic of Lovecraft's futilitarian mechanistic materialism tended to work against the mythopoeic sense, and this might have complicated things for him if he had lived to keep on writing. Lovecraft said that beholding a glorious sunset could produce in him a sense of "adventurous

expectancy." But his philosophy works all the other way. It is reductive. It collapses all experience into something that is "nothing but" something else that is *finally less interesting*. He would have to accept that the sunset that moves him is "nothing but" an excitation of his nerves and a corresponding stimulation of associated memories. If he is to be consistent, the sense of wonder must not be privileged as an exception; he may "feel this way" and it matters to him, but his experience is really no more meaningful or valid than that of anyone else in any state of attention and imaginative activity. For Lewis, the experience of sudden joy was a pointer to some greater thing. His heroine Psyche in *Till We Have Faces* knows how profound imaginative experience has a beckoning quality that blessedly troubles our everyday moods; and when she enters the realm of the gods, she knows whence that beckoning has come. The mythopoeic sense and the sense of wonder are expansive: *there's more!*, they suggest to us. But mechanistic materialism is reductive: it's *nothing but*, it says to us.

The Inklings and the Lovecraft circle authors differ as regards the depiction of the horrible. The former are restrained in their presentation of horrible things. Consider Tolkien's Orcs. Really very little is written about their appearance. When Williams wishes to indicate the dreadful judgment that overtakes the wicked Giles Tumulty, in *Many Dimensions*, he writes, "When they found him, but a few moments after that raucous scream had terrified the household, he was lying on the floor amid the shattered furniture twisted in every limb, and pierced and burnt all over as if by innumerable needle-points of fire" (end of Chapter 16). That's about all. Perhaps the most gruesome passage in the writing released by the Inklings in their lifetimes comes in *That Hideous Strength* – the escaped laboratory animals, maddened through Merlin's magic, wreaking the vengeance of the gods upon the N.I.C.E. banqueters. The episode has been too much for some readers. Others find it fully justifiable. In any event, it may be noticed that the emphasis, in Lewis's rendition, is upon the confounding, ruinous movement of the animals and the panic and dismay of the wicked, not upon dismembered bodies. The climax of Milton's *Samson Agonistes* is rightly recalled.

In contrast, the *Weird Tales* authors exploit the gruesome. One may direct the curious to Smith's "The Vaults of Yoh-Vombis," Howard's "The Black Stone," or Lovecraft's "The Thing on the Doorstep" for samples of these authors' wallowing in revolting detail. To quote Joseph Koerner's recent *Bosch and Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* on the former artist: "yet hell's gruesome fascinations are the quintessential objects of the mindless curiosity of visual desire. According to its Christian critics (and these were legion), curiosity is primarily about unrest, dissatisfaction, and dispersion, and only secondarily about delight. Saint Augustine wrote that humans evince the vicious lust of the eye, or *concupiscentia oculorum*, not only in face of erotic enchantments but (more inexplicably) in their uncontrollable fixation on the ugly: on mangled carcasses, cruel sports, 'a lizard catching flies'" (p. 186).

The Lovecraft story in which some gruesome detail seems most justifiable is "The Colour Out of Space," perhaps his finest, though marginal at most to the Cthulhu Mythos. A meteorite falls and soon living things in its vicinity sicken, become brittle, and die. It seems to me, with its evocation of trouble from the stars, that this story possesses the mythopoeic quality. A genuine element of pathos develops, a remarkable achievement for the author of rubbish such as "Pickman's Model." But that pathos coexists with what may be called a Classical detachment from the sufferers; there is something here that might suggest Sophocles. Edwin O'Brien selected "The Colour Out of Space" for the Roll of Honor appendix to *The Best American Short Stories* for 1928.

I've said little here about Howard and Smith, though I did want to consider the Lovecraft circle. A difference between Lovecraft and Howard may be brought out if we place together Lovecraft's *Mountains* and Howard's Conan novella "Red Nails."

In Lovecraft's story, it eventually becomes evident that the Old Ones, for whom we come to have some sympathy, have been in perennial conflict with the shoggoths after the latter evolved greater intelligence and their creators entered cultural decline. This conflict-element is important for the story, but Lovecraft keeps it subordinate to the sense of primordiality and wonder that he has been at pains to conjure. In the Howard story, the barbarian hero discovers an almost Gormenghast-like city-building, within which two factions have been at war for many years. The conflict ends with extinction. The story wallows in violence and sexual perversity, and Howard doesn't attempt the somber sublimity of Lovecraft.

In fact, Howard freely indulges in clichés and slapdash, anachronistic locutions. A giant lizard attacks Conan and a she-pirate, "snapping off saplings as if they had been toothpicks." Conan signifies his agreement with Valeria by saying "'Sure!'" and taunts the lizard, Howard writing thus: "'What are you waiting down there for, you misbegotten offspring of questionable parents?' was one of his more printable queries" (Chapter 1). An inner corridor is "black as night" (Chapter 2). "Conan saw red" (Chapter 7). Characters complain, " 'Wait a minute,'" and so on.

Smith was the most misanthropic and decadent of the three *Weird Tales* authors, relishing rotting corpses, dusty mummies with dry voices, skeletons with furred creatures in their ribcages, and protracted scenes of horror and bizarre cruelty, as in his relatively well-known revenge story "The Dark Eidolon." The pleasure Smith offers is like that of some burning gin that, temporarily at least, could make a good wine seem insipid. Smith's fantasy tends to be marked by, even pervaded by, nastiness.

The Lovecraft stories in which the mythopoeic quality is minimal or nonexistent, such as "The Tomb," may be entertaining, but if he had written only such thrillers, his reputation would be nothing like what it is. Lovecraft did, on occasion, display considerable skill in managing suspense, as in "The Shadow Over Innsmouth." Also, I'll assert, without arguing the point, that Lovecraft's

mature stories generally seem to be told at the right pace and to be of the right length. These literary qualities shouldn't be discounted even though they're distinct from the mythopoeic gift.

If Lewis had read Lovecraft's "Colour Out of Space," *At the Mountains of Madness*, and "The Shadow Out of Time," maybe he would have recognized the American author as a peer or near-peer of MacDonald, Haggard, and Lindsay as a writer of mythopoeia. It is pleasant to think that there is a very decent chance that Lewis did get to read at least the last two of these stories in *Astounding*, even if it shouldturn out that he didn't read them in time to be influenced by them.

Lewis's library contained August Derleth's 1948 anthology *Strange Ports of Call*, which reprinted At the Mountains of Madness. I presume that the book had been Joy Lewis's. She was interested in science fiction and in America had been a member of the circle around Fletcher Pratt, and when she relocated to England had connected with the London science fiction scene (see John Christopher's "Notes on Joy" in Encounter, April 1987). A shared interest in science fiction must have been one of these things that drew Lewis and Joy together. One wonders if they ever discussed Lovecraft. In any event, Lewis might well have read the Lovecraft novel in *Strange Ports of Call* and found it enjoyable. (For what it's worth, the anthology also includes a science fiction horror story by Smith, "Master of the Asteroid." From its jingly title to its trite conclusion, it's a mediocre thing, but it's probably the Smith story most likely to have been read by Lewis.)

If Lovecraft's Mythos fiction shows such conformity to, or affinity with, the qualities Lewis discerned in mythopoeic fiction, should it have been integrated into the Mythopoeic Society? I doubt that anyone by now will be thinking strongly that it should. After all – Lovecraft always works with the horror story template. Whatever the atmosphere of wonder he engenders, the story must progress towards the evocation of fear, horror, terror. He's writing dark fantasy, not high fantasy.

Tolkien coined the term eucatastrophe in *"On Fairy-Stories"* – the consoling happy ending. But Lovecraft's stories end dyscatastrophically. The protagonist, and probably the human race, are worse off at the end than they were to begin with, or realize that they always were worse off than they have suspected till now. The sense is that the best one can hope for is a delay in the inevitable demise. The narrator is confined, under suspicion of madness or murder; or he is physically free but convinced that mass insanity and barbarism, or indeed extinction, are imminent. ("The Shadow Over Innsmouth" may seem to be an exception, because the narrator accepts, at last, that in his veins flows the blood of the hybrids, and anticipates being able to join them in their aquatic worship of Dagon. But however happy the narrator feels when he accepts his destiny, readers are supposed to be horrified. The narrator has impressed upon them the repulsive appearance, foul odor, etc. of the Innsmouthites as their nonhuman genetics become more and more manifest in maturity. Thus, this story too ends dyscatastrophically.) The dyscatastrophic Lovecraft ending is meant to suggest, not consolation, but the brutal exposure of the false consolations of what we have ordinarily thought was life; the more we learn, as we apply the scientific method, the less the universe will appear to us to be a good place.

The Inklings' understanding was radically different. They believed in a beautiful, orderly cosmos that is a radiant hierarchy, where even the least of things has its own beauty and goodness, and which is permeated by divine love. They would have said, of the vision of glory that concludes Dante's *Comedy*, that it errs only in falling short of what the reality shall be.

The Latin motto of the Mythopoeic Society during Goodknight's presidency was *Laeta in Chorea Magna*, "Joyful in the Great Dance," the Great Dance being the image of the beautiful, orderly, living cosmos in Lewis's *Perelandra*. In Lovecraft's late story "The Haunter of the Dark," we are offered a notion of the final nature of things that could sounds like a dismal parody of the Great Dance. We read there of "the ancient legends of Ultimate Chaos, at whose center sprawls the blind idiot god Azathoth, Lord of All Things, encircled by his flopping horde of mindless and amorphous dancers, and lulled by the thin monotonous piping of a demoniac flute held in nameless paws."

Yet it seems to me that when we put Lovecraft's best work alongside Lewis's space trilogy and Tolkien's Middle-earth fantasy, our enjoyment of the work of all three writers may be enhanced because this may impress us again with the capacity they all had for the writing of imaginative, even mythopoeic, fiction.

Notes

1 Some readers of this article will believe that it should have dealt with Lovecraft's fantasy stories such as "The Quest of Iranon," "The Cats of Ulthar," The Dream-Quest of Unknown Kadath, etc. They might even hold that these stories, and not the ones I discuss, comprise Lovecraft's best claim to be a mythopoeic author. The "dream" or "Dunsanian" Lovecraft stories may have their charms, but they seem to me minor efforts in both bulk and literary achievement as contrasted with Lovecraft's mature writings or the books of Haggard, Lindsay, MacDonald, etc.

2 Lewis was writing years before The Lord of the Rings was finished, let alone published, so I am not sure that he would always have said MacDonald was the greatest of all fantasists.

Works Cited

Sources for Lewis quotations: "The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard," "On Science Fiction," "On Stories," and "Unreal Estates" in *Of Other Worlds*; Preface to *George MacDonald: An Anthology; An Experiment in Criticism*. See also the three volumes of his Collected Letters.

Dale Nelson is an Associate Professor of English at Mayville State University in North Dakota.

Beryl, more than just a token?

SEBASTIÁN ALEJANDRO FREIGEIRO

This brief essay speculates upon further uses for the beryl found by Strider on the Last Bridge.

> "[Aragorn] held out his hand and showed a single pale-green jewel. 'I found it in the mud in the middle of the Bridge,' he said. 'It is a beryl, an elf-stone. Whether it was set there, or let fall by chance, I cannot say; but it brings hope to me. I will take it as a sign that we may pass the Bridge; but beyond that I dare not keep to the Road, without some clearer token.'" (Tolkien, 196)

As we find out later, Strider was right, the beryl was indeed a token indicating safe passage, left there by Glorfindel. But maybe it was more than just a "you shall certainly pass" sign letting the ranger know he could cross the Bridge.

But what's beryl, precious, eh, what's beryl?

According to science, beryl is a mineral composed of beryllium aluminium cyclosilicate. The most popular varieties of beryl are aquamarine and emerald. If pure, beryl is colourless, though it's frequently tinted by impurities. Possible colours are blue, green, yellow, white, and red.

Now, why a beryl? The most obvious answer is a rhetorical question: what better token than an elf-stone for someone foretold to be called Elessar (i.e. elf-stone)?

And what makes a stone an elf-stone? It must be something more than just beauty.

Many gemstones and jewels in Middle-earth had powers of some kind or another, for good or evil. In some cases they were made by the elves, like the Silmarils and the Elessar, but some were "natural", like the Arkenstone.

In our Primary World, beryl has been attributed since ancient times with a myriad of metaphysical properties, some of which might have been quite useful to four hobbits, a ranger, and a pony on the run from evil forces. Since Tolkien's Secondary World draws heavily from this Primary one, it is quite possible that the peoples of Middle-earth attributed certain "magical" characteristics to these shiny creations of Aulë too.

Once upon a time in our world, it was believed that beryl averted ambushes, and protected travellers and adventurers from various dangers on the road, specially illness. Speaking of which, beryl, and emerald in particular, has been thought to be a great aid in averting sickness, and in healing. (Sinkankas, 69, 70) We see this with the Elessar in the Houses of Healing.

Another very helpful property for people being chased by Ringwraiths would be the believed ability of beryl to repel demons, evil spirits, and their spells. (Sinkankas, 71)

One last property must be mentioned, though I admit it might be a bit of a stretch. It was believed in old Greek lore that beryl appeased Poseidon, so fishermen and other folk who travelled on the waters might've carried with them amulets of this kind. (Sinkankas, 70) Glorfindel knew about the rise of the waters of the Bruinen in case the Ringwraiths attempted to cross it. Though the waters were unleashed by Elrond, beryl could've been some extra insurance in case the wrath of Ulmo, Middle-earth's "counterpart" for the ancient Greek god with power over all waters, got out of hand.

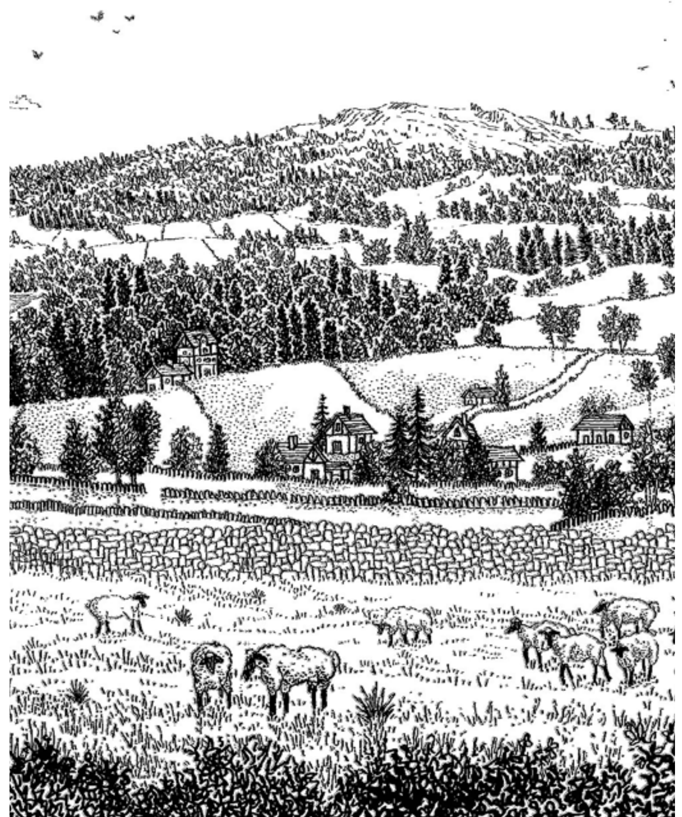
So maybe it was more than just Strider's skills that got Frodo to Rivendell. The Ring-bearer's illness inflicted by the Nazgûl blade advanced slowly enough to allow him to reach Elrond; the ambush at the Ford of Bruinen by the Ringwraiths failed, and the enraged waters of the Loudwater didn't swallow our heroes.

Works Cited

Sinkankas, John. *Emerald and other beryls*. Prescott: Geoscience press, 1989

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Lord of the Rings*. London: Harper Collins, 1995

Sebastián Alejandro Freigeiro is a librarian, graduated from the National School of Librarians of the Mariano Moreno National Library. He worked as a library intern at the National Academy of History of the Argentine Republic. Since 2011 he is the librarian of the Dr. Horacio Beccar Varela Municipal Museum, Library and Historical Archive of San Isidro. He is also a member-at-large of the Municipal Historical Institute of San Isidro. He currently resides in Villa Adelina, San Isidro.



Tolkien's Kingdoms of the West: Founded in History

ERIC A. LYNCH

The Lord of the Rings is a much beloved series which owes part of its success to how J.R.R. Tolkien leveraged real-world history to create a fantastical fairy tale that was still familiar and relatable to the reader. While *The Lord of the Rings* should not be taken as an allegory for any specific historical event, Tolkien used his knowledge of history and languages to bring historical elements into his story that helped provide a familiar foundation for his legendarium. While many scholars have written on Tolkien's use of linguistics and on the structural soundness and depth of his fictional history, fewer scholars have tackled the commonalities between his fictional history and the real world. In this paper we will explore how the secondary-world histories of Númenor, Gondor and Arnor are, in part, a retelling of the primary world's myths and history of Atlantis, Rome and Byzantium.

On Tolkien

Any analysis of Tolkien's work, especially one that looks for links to the real world, should first examine Tolkien's own view on his writing. First, Tolkien has made it very clear that he disliked allegory and didn't believe that any specific war or period of time in the real world directly influenced his plot or the development of his story. However he acknowledged that it's understandable that people would look for allegory in his writing. As he put it in a letter to Milton Waldman of London publisher Collins in 1951, "I dislike Allegory – the conscious and intentional allegory– yet any attempt to explain the purport of myth or fairytale must use allegorical language. (And, of course, the more 'life' a story has the more readily will it be susceptible of allegorical interpretations; while the better a deliberate allegory is made the more nearly will it be acceptable just as a story)" (Tolkien Letters 145). Tolkien maintained his stance on allegory throughout his life and often addressed the question on whether his experience in World War I or his views on World War II had any influence on his stories. In a letter to Professor L.W.Forster in 1960 he reaffirmed this position by stating that "Personally I do not think that either war (and of course not the atomic bomb) had any influence upon either the plot or the manner of its unfolding. Perhaps in landscape. The Dead Marshes and the approaches to the Morannon owe something to Northern France after the Battle of the Somme. They owe more to William Morris and his Huns and Romans, as in *The House of the Wolfings* or *The Roots of the Mountains*" (Tolkien Letters 303).

However, while Lord of the Rings and the Middle-earth legendarium should not be interpreted as allegory for any real-world event, it's clear that Tolkien used elements of the real world to inform events in Middle-earth. In various correspondence with publishers, family and friends, Tolkien acknowledged that elements of language, locations, plot and even individuals did find a home in his writings. In a 1954 letter to Naomi Mitchison, a proofreader, he commented that "The archaic language of lore is meant to be a kind of 'Elven-Latin', and by transcribing it into a spelling closely resembling that of Latin the similarity to Latin has been increased ocularly"(Tolkien Letters 176). Similarly, he wrote to his grandson, Michael George Tolkien in 1966 that he borrowed names from history in his works with "Mirkwood is not an invention of mine, but a very ancient name, weighted with legendary associations. It was probably the Primitive Germanic name for the great mountainous forest regions that anciently formed a barrier to the south of the lands of Germanic expansion" (Tolkien Letters 369). He would often reply to friends, colleagues and fans with insights into where ideas in his writing came from. He responded to one question regarding the origin of Galadriel, agreeing that elements of Mary the Virgin Mother of Christ are in her makeup, but also that of the penitent, as she was paying for her sins of rebelling against the Valar, Middle-earth's divine residents, in the First Age (Tolkien Letters 407). His commentary also referenced his use of history as he compared the end of *The Lord of the Rings* to the reestablishment of the Holy Roman Empire (Tolkien Letters 376). Religion also played a role in his story as he stated in a 1956 letter that "Actually I am a Christian, and indeed a Roman Catholic, so that I do not expect 'history' to be anything but a 'long defeat' – though it contains (and in a legend may contain more clearly and movingly) some samples or glimpses of final victory" (Tolkien Letters 255). His belief that life is a 'long defeat' goes a long way in explaining why, even after the ultimate victory over Sauron, there were still many sad partings and the victory may not have been won for those like Gandalf, Frodo and the elves. Even with the fall of Sauron, strife and war continued to plague the free peoples of Middle-earth. King Elessar and King Eomer went to war with the Easterlings and Southrons in their own territories beyond the Sea of Rhûn and into the far south following the war (Tolkien King 1045).

Scholars of Tolkien's works seem to agree that Tolkien relied on his real world knowledge to help frame his stories. As Michael Perry put it in *Untangling Tolkien* "Like most gifted writers, Tolkien borrowed heavily from the past, showing talent in what he selected. In his case, that meant names, themes, plots and even literary style were taken almost wholesale from the ancient languages and literature of Northern Europe" (Perry 20). Various scholars point to different time frames that Tolkien may have leveraged in

his writings. Christina Scull, in her paper *The Influence of Archaeology and History on Tolkien's World* commented on how his scholarly focus influenced his writing by stating "Tolkien was mainly concerned with teaching and writing about works in Old and Middle English, though his interests extended to Nordic and Germanic languages and sagas, Celtic tales, Welsh language, and the Finnish Kalevala. Many critics have noted how much Tolkien's knowledge of these texts contributed to his writings about Middle-earth" (Scull 33). James Obertino pointed to the classical period as an influence in his paper *Barbarians and Imperialism in Tacitus and The Lord of the Rings* (Obertino 117). As the classical world gave way to the Dark Ages, so to do scholars think this period also influenced Tolkien's writings. Patricia Reynolds in her essay *Looking Forward from the White Tower* discussed how elements of life in the Dark Ages were included in the series (Reynolds 6), while James Allen reinforced this concept in his essay *The Decline and Fall of the Osgiliathian Empire* (Allen 4). Perhaps best summing up how history may have influenced Tolkien is Douglas Burger's comment in his essay *The Uses of the Past in The Lord of the Rings* that "Thus when J.R.R. Tolkien turns to fantasy, it is in no way surprising that his work should be deeply indebted to the past, particularly to the past of early legend and medieval tale…Quite naturally, then in his trilogy, Tolkien uses the genres, characters, symbolic structure, and often the original languages of ancient and medieval story" (Burger 23).

Tolkien's Use of History

Tolkien's ability to weave a self-contained history for his legendarium while still leveraging elements from the real world is a key factor in the readability and believability of his works. As Lionel Basney put it in his essay *Myth, History and Time in The Lord of the Rings* "The central characteristic of Tolkien's work – thus the one the critic must explain first and most carefully – is this structural and tonal integrity……The most comprehensive of these structures are 'myth' and 'history; the most general movement, the growth of one into the other" (Basney 184). Basney goes on to say that because Tolkien isn't anchored to retelling a specific story anchored on some external factor, Tolkien's fictional world can create its own historical structural integrity (Basney 193). Douglas Barbour added in his essay *The Shadow of the Past* that it's not just the readers of the story which are led through this fictional history but the characters when he stated "Nevertheless, not only do the readers feel they are surveying a deep past, but the protagonists of the story are continually making the same discovery, and thus the stories, legends and history of their world continually affect the way they feel, think and act" (Barbour 36). These historical elements, by referencing the past, build credibility for the present story (Barbour 39). Tolkien himself reinforces that his approach to *The Lord of the Rings* and the Middle-earth legendarium is one of a historian more than a writer of fiction. In a letter to Miss. A. P. Northey in 1965 he states "I think it is better not to state everything (and indeed it is more realistic, since in chronicles and accounts of 'real' history, many facts that some enquirer would like to know are omitted, and the truth has to be discovered or guessed from such evidence as there is)" (Tolkien Letters 354). Tolkien further strengthens the structural integrity of his fictional history by tying it to the history of our real world. Tolkien states "imaginatively, this 'history' is supposed to take place in a period of the actual Old World of this planet" (Tolkien Letters 220) and that "Mine is not an 'imaginary' world, but an imaginary historical moment on 'Middle-earth' – which is our habitation" (Tolkien Letters 244). He even suggests that a gap of 6,000 years exists between the fall of Barad-Dûr, Sauron's stronghold at the end of the Third Age, and our present times which would put these events around 4,000 B.C. (Tolkien Letters 283).

Even individual characters within the story lend themselves to establishing this self-contained history. Barbour points out that Shelob, the giant spider lurking in Cirith Ungol, is terrifying because she is so ancient, a throwback to Ungoliant who brought darkness to Valinor in the First Age. Likewise, the Ring's history stretches back to the early part of the Second Age and Sauron also goes back to the First Age. The song of Beren and Lúthien ties many of these elements together showing Frodo and Sam that they are part of the epic tale that began back when the world was created (Barbour 39). Burger points out that "Gandalf serves as a model scholar in his attitude toward the past and in his uses of past knowledge; and the particular characteristics of the kindly old wizard conveyed even more sharply and emphatically when his attitudes are compared with another deeply learned wizard of Middle-earth, Saruman" (Burger 25). Even some of the human characters in *The Lord of the Rings* are shown to be students of history with both Denethor and Faramir having studied the ancient lore housed in Gondor (Tolkien Towers 655). Drawing this back to Tolkien, the sub-creator, Burger concludes that "Tolkien does for our world what Gandalf does for Middle-earth: he tries to reconcile the past of old story to present life" (Burger 27).

While the structural integrity of the fictional history is critical to the believability of Tolkien's writing, the familiarity of the history is also a key component in gaining the reader's interest and attention. In his essay *Middle-earth: An Imaginary World* Paul Kocher states "But Tolkien knew, none better, that no audience can long feel sympathy or interest for persons or things in which they cannot recognize a good deal of themselves and the world of their everyday experience" and "Consequently the reader walks through any Middle-earth landscape with a security recognition that woos him on to believe in everything that happens. Familiar but not too familiar, strange but not too strange" (Kocher Imaginary 147). While the average reader may not be the student of history that Tolkien was, most are familiar with the broad concepts of classical, medieval and renaissance history, especially those who live in Europe where they are surrounded by the monuments and ruins of the past. In High Towers and Strong Places Timothy Furnish points out that "J.R.R. Tolkien's Secondary World is so convincing, and

the influence of his books so vast, that it might be reasonable to view him as not just a novelist but as a historian – and a Eurocentric one, at that, since Middle-earth is clearly "the North-West of the Old World, east of the Sea" (Furnish 6).

The Númenorean Connection

While the entire Middle-earth legendarium has elements of the real world woven into it, the history of Númenor and its two descendent kingdoms, Arnor and Gondor, are of particular interest in this essay. Gondor is a central location in *The Lord of the Rings* and a critical component of its history. Númenor and Arnor are also historically relevant in the story as Númenor's fall prompts the creation of the Kingdoms in Exile and Aragorn is the last in the line of Arnorian heirs. These kingdoms represent a few of the human kingdoms in a world populated by elves, dwarves, orcs and other fantasy creatures. As human kingdoms they are most likely to reflect the politics, economies and warfare similar to those seen in our real world history. While some scholars will draw comparisons to the Egyptians (Scull 37) or Iron Age cultures (Allen 3), most scholars agree that the Roman and Byzantine Empires influenced the descriptions of Arnor and Gondor.

However, it's important to keep in mind that Tolkien's presentation of Middle-earth's history shifts as it progresses from the creation of Arda through the First and Second Ages to its culmination at the close of the Third age. Arda's creation is presented by Tolkien as cosmological myth, similar to those found in Greek, Christian and other real world creation myths. While the creation myth may be believed, it's distant from and outside of recorded history. The events of the First Age and early Second Age are a blend of myth and history as elements of the 'divine' are slowly overshadowed by those more tangible and real (Tolkien Letters 146). Tolkien notes that "As the stories become less mythical, and more like stories and romances, Men are interwoven" (Tolkien Letters 149). The Dominion of Men, realized as the Third Age comes to a close, is the final transition from myth and legend into pre-history, linking Middle-earth to our real world (Tolkien Letters 207).

As a result, direct comparisons of the Roman and Byzantine Empires to the Third Age kingdoms of Arnor and Gondor are more easily seen than those to Númenor of the Second Age. Tolkien himself, in the letter to Milton, prompts a robust comparison to the Roman and Byzantine empires with the following statement "In the south Gondor rises to a peak of power, almost reflecting Númenor, and then fades slowly to decayed Middle Age, a kind of proud, venerable but increasingly impotent Byzantium" (Tolkien Letters 157). Arnor and Gondor's history follows a path similar to that of Roman and Byzantium with the kingdoms impacted by migrations of people from the east, internal strife, plague and war. As described by Kocher, "Just as Earth has seen wave after wave of tribal migrations into Europe from east and north, so on Middle-earth the elves, the Edain, the Rohirrim, and the hobbits have drifted west at various periods from the same directions. Also, our Europe has warred from early times against Arabs from the south and Persians, Mongols, and Turks from the Near or Far East. Similarly Gondor resists Easterlings and Southrons, who have pressed against its borders for millennia and have become natural allies of Sauron. The Haradrim of the south even recall Saracens in their swarthy hue, use of elephant ancestors, while the Wainriders from the east come in wagons rather like those of the Tartar hordes. The men of Gondor live and fight in a kind of legendary Arthurian, protomedieval mode, and the Rohirrim differ from early Anglo-Saxons mainly in living by the horse, like Cossacks" (Kocher Imaginary 161). Reynolds draws an even closer comparison stating that "Tolkien uses history in the second way, as a means of verifying detail; for example several parallels have been suggested for the siege of Minas Tirith, including Vienna and Constantinople. I suggest that Tolkien drew upon one or more of these to make sure he portrayed the siege in a believable way. Similarly, the stewards of Gondor have a parallel in the Major of the Palace of late Merovingian France. These Men, originally members of the Royal household kept power from les roise faineants, the child-kings" (Reynolds 9).

While Gondor and Arnor are comparable to the Roman and Byzantine Empires, Tolkien viewed Númenor as his take on the Atlantis myth (Tolkien Letters 151). Like Atlantis, Númenor was an island kingdom peopled by a race of men thought to be superior to those on the mainland. Both islands reached a technological peak greater than other kingdoms and then became corrupt, using their might to oppress other people. Both kingdoms were destroyed over the course of one night as the islands were swallowed up by the ocean. While the early history of Númenor and the overarching story pull heavily from the Atlantis myth, elements of Roman and Byzantine influence are present, especially as Tolkien's history transitions from the more mythical early Second Age to the more historical Third Age.

As part of the analysis showing how the history of the Númenoreans, Arnorians and Gondorians draws strongly from that of Atlantis, Rome and Byzantine empires we will examine the evolution of the political and military positions of the kingdoms during key historical points. Three frameworks will be applied to help examine these positions. The first framework is the ruling structure of kingdoms as discussed in Furnish's book *High Towers and Strong Places*. This book looks at the different types of rulership in Middle-earth and how the different races, based on their characteristics, most often fell under one type versus another. This framework looks internally at how a kingdom or empire is managed versus how the kingdom interacts with other cultures and realms. Furnish's framework is as follows:

- Rule by One – Monarchy is a clear example of this category with Dictatorship being an extreme example

- Rule by a Few – Feudal systems, aristocracy or oligarchy are examples of where power is concentrated across a small group due to family, religious or economic power

• Rule by Many – A republic or democracy where all people have a voice in decision making (Furnish 76-77)

Examples of these systems include the ancient Egyptian pharaohs, medieval Europe and the United States, respectively.

The second framework is drawn from David Wilkinson's essay *The Power Configuration of the Central World Systems* which examines the environment in which the kingdoms existed. Unlike the Furnish framework which looks at the internal management of the kingdom, the Wilkinson framework looks at the external environment in which the kingdom exists. Wilkinson indicates that kingdoms typically exist in one of seven environments as follows:

• Empire – Unified, centralized, usually bureaucratized system wide structure

• Hegemony – A Weaker form of systemwide inequality and domination

• Unipolarity/Non-hegemonic – Where one superpower is unable or disinclined to induce general followership among the weaker states

• Bipolarity – With two great super powers

• Tripolarity – With three great super powers

• Mulitpolarity – With more than three great super powers

• Non-Polarity – No great super powers (Wilkinson 659)

Finally, the kingdom's military and cultural strategy at each time point will be categorized using the classification developed by Edward Luttwak as described in his books The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire and *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*. Effectively, the strategy is a reflection of how the first framework, the internal management of the kingdom, addresses the environment in which they exist, the Second Framework. The categories are as follows:

• Julio-Claudian – Core Empire with client states responsible for implementing the empire's authority and acting as a buffer against other kingdoms (Luttwak Rome 219)

• Antonine System – Empire has few to no client states and takes on military responsibilities for defending borders lands (Luttwak Rome 220)

• Defense-in-Depth – Purely defensive strategy where enemy incursions were contained by local troops supported by redeployment from surrounding areas (Luttwak Rome 221)

• Byzantine System – Diplomacy First, Force Second (Luttwak Byzantine 55)

While the history of Númenor, Arnor and Gondor spans thousands of years specific instances and periods of history stand out as key points for the kingdoms. For Númenor, whose history Tolkien documented mostly through a description of the kings' reigns supplemented by short stories, there appears to be four distinct phases: The Early Period, the Expansionistic Period, the Imperial Phase and the Fall. These phases echo what we know of Atlantis and reflect both islands' establishment, its slide into evil and its eventual destruction. Arnor and Gondor, which were established following Númenor's fall, have a common history and share many key events which could be categorized as: The Kingdoms in Exile, The Fate of Arnor, Gondor's Early Years, The Enemies of Gondor, the Kinstrife, Plague, and the Empire on the Brink. Finally, the promise of restoration is found in Aragorn's return as the King of the Reunified Kingdom. All of these key periods in Arnorian and Gondorian history, while not necessarily in the same chronological order, echo similar events in the history of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. From a perspective of the framework described above, Gondor and Arnor reflect the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, respectively.

Númenor's Early Period

What might be referred to as the Early Period of Númenor begins when the island kingdom was first established under the reign of Elros Tar-Minyatur in 32 Second Age (S.A) and ended with the return of Númenorean ships to Middle-earth. Following the War of Wrath that ended the First Age the Valar, divine stewards of Middle-earth, recognized the humans who fought against Melkor in the First Age. The Edain, as they were known, were given "a land to dwell in, removed from dangers of Middle-earth" (Tolkien King 1011). The island of Númenor was raised from the ocean to serve as the home of those faithful to the Valar. The leaders of the Númenoreans were legendary figures who preserved the lineage of the heroic Edain chieftains, the lineage of High-elven Kings, and the Maiar, a subset of the Valar, who had inter-married with the elves (Tolkien Silmarillion 261). The newly established island kingdom of Númenor was the first of its kind for the humans in Middle-earth and lasted for 3,287 years.

Atlantis had a similarly mythic founding. According to Plato, Atlantis was founded when Poseidon, the Greek God of the Seas, fell in love with a human woman named Clito. He created an island kingdom for her and their sons. When his sons came of age he turned the island kingdom over to them, leaving his oldest, Atlas, as high king (Plato 1299-1300). As such the Atlanteans had divine blood in them, granting them long life and a superior quality over other men (Plato 1306).

Using the previously mentioned framework, Númenor was operating as a Monarchy but because of its isolation was outside any defined international system (Furnish 93). Tolkien provides clarity regarding the rule of Númenor with the insight that "A Númenorean King was monarch, with the power of unquestioned decision in debate; but he governed

the realm with the frame of ancient law, of which he was administrator (and interpreter) but not the maker" (Tolkien Letters 324). Furnish further elaborates that "Second Age Númenor was a monarchy, no doubt; but not an absolute one. Despite the fact that its twenty-five kings were the most powerful and esteemed rulers in all of Arda and, after the time of the ninth, Tar-Súrion, the most powerful militarily, they did not govern unaided, but in concert with the Council of Númenor, known officially as the Council of the Scepter" (Furnish 80). As Númenor wasn't directly interacting with any other kingdoms it also didn't have a defined strategy, the third framework, to manage those interactions.

Númenor's Expansionistic Period

The next period, which stretches from 590-1868 S.A., is an Expansionistic Period where the Númenorean's return to Middle-earth and begin establishing colonies. The Númenoreans returned to the mainland under the reign of Tar-Elendil, the fourth king of Númenor, who reigned from 590-740 S.A. The Númenoreans re-established contact with the elven kingdoms and later began to establish colonies on the shores of Middle-earth (Tolkien Unfinished 218-219). Tolkien's story of *Aldarion and Erendis* provides some insight into the period when the Númenoreans first return to Middle-earth. While driven initially by an interest in exploration, the focus of these visits turned to trade as Aldarion returns with many riches for the kingdom. As his trips to the mainland become more frequent, he helps establish colonies loyal to the Númenoreans on the coast. However, once he and his crew return to Númenor, the native population attacked the settlements showing that it was the Númenorean presence which held the colonies together. During this same time period Gil-galad warns the Númenoreans that the evil of Sauron was growing in Middle-earth. It was Sauron's influence that was disrupting the Númenorean colonies (Tolkien Unfinished 173-217). The conflict with Sauron came to a head when Tar-Minastir, who reigned from 1731-1869 S.A., sent a fleet to aid Gil-galad in the first war against Sauron. The Númenorean's became a power for good in Middle-earth (Tolkien Unfinished 220).

Atlantis similarly became an honored kingdom. The Atlantean race expanded and amassed wealth beyond what had been known to be possible. They also became the rulers of many other islands and kingdoms throughout the Mediterranean. They were benevolent rulers who provided for the needs of their subjects. They also kept their faith by maintaining the temple and holy ground sacred to Poseidon (Plato 1301-1302).

During this period, Númenor continued to operate as a Monarchy but their expansion brought them into contact with the international environment which was dominated by Sauron's hegemony. In response to the request for aid from Gil-galad against Sauron, the Númenoreans implemented an Antonine-like strategy where their own military forces were engaged to fight to defend their colonies on the shores of Middle-earth and address the threat of Sauron.

Númenor's Imperial Phase

The third phase marks a shift from Númenor's more altruistic expansionistic phase to a self-serving Imperial Phase which runs from 1869-3101 S.A. This period marks a slow but steady decent where Númenoreans began to oppress the other peoples of Middle-earth and neglecting their relationship with the creator, Eru Iluvatar. Under the greedy Tar-Ciryatan, who reigned from 1869-2029 S.A., the Númenoreans began to oppress the other men in Middle-earth and brought back metals and precious gems at their expense. Tar-Ciryatan's reign was the first on a dark path as not only did he oppress the men of Middle-earth, he forced his father, Tar-Minastir, to surrender the throne to him. Tar-Ciryatan was succeeded by a line of kings each of whom continued to push Númenor down a dark path. Tar-Antanamir, who reigned from 2029-2221 S.A., exacted heavy tribute on the men of Middle-earth and was the first king to speak openly against the Valar. Tar-Ancalimon, 2221-2386 S.A., widened the rift with the elves and banned the use of Elvish languages in Númenor. Under Ar-Adûnakhôr, the kings began to name themselves using the Adûnaic tongue, claiming to be the 'Lord of the West'. This was seen as blasphemous by the Faithful, a subset of Númenoreans who still loved the elves and remained dedicated to Númenorean ideals. As the Númenoreans moved further into darkness, the length of their life span declined and their kings ruled for fewer years with almost every generation. As their life span declined, the kings of Númenor became more and more obsessed with finding a way to preserve their lives (Tolkien Unfinished 221-222).

As the desire for more wealth from Middle-earth increased, the Númenoreans expanded the number and reach of their colonies (Tolkien Silmarillion 266). These colonies would eventually be the foundation for the kingdoms of Arnor and Gondor. Ruth Lacon in her essay *The Earliest Days of Gondor* suggested that "The main interest of the Númenoreans in Middle-earth lay in Harad: every later reference to the King's Men places them in Umbar or further south....Harad possessed gold ivory for certain, and may have had gemstones, spices, exotic woods and fancy dyes" (Lacon Earliest 11). Lacon goes on to say that "Much of this trade was probably embedded in the social systems of the inland tribes rather than being the market trade we are familiar with. It would be difficult but not impossible for the Númenoreans to become part of such a system. Roman merchants managed the same feat in Iron Age France" (Lacon Earliest 12). As these settlements became endangered by the native population or the forces of Sauron, the Númenoreans responded by placing a more permanent military force to protect their interests in Middle-earth.

Atlantis began its slide into evil the same way. The Atlanteans, who already ruled multiple island kingdoms, extended their reach through conquest, "setting out to enslave all of the territory inside the strait (meaning the Mediterranean)" (Plato 1232). While continuing to portray themselves as "beauteous and blessed" they were filled with a lust for possessions and power which drove their conquests. Plato

also recounts that "when the divine portion in them began to grow faint as it was often blended with great quantities of mortality and as their human nature gradually gained ascendancy, at that moment, in their inability to bear their great fortune, they became disordered" (Plato 1306).

Unfortunately, Plato's description of Atlantis lacks many of the details that might better help us understand the Númenorean Imperial phase. However, the early Roman Empire may help fill in some of the gaps. Rome went through a similar expansionist phase after cementing its control of the Italian peninsula. Rome had extensive contact throughout the Mediterranean and northern Europe. Archaeological evidence dated back to that time shows that jewelry, materials such as ivory, and pottery indicate that Rome had an extensive trade network throughout the Mediterranean (Beard 84). This trade, similar to the Númenoreans, led to expansion through the establishment of colonies or military conquest. As territory was annexed the conquered lands swore allegiance to Rome and became client states. These client states were populated by members of the local population and led by a mix of those locals supportive of the Romans and Roman citizens (Beard 165).

Success in expansion, trade and war had the benefit of increasing the Roman Empire's wealth. "By the mid second century BCE, the profits of warfare had made the Roman people by far the richest of any in their known world….and there was enough left over to line the pockets of the soldiers, from the grandest general to the rawest recruit" (Beard 178). This wealth, in turn, lead to a building boom in the empire. "Pompey's vast building scheme of theatre, gardens, porticoes and meeting rooms, all lined with famous works of sculpture, was a decidedly imperial innovation. It was far more extensive than the individual temples commonly erected by earlier generals in thanks for the help of the gods on the battle field had ever been" (Beard 275). This trend continued after Caesar Augustus became emperor. "One part of this was a massive programme of restoration, of everything from roads and aqueducts to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, the founding monument of the Republic" (Beard 365). While the Romans imported the wealth of other countries through their expansion they exported culture. Conquered peoples and those that bordered the expanding empire saw the success the Romans had and began to emulate their culture. For example, the Britons adopted many of the cultural aspects of the Romans, dressing in togas and hosting elaborate banquets (Beard 495).

Drawing from what we know of the Romans it's not hard to guess how the Númenoreans would have approached Middle-earth during their expansionist phase. Per Tolkien, "At first, the Númenoreans had come to Middle-earth as teachers and friends of lesser Men afflicted by Sauron; but now their havens became fortresses, holding wide coastlands in subjection" (Tolkien King 1012). Following Aldarion, the Númenoreans took a different approach, using force to maintain their holdings. This control of lands echoes the early Roman Republic which used its military power to annex land (Campbell 170). As Campbell describes the Romans, "After consolidation had been completed and major opposition suppressed, the troops had a significant role as peacekeepers within the provinces, and in putting down low-intensity violence, and in maintaining internal security (Campbell 174). Further, "The Romans recognized few restraints in dealing with people they felt were obstinate in their resistance….Indeed, the Romans occasionally resorted to mutilation." As a result "It is indeed not surprising that many peoples quietly accepted the rule of Rome and her agents, since the economic and social consequences of defeat by the Roman army were incalculable" (Campbell 169-170). With the Númenoreans following a similar pattern, the heroes of the First Age became the scourge of the Second. Elizabeth Hoiem in her essay *World Creation as Colonization* highlights the start of the moral fall of the Númenoreans by stating "Although Númenorean abuses of native Middle-earth peoples are briefly mentioned, the main objection to colonization is its moral corruption of the colonizer" (Hoiem 77).

During this imperialistic phase Númenor continued to be ruled as a Monarchy but it now operated within a bipolar system (Furnish 93). Númenor was one of the two powers on the international stage, balanced against the equal power of Sauron. As it looked to increase trade and the wealth it was bringing back to the island, the Númenoreans subjugated the other humans, developing a series of client states which it used to drive their ambitions. This was indicative of a Julio-Claudian-like approach to their environment. Luttwak explains that Rome was driven similarly as "The Romans generally solved the security problems of their growing empire by further expansion, but this expansion was mostly hegemonic rather than territorial" (Luttwak Rome 53). The client states created by the Roman Empire were responsible for acting in Rome's interests but had the latitude to do so without direct oversite. Fear of Roman reprisals for uprisings or failure to support the empire kept the client states under control (Luttwak Rome 219-220).

Númenor's Fall

The final phase of Númenor is its Fall, which encapsulates 3102-3319 S.A. This period is marked by increased religious persecution of those Faithful to Eru and ends with the island's destruction. Initially, the Númenoreans worshiped Eru Ilúvatar and were respectful of the Ban of the Valar, which prohibited the Númenoreans from sailing west towards the Valar's home of Valinor (Tolkien King 1011). The Númenoreans relationship with the Valar was so important that the King originally served as high priest by "offering prayer for the coming year at the Erukyerme in the first days of spring, praise of Eru Iluvatar at the Erulaitale in midsummer and thanksgiving to him at the Eruhantale at the end of autumn" (Tolkien Unfinished 166). However, the Númenoreans began to slowly shift away from revering the Valar to chafing under the Ban. Under Ar-Adûnakhôr, who reigned from 2899-2962 S.A., kings stopped taking on elvish names when they ascended the throne. Ar-Gimilzôr, who reigned from 3102-3177 S.A.,

banned the use of elvish and prohibited the Eldar from visiting Númenor. The Faithful, those still loyal to the elves and Valar, soon became oppressed and were punished for their faith under the reign of Ar-Gimilzôr. The Faithful were given a respite when Tar-Palantir ascended the throne in 3243 S.A., but this was short lived. Ar-Pharazôn, the last king of Númenor, resumed persecution of the Faithful when he gained the throne in 3255 S.A. Ar-Pharazôn is the most powerful of the Númenorean Kings and successfully captures Sauron. Sauron is at first a prisoner of the King, but through his knowledge and cunning he rises to become the chief counselor to the king. Sauron's influence increases the persecution of the Faithful as he convinces the bulk of the Númenoreans that Eru Iluvatar is a lie and that the real chief of the gods is Morgoth. The Númenoreans build a new temple to Morgoth and sacrifice members of the Faithful to their new god (Tolkien Letters 155-156). The blasphemy continues and eventually the Númenoreans declare war on the Valar (Tolkien Silmarillion 268-269). The Númenoreans had completed a cycle where monotheism was supplanted by paganism, except for a brief period under Tar-Palantir, which then became devil-worship.

Rome went through a similar but opposite religious cycle. The Roman Empire began as a pagan empire which was then converted to Christianity. However, this conversion did not occur immediately and in the early stages, the faithful Christians were persecuted for their beliefs. When Christianity first started taking hold in the Roman Empire, the leaders of the Pagan regime were uncertain how to deal with the new religion. Historically, Rome had been very tolerant of other religions, incorporating them into their own pantheon of gods. However, the Christian Religion didn't allow for other gods and claimed their God was the one and only real god. As this went counter to Roman culture the Christians were persecuted in the hopes of getting them to fall back to the pagan ways (Beard 476). The Christian–Pagan conflict came to a head in the fourth century when co-emperors Licinius, who ruled the eastern Roman Empire, and Constantine, who ruled the west, could not come to an agreement on how Christianity should be addressed. Licinius was a Pagan and in 323 A.D. "compelled everyone in his administration to sacrifice <to non-Christian gods> or else lose their job…Roman governors were free to punish dissident Christians, shut down some churches, demolish others and, in the case of the bishops in the province of Bithynia-Pontus south of the Black Sea, murder key figureheads in the Christian clergy." Constantine used Licinius's actions as one of the many reasons to attack him in an effort to consolidate control of the empire. Constantine's army was a Christian one, decorated with symbols of its faith, and it defeated Licinius's pagan-army at the battle of Chrysopolis. Following Constantine's victory over Licinius, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire (Baker 356-363). However, not two generations after Constantine, Emperor Julian the Apostate drove a return to paganism. However as Lars Brownsworth put it in *Lost to the West* "It was all to no avail. Paganism was a spent force only dimly half-remembered by its former adherents, and no amount of public prodding would bring it back" (Brownsworth 33). Christianity resumed its place as the official religion of the Roman Empire and would continue until the Empire's fall.

The religious persecution of the Faithful was a symptom of an even greater problem which would lead to the downfall of Númenor. Ar-Pharazôn, who had taken the throne of Númenor by force and forced the rightful ruler, Queen Míriel, to marry him, had withdrawn from Middle-earth to cement his rule. With his absence Sauron put forth his might and began to subjugate the people on the mainland and claimed that he was now "King of Men". Ar-Pharazôn became angry at this claim and invaded Middle-earth with his forces capturing Sauron. Upon returning to Númenor, Ar-Pharazôn paraded Sauron and the captured spoils of war through Númenor before imprisoning Sauron. Over time Sauron, because of his divine nature and charisma, became an advisor to the king. He fed the king's fear of old age and death. Terrified of his own mortality Ar-Pharazôn was persuaded by Sauron that the secret of eternal life was being withheld by the Valar. Ar-Pharazôn launched an invasion against Valinor which resulted in the destruction of the Númenorean navy and the island kingdom itself (Tolkien King 1012-1013). While some might point to Sauron's demonic nature as the reason for the fall, he only accelerated a pattern of events that the Númenoreans had already put into place. The Númenoreans had allowed their culture to become corrupted over time through their exposure to the lesser men of Middle-earth and eventually Sauron's influence. As Hoiem remarked "Thus what ultimately destroyed Aldarion's royal line is a pattern of idolatrous sins: poising as gods to native Middle-earth people, worshipping false gods, and attempting to usurp the Valar's rule of Arda…. They eventually build elaborate tombs, become obsessed with death, and envy the elves their immortality, all of which violate Augustine's injunction "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world" (Hoiem 80).

Atlantis suffered a similar fate. Once an honored kingdom, faithful to the gods, they allowed their lust for power and material goods to corrupt their society. Where once they were seen as educators and benevolent rulers they became tyrants and invaders. While Athens and a number of Mediterranean cities stood against them (Plato 1232) it was, in the end, divine retribution that doomed their empire. "Zeus, god of the gods, reigning as king according to law, could clearly see this state of affairs, he observed this noble race lying in this abject state and resolved to punish them…" (Plato 1306). Like Númenor, Atlantis was swallowed by the sea.

While Númenor's fate is directly comparable to Atlantis's, corruption of culture is often pointed to as a reason for the fall of both halves of the Roman Empire. It's argued that Rome's early strength was built on a homegrown military and warrior ethos derived from its mythical ties to the Roman God of War and the she-wolf who suckled Romulus and Remus. This strength was eroded as Rome expanded and began to be influenced by the cultures it was

conquering. For example, the Greeks were perceived as soft by the Romans, yet the Roman's adopted many of the Greek gods and began to follow their philosophic teachings. Its further argued that Christianity, with its teachings that true reward was to be found in the next life, called into question the need for aggressive expansion and wealth, further weakening the empire. Repeated exposure to foreign cultures, whether by conquest or trade, worked its way into the Roman ethos. The Romans, who had worked to be inclusive of the lands they conquered, began to adopt some of the cultural manners of the conquered. "The poet Horace exaggerated when, in the late first century BCE, he summed up the process as one of simple cultural takeover: 'Greece, once conquered, conquered her savage victor and brought culture into the rough land of Latium'" (Beard 499). As the Romans began to value their individual lives more than the Rome itself, they began to rely more and more on non-Roman troops to defend their lands. Eventually they were no longer able to defend themselves, leading in part to the fall of the Roman Empire.

To the end, Númenor continued to be ruled as a Monarchy. However, "All these negative policies taken together indicate the onset of despotism rather than true monarchy, in that force or cunning became paramount" (Furnish 80). Despite the decline into tyranny, Númenor succeeded in marshaling enough military might to shape the international environment. The Númenoreans implemented an Antonine-like strategy to address the threat of Sauron, fielding their own military to battle Sauron's forces. The bipolar standoff between Númenor and Sauron was broken as Sauron's forces fled when Ar-Pharazôn and the Númenoreans prepared for battle. The capture of Sauron created a unipolar environment, where Númenor was the sole power in the area.

Kingdoms in Exile

When Ar-Pharazôn led his ill-fated attack on Valinor, the Valar called upon Eru Iluvatar to defend them. In response Iluvatar destroyed the attacking fleet and sunk Númenor beneath the waves. However, prior to the destruction of Númenor a number of the Faithful, led by Elendil, fled from the island taking with them their families, heirlooms and other such items. The Faithful reached the shores of Middle-earth following the cataclysm. Building on the foundation of the Númenorean colonies already in place, the Faithful established two new kingdoms in 3319 S.A. Arnor was founded by Elendil in the North-West and Gondor was founded by Anárion and Isildur in the South-East (Tolkien Silmarillion 276-282). These kingdoms continued the legacy and traditions of the Númenoreans. While the split of the Roman Empire into east and west was not caused by a divine cataclysm, it is similar in that two kingdoms with similar heritages were established with similar geographic positioning. Their fates, described subsequently, also had many parallels.

Gondor and Arnor both started as Monarchies supported by an advisory council. As Furnish notes "Although only Gondor is mentioned as having an advisory Council it is virtually certain that the northern kingdom had an analogous body, as both would have emulated Númenor" (Furnish 81). These kingdoms were founded in a Non-Polarity environment as the power of the elves had wanted, the power of Sauron was broken for the moment, and the other human kingdoms hadn't as yet established themselves. Reeling from the cataclysm, the Númenoreans undertook a Defense-in-Depth strategy focused on consolidating their power and defending what they had.

The Fate of Arnor

While most of the events described in the Second and Third Age impacted both Kingdoms in Exile, they are mostly documented from a Gondorian perspective due to the longevity of the kingdom relative to Arnor. As such, after addressing the fate of Arnor, the rest of this paper will focus on historical events from Gondor's perspective. However, the fate of Arnor also has parallels with the fate of the Western Roman Empire which will be covered here.

Arnor was established by Elendil and, while separate from Gondor, was meant to be the seat of the High King over both realms. Elendil ruled as High King from the founding in 3319 S.A. to his death at the hands of Sauron in 3441 S.A. or 1 Third Age (T.A.). Unfortunately, the war against Sauron also claimed the life of Anárion who fell before Barad-dûr, Sauron's stronghold. Following Sauron's defeat, Isildur tried to return to Arnor to claim the throne of the High King, but he and his three eldest sons were ambushed and killed by orcs. As a result the framework of two kingdoms with one High King was disrupted. The throne of Gondor fell to

Anárion's son Meneldil, while Valandil, Isildur's fourth son, ascended to the throne of Arnor. While both kingdoms lost their experienced leaders, Arnor appeared to be in the better position with few apparent enemies nearby while Gondor had to contend with Mordor and foes to the east and south. As Scull puts it "The Western Empire with its capital in Rome, and the Eastern with its capital at Constantinople. This is very like the division of Elendil's kingdom after his death into North and South, with separate capitals but rulers related by blood….In that case the history of the Kingdom in exile echoes that of Rome: the older capital and the senior kingdom fell, and the junior endured. Annúminas can be compared to Rome and Minas Tirith with Constantinople" (Scull 41).

Like the Western Roman Empire, Arnor fell relatively quickly due to internal strife and concentrated efforts by its enemies. Following the defeat of Sauron in 1 T.A., the Northern Kingdom appears to have had a period of relative peace. However, this peace was soon unintentionally undermined by the 10th King, Earendur, who lived from 640-861 T.A. King Earendur split Arnor into three with each of his sons ruling the smaller kingdoms of Arthedain, Cardolan and Rhudaur (Tolkien Peoples 193). These three kingdoms, while ruled by brothers and their heirs, often were at odds as each was trying to gain territory at the expense of the other. At this point the capital of Annúminas was abandoned and the seat of Arthedain's power was established in Fornost. During the reign of the Arthedainian King Malvegil, who reigned from 1272 to 1349 T.A., one of the Nazgûl, the Witch-King, establishes a kingdom of evil men in Angmar. From here he waged war on the smaller kingdoms. Cardolan and Rhudaur fell during the reign of King Arveleg I, who reigned from 1356-1409 T.A. Eventually the capital of Arthedain was taken and the last king of the northen realm, Arvedui, died trying to flee in the frozen wastes of Forochel in 1974 T.A. (Tolkien King 1015-1017).

The fate of Arnor is comparable to the fate of the Western Roman Empire. The Roman Empire had grown too large to manage effectively and the Emperor Diocletian broke the empire into Eastern and Western halves. Over each half he appointed a senior ruler, known as an Augustus, who in turn selected a junior ruler known as a Caesar (Baker 319). The Tetrarchy, rule by four, was successful until Diocletian decided to retire. Without Diocletian's hand guiding the process, the Tetrarchy intensified the power battles between the four new leaders resulting in botched assassination attempts and finally war (Baker 324). The empire was briefly reunited under the rule of Constantine but was again split into eastern and western halves under the rule of Valentinian I, who ruled from 364-375 A.D. The Western Roman Empire declined rapidly after Valentinian. Inept leadership and multiple claimants to the throne fractured the Western Empire over the next 140 years. Weakened by the infighting, the West couldn't stand against the barbarians who invaded and brought the empire to its knees. Like in Arthedain, the capital of the Western Empire was moved from its original location, Rome, to a more defensible one, Ravenna, in 402 A.D. (Brownsworth 94). While it was no longer the capital, Rome was still the spiritual heart of the empire and its sacking in the fifth century showed that the empire was effectively dead. The sacking of Arthedain's capital in Fornost and the original capital at Annúminas could easily be described by Brownsworth description of Rome where "For three days, the barbarians sacked the Eternal City, even breaking into the mausoleum of Augustus and scattering the imperial ashes" (Brownsworth 51). Odovacar, a Roman general, deposed the last Western Roman Empire and sent his royal vestments to the Eastern Roman Empire (Baker 47).

Gondor's Early Years

Before diving into the historical events that impacted Gondor, it's important to understand the position and economy of the kingdom and how that was similar to the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire. Unlike Arnor, which was nestled in the North, Gondor's position would appear to be a precarious one. While Arnor was primarily landlocked and lacked the natural defenses of the mountains and sea, Arnor was located far from Mordor and other enemies. A true enemy to Arnor didn't arise until the Witch-King established the Kingdom of Angmar during the reign of King Malvegil. Arnor also had the benefit of having elven allies close by in the form of Lindon and Rivendell. Gondor on the other hand, stretched from the coast where it bordered Harad, to the south, to the mountains surrounding Mordor. In addition to the enemies to the south and east, the Easterling tribes posed a threat from the north-east. All of these

kingdoms tended to be at odds with the Gondorians, with Mordor the most frequent adversary. Luttwak's description of the Byzantine Empire also fits that of Gondor, "With more powerful enemies and a less favorable geography, the eastern empire was certainly the more vulnerable of the two" (Luttwak Byzantine 5).

While the economy of Gondor isn't detailed in Tolkien's writings it's probable that its similarity to the Byzantine Empire would lead to a similar economic system. In her essay *The Economy and Economic History of Gondor*, Ruth Lacon describes how Gondor's economic system may have unfolded. She begins by establishing that "the best comparison is with the classical world…which was basically an agrarian society" (Lacon Economy 37). Upon first arriving in Gondor, Pippin brings this to life as he sees that "The townlands were rich, with wide tilth and many orchards and homesteads there were with oast and garner, fold and byre, and many rills rippling through the green from the highlands down to Anduin" (Tolkien King 734). Lacon then goes on to divine that "For its time and place Gondor was a sophisticated state: revenue collection and expenditure would be of vital importance in maintaining the state and its structure" and "taxes themselves probably followed the Roman model, the possibilities being severely restricted by the administrative capability of the state" (Lacon Economy 39). While similar to Rome, Lacon did state that "External trade was probably more important to Gondor than to the Roman Empire due to the location of the country" (Lacon Economy 39).

Military strategy evolved for Gondor in a way similar to that of the Roman and then Byzantine Empires. Following the defeat of Sauron in 1 T.A., Gondor went through a period of peace which allowed them to rebuild their cities and military. However, Gondor was attacked by Easterlings during the reign of King Ostoher, who reigned from 411-492 T.A. This invasion by Easterlings was repulsed and Gondor turned its attention to expanding and protecting its borders. Gondor made key gains under King Falastur (830-913 T.A.) who expanded Gondor's borders around the mouth of the Anduin. King Hyarmendacil I (1015-1149 T.A.) defeated Harad to the south and made them swear fealty to Gondor. Gondor also expanded its naval might under King Eärnil I (913-936 T.A.) and King Ciryandil (936-1015 T.A.) which ushered in the era of the Ship-Kings. Under King Atanatar II (1149-1226 T.A.), Gondor reached the peak of its military power with direct rule over a vast area and with tribute coming from the Men of the Anduin Vale and the realm of Harad. Estimates of Gondor's military at the time of the War of the Ring were around 45,000 troops who defended a population of around 1-2 million (Wigmore, 1). Given the significant population erosion leading up to that time, it's easy to imagine Gondor's population at its height being 3-4 million with around 90,000 infantry, archers and knights.

At its height, Gondor was operating as a Monarchy in a Unipolar environment. As seen historically in Númenor and Arnor, one king continued to preside over the realm though he was advised by a council. At this time Gondor represented the only significant power in Middle-earth as the elves military power had diminished following the War of the Last Alliance, Arnor had been split into three weaker kingdoms and Mordor was still recovering from its defeat at the beginning of the Third Age. Rohan, who would later become another power in the region and a future Gondorian client-kingdom, wouldn't be founded until the rule of the Steward Cirion which lasted from 2489-2567 T.A. (Tolkien Unfinished 205). While Gondor wielded significant power it couldn't extend its rule into the land of the Easterlings nor could it fully conquer Harad's lands to the south. To address this environment, Gondor at its peak implemented a Julio-Claudian-like strategy where its core empire was defended by a strong military but client states, like Harad and the Anduin Vale, were held responsible for tribute and implementing Gondor's will.

Enemies of Gondor

The Orcs of Mordor, the Southrons of Harad and the tribes of Easterlings would continue to be Gondor's main adversaries throughout their history. While the Eastern Roman Empire faced many nations, the archetypes of their enemies can be found in enemies of Gondor. The Barbarians and Huns were similar to the Easterlings in how they arrived in waves and represented an almost alien military adversary. "As for the other races, the Southrons are the Arabs, the Orcs are the most destructive of the barbarians, and the Dwarves have no relations with Gondor and therefore have no counterparts in real history" (Allen 5). Like many of the Eastern Roman Empire's enemies, who were driven in part by their Islamic beliefs to wage war on the Christian empire, the enemies of Gondor were typically driven by the influence of Sauron who wanted the kingdoms of the west destroyed.

Chronologically, the first human adversaries encountered by the Gondorians were the Easterlings who first attacked in 490 T.A. While the Easterlings initially appeared to reflect the barbarians which plagued the Western Roman Empire, the subsequent waves became to more reflect the Huns and Islamic Turks which faced off against the eastern half of the empire. As described by Ford, "The first major conflict occurred early, prior to Gondor's expansionist phase under the Ship-Kings: "Gondor was first attacked by wild men out of the East" who were defeated and driven out, they reappeared in "fresh hordes," and who were ultimately driven out again. Rome's first foreign invaders after the creation of the Republic were Celtic tribesman, specifically the Gauls, who were being forced out of their settlements in the upper Danube region of Eastern Europe by an influx of Germanic peoples" (Ford 63). However, Lacon points out that "The Easterlings belonged to cultures alien and often hostile to that of Gondor: the proper comparison here is with the attitude of medieval Europeans to Islam and the East – Belligerent incomprehension" (Lacon Easterlings 28). Each wave of Easterlings that attacked Gondor appeared to present some new military challenge, with the ultimate challenges presented by the Wainriders. "The Wainriders

appear seemingly out of nowhere, launching a powerful invasion in the course of which the armies of both Gondor and Rhovanion were defeated" (Lacon Easterlings 30). These Wainriders came in caravans of wagons, or wains, and attacked using chariots (Tolkien King 1024). Ford recognized that "The Wainriders are an echo of the Huns, or more accurately, the Huns as remembered by the descendants of the Germanic peoples" (Ford 65). Similar to the Huns, the Easterlings "were able to call in aid from their kinsfolk to the east and recoup while neither Rhovanion nor Gondor had the strength to drive them out" (Lacon Easterlings 30).

The second human enemy engaged by the Gondorians was the Haradrim or Southrons. First encountered during the Ship-King era, their conflict echoes that of early Rome and its conflict with Carthage. As detailed by Ford "Gondor's first enemy after it entered into its expansionist phase under the Ship-Kings was a great harbor to the south, called Umbar. After a lengthy conflict, Gondor defeated the men of Harad for control of Umbar." When Rome began to expand beyond Italy, the first great enemy it faced was Carthage in north Africa, which was a harbor across the water almost directly to the south of Italy" (Ford 63-64). While the similarity to Carthage continues with the Haradrim's use of *Mûmakil*, Middle-earth's predecessor to the elephant, most presentations of the Haradrim have them being similar in appearance to the armies of the Arab nations. This imagery was used in Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings* movie trilogy. This depiction aligns with Harad's southern location and the description given when Sam encounters a Haradrim close up. Sam notices that "He came to a rest in the fern a few feet away, face downward, green arrow-feathers sticking from his neck below a golden collar. His scarlet robes were tattered, his corslet of overlapping brazen plates was rent and hewn, his black plaits of hair braided with gold were drenched with blood" (Tolkien Towers 646)."

While the Northmen represented the 'good 'barbarians who came to become allies of Gondor, the Orcs represented the more feral and evil barbarians who continuously tried to bring down the empire. In *Germania*, Tacitus puts forth a framework for classifying the barbarians (i.e. non-Romans) that are engaged with the Empire. Obertino suggests that "Tolkien draws upon Tacitus in depicting both the admirable and debased peoples that Frodo encounters" and that "Tacitus description of ferocity among the Germans may well influence Tolkien's portrait of the Orcs, who excel in hatred and anger, even among themselves" (Obertino 118).

Not only were the peoples encountered by the Gondorians similar to those faced by the Roman and Byzantine Empires, their response was often the same as well. When Gondor held the advantage militarily they would repulse invasion, invade the lands of their enemies and demand tribute, turning them into client states. Gondor would then take the children of the rulers as hostages (Tolkien King 1021). The Roman Empires also practiced taking family members as 'honored guests' to ensure the loyalty and compliance of conquered foes. For example, Antiochus IV, a Syrian King in 2nd century B.C., had spent 10 years as a hostage in Rome before being exchanged for another relative (Beard 191) and in 195 B.C. the son of Philip V of Macedon was taken as part of the Roman peace treaty (Matyszak 51).

Kinstrife

Following the era of the Ship-Kings, Gondor suffered invasions by the enemies described above and other events that eroded the strength of the Kingdoms. In 1437 T.A. a dispute over the legitimacy of King Eldacar threw the kingdom into a civil war called the Kinstrife. In the Kinstrife, Eldacar, the half-Northmen son of King Valacar, is overthrown due, in part, to his mixed heritage, his father was a pure blood Dúnedain but his mother was a Northman. Castamir the Usurper was a pure blood Dúnedain with a claim to the throne. His claim came through his grandfather who was the youngest son of a previous king (Tolkien King 1022). The Gondorian civil war has similarities to those in Roman history. The first is the instance of family members fighting amongst one another for the throne. Three generations after Caesar Augustus became the first emperor of Rome, the Julio-Claudian dynasty was brought to an end due primarily to the infighting between potential heirs. In 50 A.D., Emperor Claudius married Julia Agrippina and adopted her son, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. While Claudius already had a male heir in Britannicus, Agripina was determined that her son would become the next emperor. Through slander, politicking, and poison she destroyed rivals to her son's claim to the throne and then killed her husband and his son. Ironically, Lucius, now known as Emperor Nero, returned the favor and killed his mother, Nero was later overthrown and the Julio-Claudian dynasty was ended (Baker 192-198). Family violence in the name of succession wasn't just prevalent in the early days of the empire. In 1183 A.D., Andronicus the Terrible became emperor of the east by having his cousin put to death and marrying his widow. Andronicus lasted 2 years before being overthrown (Brownsworth 249).

Another element of the Kinstrife that also plagued the Roman Empire was the concept of what it was to be a true citizen of the empire. Castamir built his claim to the throne of Gondor on the fact that he, as a pure blood Dúnedain, was most qualified to rule. His supporters feared that Eldacar's mixed heritage would weaken the throne of Gondor and they would not accept him as king. A similar question was raised in Rome as it expanded. "The expansion of Roman power raised big debates and paradoxes about Rome's place in the world, about what counted as 'Roman' when so much of the Mediterranean was under Roman control and about where the boundary between barbarism and civilization now lay, and which side of that boundary Rome was on" (Beard 179). An example of this is revealed in the war between Augustus and Marc Antony. Both were Roman by birth, but Augustus was able to paint Antony as a non-Roman due to his 'extravagant and immoral' life style, as evidenced by his relationship with the Egyptian Cleopatra (Beard 349).

Plague

Another Gondorian event echoing the past was the great plague of 1636 T.A. "Following upon the entry of great numbers of Northmen 'a deadly plague came with dark winds out of the east.' Like the Roman great plague of the second century AD, the Gondorian plague weakened the state and contributed to its downfall" (Ford 64). While the details of the plague are sketchy, Tolkien's description of the macro level effects is quite dramatic. First, the plague took the lives of the King and all his children, this left Gondor without leadership in a time of crisis. In addition, the plague killed a great number of Gondorian citizens, especially those living in Osgiliath, Gondor's capital. The plague left the city, and others like it, as ghost towns which slowly were abandoned. The military was also impacted as the fortresses that guarded Gondor's borders were left unmanned. Those that survived the plague noted that it coincided with Sauron's return to power and that, while it weakened his armies as well, it removed the watch on his borders allowing him more freedom to operate (Tolkien King 1023). Beyond the top level impact of the plague, the details of how it impacted the empire are left to our imagination.

The plagues that ravaged classical, medieval and renaissance Europe may provide some insights into how the plague played out in Gondor. The Black Death that struck Europe in the 1300s had both immediate and long term impacts. The plague struck quickly bringing mortality rates as high as 50%. It spread along the trade and military routes as the rats that carried the fleas and disease moved with the goods being transported. As the death toll climbed, a new problem arose of how to, in a timely manner, properly bury the deceased. The clergy, also decimated by the plague, were not unable to keep up with the demand for their services nor could gravediggers provide enough graves for the deceased. As demand outstripped supply, the dead were buried in mass graves (Cantor 23). The plague also had a snowball effect in the economy. As the population died off there were less people to work in the fields or industry. With less people working in the fields, food became scarce. Scarcity drove up prices but less people also meant less tax dollars to buy the supplies necessary to continue government services or field a standing military (Cantor 190). The impact of the plague didn't stop with the generation it had afflicted. With less people available to have children, the next generation had critical labor shortages. These shortages were primarily in rural areas as peasants filled the labor shortages in the cities at higher wages. As wages sky rocketed the aristocracy forced through labor laws designed to hold costs down. This lead to the Peasants Revolt of 1381, which almost toppled the English government (Cantor 24). "The pestilence deeply affected individual and family behavior and consciousness. It put severe strains on the social, political, and economic systems. It threatened the stability and viability of civilization" (Cantor 25).

The Justinianic plague (542 A.D.) is considered to have been a key factor in weakening the Roman Empire, contributing to its steady decline throughout the centuries (Smith 10). The plague is believed to have originated in Egypt and traveled along trade and military routes deep into the empire (Smith 5). Plagues killed the rich and poor alike and dramatically changed the economic and military of the affected kingdoms (Beard 439). "In Constantinople, the disease raged unchecked for four months with the horrifying casualty rate of ten thousand per day. The dead fell in such numbers that they overwhelmed the graveyards and had to be flung into an unused castle until the rotting corpses were spilling over the walls. The depopulated city ground to a halt, unable to maintain the rhythms of daily life under the strain. Trade sank to almost nothing, farmers abandoned their fields, and the few workers who remained did their best to flee the stricken city. When the plague at last abated, famine and poverty followed in its wake" (Brownsworth 104). With the military weakened, the emperor had to buy off attacking enemies, depleting the treasury even further. With no tax base to replenish the treasury, Justinian slashed the budget (Brownsworth 111). Salaries of teachers, physicians and entertainers were cut to help reduce costs (Smith 7). Gondor must have suffered similarly as man power fell following the plague.

Empire on the Brink

Decimated by invasion, civil war and plague, Gondor had to evolve its strategy. Expansion and holding on to captured territory was no longer possible and the Gondorians had to implement a defensive strategy to hold their enemies at bay. This strategy involved a heavily fortified city which provided a refuge for its citizens during times of invasion, an intelligence network designed to frustrate enemies, and strategic alliances to defend the borders. This strategy echoes that of the Byzantine Empire. As the Byzantine strategy was described by Luttwak, "A new strategic approach was thereby affirmed: diplomacy first, force second, for the costs of the former were only temporary, while the risks of the latter could be all too final" (Luttwak Byzantine 55).

The chief refuge for Gondorians became the walled city of Minas Tirith. Founded in 3320 S.A. as Minas Anor, Tower of the Setting Sun, the city was on the western half of the region of Ithilien. Its sister city, Minas Ithil, Tower of the Rising Moon, sat on the opposite side of the region on the border of Mordor. Between them, stretching over the Anduin River, was the first capital of Gondor, Osgiliath. However, the ongoing wars and plague caused Osgiliath to become deserted and King Tarondor, who reigned 1636-1798, moved the capital to Minas Anor. Like the Western Roman Empire's move from Rome to Ravena was driven by an increased need for defensibility, the Gondorian capital was moved to Minas Anor which was more defendable than Osgiliath. Minas Anor was built into a mountain range and surrounded by a vast wall. Then Minas Ithil fell to Mordor during the reign of King Eärnil II, who reigned from 1944-2043 T.A. Minas Anor was renamed Minas Tirith, Tower of the Guard, by King Eärnur, who reigned from 2043-2050 T.A. (Tolkien Peoples 201-202). The magnificence of Minas Tirith was described by Tolkien as such, "Pippin gazed in

growing wonder at the great stone city, vaster and more splendid than anything that he had dreamed of; greater and stronger than Isengard, and far more beautiful" (Tolkien King 736).

Similarly, Byzantium's capital was the heavily fortified Constantinople. Constantinople had a similar defensive wall and reputation. "The eastern emperor Theodosius II was so alarmed by the sack of Rome that he immediately ordered huge new walls built around Constantinople. Rising forty feet high and nearly sixteen feet thick, these powerful defenses of stone and brick would throw back every hopeful invader for the next thousand years" (Brownsworth 52). "It was also by far the most impressive city, with its spectacular maritime setting on a promontory projecting into a strait and its array of majestic palaces and churches…." Its name alone shows that the prestige of the city was immense and far-reaching. To the Slavs nearby in what is now Bulgaria and Macedonia, or father away in Russia, Constantinople was Tsargrad, the "City of the emperor," the capital of the world, even the outpost of God on earth" (Luttwak Byzantine 124-125).

Gondor's rangers were a specialized part of the military which ventured into enemy lands to collect intelligence and slow their enemy's progress. As described in *The Two Towers* the rangers used stealth and surprise to ambush Southron forces and took shelter in hidden refuges (Tolkien Towers 645-647). For the Byzantines, the diplomatic envoy was the source of intelligence for the empire. While not a formal organization or part of the military, the Byzantine Empire trained envoys to act as their representative at distant foreign kingdoms to either bolster alliances or disrupt governments that opposed the empire. The funneling of information back to the empire was a key component of their role (Luttwak Byzantine 100-101).

Similar to the Byzantine Empire, Gondor also relied on diplomacy to defend their borders. One of the earliest wars Gondor participated in was the War of the Last Alliance which brought Gondor, Arnor and the Elven nations together to face the threat of Sauron. Building on this experience, Gondor now aligned itself with Northmen who would serve as allies against the Easterling invasions. The Gondorians gave the Northmen lands to the north of Gondor, using them as a buffer against the Easterlings (Tolkien King 1021). "Gondor's success against the Easterlings may have owed much to Regent Minalcar's recruitment of Vidugavia, King of Rhovanion, as an ally" (Lacon Easterlings 30). To recognize this growing alliance, Minalcar sent his son Valacar to be an ambassador to the Northmen. Valacar grew to love the Northmen and took Vidumavi, Vidugavia's daughter, as his wife (Tolkien King 1022). As Allen put it "In Gondor the use of Northmen – with Gothic names – as allies against the Easterlings led to close friendship between the two peoples, and eventually to the marriage of the heir to the throne of Gondor to a daughter of one of the Rhovanion chieftains" (Allen 4). This alliance through marriage would prove crucial in turning the tide against Castamir who tried to usurp Gondor's thrown during the Kinstrife, described later. Rohan eventually became a buffer state which helped protect the northern border of Gondor from Easterling attacks.

The Byzantines used similar alliances to defend their lands. The closest to the Northmen in *The Lord of the Rings* were the Bulghars who lived north of the Byzantine Empire. While the Bulghars were on-again-off-again allies they were critical in the defense of the empire. During the second siege of Constantinople by the Arabs in 717-718 A.D., the Bulghars attacked from the north, killing over 20,000 Arabs (Lutwak Byzantine 175). The Northmen who became the Rohirrim were also similar to the Germanic peoples who were initially enemies of Rome but who later became their allies, generals and leaders (Ford 64). The Byzantine Empire strengthened relations with their allies by bestowing titles and land, sending diplomatic envoys and through strategic marriages.

While the line of Gondorian kings had long since ended, the kingdom continued to be ruled as a monarchy by a line of Stewards. These Stewards had to contend with an increasingly complex international environment where two hegemons, that of Gondor and Mordor, dominated (Furnish 94). Gondor leveraged what remained of the Númenorean military might, its heavily fortified capital and strategic alliances to defend the kingdom. Instead of trying to annihilate its enemies, Gondor realized that it needed to weather the assaults of its enemies while reserving its strength for times of need. "The strategical success of the Byzantine empire was of a different order than any number of tactical victories or defeats: it was a sustained ability, century after century, to generate disproportionate power from whatever military strength could be mustered, by combining it with all the arts of persuasion, guided by superior information" (Luttwak Byzantine 6).

At the time of the War of the Ring, Gondor's might appeared to be waning. "During the last millennium of the Third Age, Gondor's population was falling in numbers for reasons now inexplicable, leading to a drop in productivity, trade and revenues. The country suffered actual losses of territory: Calenardhon was ceded to the Éothéod by treaty in 2510 T.A., becoming Rohan, while Ithilien was gradually abandoned" (Lacon Economy 43). When Boromir addresses the Council of Elrond he admits that, while Gondor continues to fight against Mordor and its allies, without help they may finally fall to the rising evil (Tolkien Fellowship 239-240). Their leadership is also failing. Denethor's focus has shifted from protecting the empire to preserving Gondor as he perceives it. When faced with the realization that Gondor may fall and, worse yet, it would only be saved by the return of the true king and not Denethor's line, he cannot accept it and kills himself (Donnelly 23). The start of the war goes badly at first, with southern Ithilien overrun by the Haradrim while the Corsairs of Umbar had taken the port city of Pelargir (Tolkien King 857). While Minas Tirith stood, the realm was falling.

At end of the Byzantine Empire it was much the same. Islamic forces under the command of Murad II attacked

the Byzantine Empire in 1421 A.D. Thessalonica was under siege and the Peloponnese was raided. By 1422 Constantinople itself was under attack. Fortunately for the empire, Murad had to withdraw to deal with a potential civil war back home and a tenuous peace was reached. During this peace Emperor John VIII went to Europe, the last hope of the Empire, in hopes of recruiting a new Crusade to rescue the weakened empire. In return for their help, John VIII had to promise that the Orthodox empire would convert to Catholicism. The result was civil unrest at home. Unfortunately, the crusading army was defeated and the last hope of the Empire was gone. Constantine XI, the last emperor of the Byzantine Empire, ascended the throne in 1449 with the armies of the Sultan ready to deliver the death blow to the empire (Brownsworth 282-284).

Aragorn and the Kingdom Restored

Constantinople, and the Byzantine Empire, fell in 1453 A.D. Like a prize heavy weight fighter on the ropes, the city which had dealt with invasions, plagues, and civil wars was about to receive the knock-out blow. The city was surrounded and the Turkish forces deployed a great cannon to bring down the Theodosian walls which had protected the city for a thousand years. The defenders of the city, led by a later Emperor Constantine, were valiant and pushed back the invaders by day and repaired the broken walls by night. Eventually, the end came. The Genovese troops that had been supporting the Byzantines retreated from Constantinople when their leader was wounded. As the Genovese retreated the Turks broke through the walls. "The emperor's worst fears were immediately realized…..From his position by the Saint Romanus Gate, Constantine knew that all was now lost. With the cry "the city is lost, but I live" he flung off his imperial regalia and plunged into the breach, disappearing into history" (Brownsworth 292-297).

The fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 A.D. and the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire in 1453 A.D. were world changing events that left their mark on the psyche of the Europeans. The fall of the Western Roman Empire led to regional conflicts and the descent into the dark ages. Constantinople remained the only protection for the west against the enemies growing in the east. When it fell, the path to the west was open. However, because it stood for so long, the strength of its enemies had been weakened and Western Europe was spared its destruction (Brownsworth 302). For Europe the ruins of the ancient empires reminded them of a golden age gone by. They hoped for the return of a leader who would restore the empire and return order to the world (Brownsworth 152). "Jordanes ends his history of the Goths in such a way as to fulfill that mission: he provides a way for the Goths to initiate the renewal of Rome, expanded to include the Germanic peoples. The *Getica* ends with marriage between a Roman patrician family related to the Byzantine Emperor, the Ancian family, and the royal house of the conquered Goths, the house of Amal. This couple bore a son named Germanus, of whom Jordanes wrote: "This union of the race of the Anicii with the stock of the Amali gives hopeful promise, under the Lord's favor, to both peoples" (Ford 57). The Frankish King Carlos the Great, better known as Charlemagne, came closest to fulfilling the hope of a restored Western Empire (Ford 69). Charlemagne succeeded in reuniting, through conquest or diplomacy, most of Western Europe. In 800 AD, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne as Imperator Romanorum, or Emperor of the Romans (Allen 5). Unfortunately, Charlemagne's empire was divided between his grandsons, once again breaking the empire apart (Ford 69).

Despite the Battle of the Pelennor Fields beginning much like the siege of Constantinople, Gondor's fate was almost a complete opposite of the Byzantines. The forces of Mordor and their allies besieged the walled city of Minas Tirith and used the great battering ram Grond to break down the Gate of Gondor and all looked lost (Tolkien King 810). However, instead of watching allies retreat from the battle, the Gondorians saw the Rohirrim attack the enemy's flank. Where the Genovese troops retreated, the Rohirrim arrived to aid their longtime allies (Tolkien King 820). The vain hope of help from Europe was realized when Aragorn and the reinforcements from western Gondor appeared and turned the tide of the battle. And instead of a king fighting one last battle and vanishing into myth, Aragorn returned from myth to lead the forces of Gondor to victory (Tolkien King 829). "Aragorn's restored Gondor was more a Germanic ideal than a Roman one because his kingdom incorporated the other peoples of the west, appropriate to both the point of view of Anglo-Saxon myth-makers and to a medieval perspective" (Ford 66).

Where Gondor is the Byzantium Empire with a happy ending, Aragorn is a successful Charlemagne or a returned Constantine who makes that possible. When Tolkien first wrote about Strider, Aragorn's nickname in Bree, he had no idea that this character was going to become the King of the Reunited Kingdoms (Kocher Master 131). However, throughout the trilogy the importance of Aragorn's role as the Returned King becomes more and more clear. The first sign of Aragorn's royal lineage is when he uses athelas, King's Foil, to slow the poison in Frodo's system after the battle at Weathertop (Tolkien Fellowship 193). His power over sickness echoes that of medieval kings who were thought, by divine grace, to be able to heal the sick (Kocher Master 157). Next, Aragorn identifies himself as the heir to the throne of Gondor and Arnor at the Council of Elrond in Rivendell (Tolkien Fellowship 240). He reveals himself to Sauron when he wrests control of the palantír from him and finally becomes king after the Ring is destroyed (Kocher Master 152-153). Even his marriage to Arwen is significant. Through this marriage he reunites the two separate lines of Eärendil as Aragorn is a descendent of Elros, Eärendil's son who became the first king of the Númenoreans, and Arwen is descended from Elrond, the son who chose to become an Elf (Tolkien King 1010).

In some way's Tolkien's epic answers the lingering question of what would have happened had Constantinople not fallen in 1453 A.D. It's easy to imagine the armies of

Islam being turned back to the east yet again. With those armies defeated and scattered a renaissance occurs not just in Western Europe but around the entire Mediterranean with Constantinople at its heart. Like Aragorn, who pursues his enemies deep into their own territory (Tolkien King 1045), armies from Christian kingdoms would rally around the Roman flag flying in Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire would cross the Bosphorus taking the war to the Ottaman Empire. The long standing enemy of Western Europe would finally be defeated and a lasting peace would be built on the foundation of a Roman Empire that had lasted for over two millennium.

While *The Lord of the Rings* is not an allegory for the Roman or Byzantine Empire, nor for any other specific instance of real-world history, it's clear that Tolkien leveraged his knowledge of history and languages to build his Middle-earth legendarium and infuse it with realism. Númenor, Gondor and Arnor are built with the myth and history of Atlantis, Roman and Byzantium Empires, make their stories more familiar and therefore more easily relatable to by the reader. Tolkien's ability to blend these familiar elements into his self-contained history and mythology is one of the many strengths that have made *The Lord of the Rings* a much beloved series by many generations.

Acknowledgement: This paper was first presented as part of my thesis project at Signum University in 2017. Special thanks to Prof. Timothy Furnish (Thesis Advisor) and Prof. Ruth Lewis (Reader) for their support.

Bibliography

Allen, James D. "The Decline and Fall of the Osgiliathian Empire." In Glen H. Goodknight, ed. *Mythcon III. Proceedings*. Whittier, CA: Mythopoeic Society, 1974. 3-6, 32, 36.

Baker, Simon. *Ancient Rome: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* BBC Books 2007

Barbour, Douglas. "The Shadow of the Past: History in Middle-earth." *University of Windsor Review* 1 (1972): 35-43

Basney, Lionel. "Myth, History and Time in *The Lord of the Rings*." In Rose A. Zimbardo and Neili D. Issacs, eds. *Understanding The Lord of the Rings: The Best of Tolkien Criticism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company (2004) 183-194

Beard, Mary. SPQR: *A History of Ancient Rome* New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation 2015

Brownsworth, Lars. *Lost to the West*. New York: Random House, Inc. 2009

Burger, Douglas A. "The Uses of the Past in *The Lord of the Rings*." *Kansas Quarterly*, 16 (1984): 23-28

Campbell, Bruce. "Power Without Limit: The Romans Always Win." In Angelos Chaniotis and Pierre Ducrey, eds. *Army and Power in the Ancient World*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001 167-180

Cantor, Norman F. *In the Wake of the Plague: the Black Death and the World It Made*. New York: Perennial, 2001.

Cartwright, Mark. "Atlantis" *http://www.ancient.eu/atlantis/*, 2016.

Delattre, Charles. "Númenor and Atlantis: Tolkien's Use of Literary Heritage" *http://www.cairn-int.info/journal-revue-de-litterature-comparee-2007-3-page-303.htm*, 2007.

Donnelly, Colleen. "Feudal Values, Vassalage and Fealty in *The Lord of the Rings*." *Mythlore* 25, (Spring/Summer 2007) 17-27

Duncan, Michael. The History of Rome Podcast

Ford, Judy Ann. "The White City: The Lord of the Rings as an Early Medieval Myth of the Restoration of the Roman Empire." *Tolkien Studies 2* (2005) 53-73

Furnish, Timothy R. *High Towers and Strong Places: A Political History of Middle-earth*. Oloris Publishing LLC, 2016

Hoiem, Elizabeth Massa. "World Creation as Colonization: British Imperialism in 'Aldarion and Erendis." *Tolkien Studies 2* (2005), 75-92

Kocher, Paul H. "Middle-earth: An Imaginary World?" In Zimbardo and Isaacs, eds. *Understanding The Lord of the Rings: The Best of Tolkien Criticism*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company (2004), 146-162

Kocher, Paul H. Master of Middle-earth Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972. 130-160

Lacon, Ruth. "The Economy and Economic History of Gondor." *Mallorn* 31 (1994): 37-44

Lacon, Ruth. "The Earliest Days of Gondor: An Experiment in Middle-earth Historiography." *Mallorn* 30 (1993): 10-13

Lacon, Ruth. "Notes Toward a History of the Easterlings" *Mallorn* XXXII (1995): 28-35

Luttwak, Edward. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016

Luttwak, Edward. *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* Cambridge, Massachuetts: The Belknap Press, 2009

Matyszak, Philip. *The Enemies of Rome* London, England: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2004

O'Brien, Donald. "Aragorn and the Ordering and Administration of Arnor." *Minas Tirith Evening Star* 13, 4 (July-August 1984): 3-10

Obertino, James. "Barbarians and Imperialism in Tacitus and *The Lord of the Rings*" *Tolkien Studies* Vol. 3 (2006): 117-131

Palmer, Jane. "The Atlantis-style myths that turned out to be true" http://*www.bbc.com/earth/story/20160118-the-atlantis-style-myths-of-sunken-lands-that-are-really-true*, 2016.

Perry, Michael W. *Untangling Tolkien* Seattle: Inkling Books, 2006

Plato. *Complete Works*. John M. Cooper, ed. Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. 1997

Reynolds, Patricia. "Looking Forwards from the Tower: The Relationship of the Dark Ages in Northern Europe to Fantasy Literature." *Mythlore* 52 (Winter 1987): 5-10

Scull, Christina. "The Influence of Archaeology and History on Tolkien's World." In K.J. Battarbee, ed. *Scholarship and Fantasy: Proceedings of 'The Tolkien Phenomenon.'* Turku: University of Finland, 1992: 33-51

Smith, Christine A. "Plague in the Ancient World: A Study from Thucydides to Justinian." *Loyno.edu/,* 1997.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Fellowship of the Ring*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Humphrey Carpenter, ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Peoples of Middle-earth*. Christopher Tolkien, ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Return of the King*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Shaping of Middle-earth*. New York: Del Rey, 1986

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Silmarillion*. Christopher Tolkien, ed. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1977

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Two Towers*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994

Tolkien, J.R.R. *Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 1980.

Waugh, Rob. "'Britain's Atlantis' found at bottom of North Sea" *http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-2167731/Britains-Atlantis-North-sea--huge-undersea-kingdom-swamped-tsunami-5-500-years-ago.html*, 2012.

Wigmore, Stephen. "Populations of Middle-earth - Lord of the Rings Part 1" *http://www.stephenwigmore.com/2012/08/populations-of-middle-earth-lord-of.html*

Wilkinson, David. "The Power Configuration of the Central World System, 1500-700 BC," J of World-Systems Research, 10, 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 655-720

Eric Lynch holds a Master of Arts from Signum University and a Master of Business Administration from Northwestern University. His interests include European history, economics and literature.

The healing of Théoden or "a glimpse of the Final Victory"

JEAN CHAUSSE

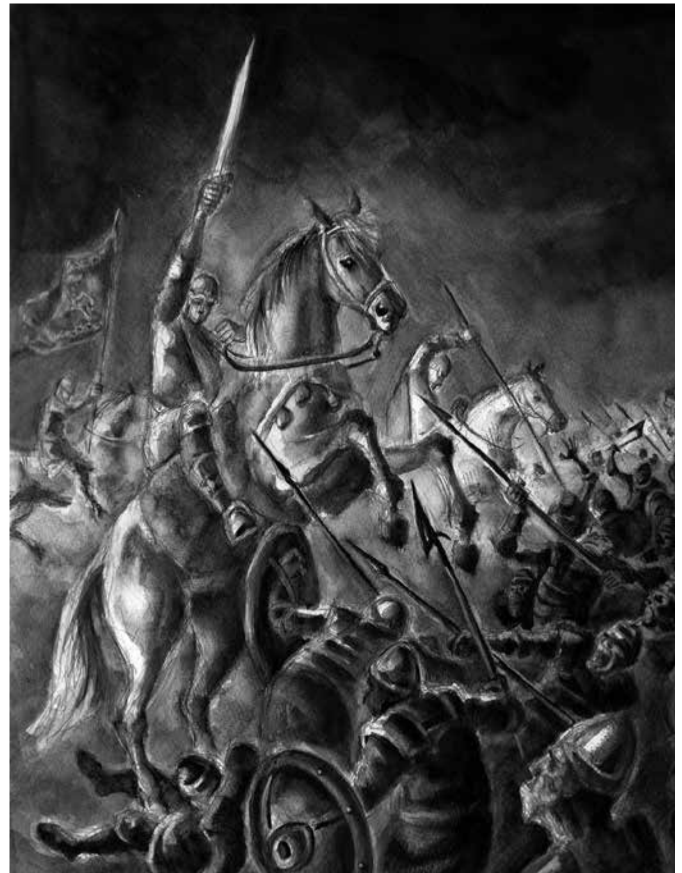
In a letter to Amy Ronald dated December 15, 1956 (letter n°195) Professor Tolkien wrote "I am a Christian, and indeed a Roman Catholic, so that I do not expect 'history to be anything but a 'long defeat' – though it contains (and in legend may contain more clearly and movingly) some samples or glimpses of final victory". Tolkien had adopted and incorporated this idea of "the long defeat" in his tales of Middle-earth. Galadriel uses this exact expression in *The Fellowship of the Ring* in the chapter The Mirror of Galadriel. Gandalf leaves no doubt in *The Return of The King* that any victory against Evil in Middle-earth can be only temporary and that the war will never be definitely won.

> "If it [the Ring] is destroyed then He [Sauron] will fall [..] becoming a mere spirit of malice that gnaws itself in the shadows but cannot again grow or take shape. And so a great evil of this world will be removed. *Other evils there are that may come*[1]; for Sauron himself is but a servant or emissary. Yet it is not our part to master all the tides of the world. [..] What weather [those who live after us] shall have is not ours to rule." (The Return of the King - The Last Debate).

In *The Silmarillion* Tolkien is no more optimistic. After we have been told the events of the War of Wrath and the defeat of Morgoth, Tolkien states that even this victory is temporary "The lies that Melkor, the mighty and accursed, [..] sowed in the hearts of Elves and Men are seeds that does not die and cannot be destroyed; and ever and anon it sprouts anew, and will bear dark fruit even unto the latest days" (The Silmarillion – of the voyage of Eärendil)

If Tolkien has incorporated in his works the "long defeat", he has, also, very likely, included some "glimpses of the Final Victory". When one speaks of victories in *The Lord of the Rings*, we spontaneously think of the cockcrow echoed by the horns of Rohan during the siege of Minas Tirith, or of Aragorn's standard floating at the prow of the flagship of the fleet of the pirates of Umbar when everything seems lost, or even of the fall of the Black Gate during the battle of the Morannon. Nevertheless those victories are military ones which will not last long and they have little to do with the *final [eschatological] victory* Tolkien was speaking of in his letter to Amy Ronald.

From a spiritual and Christian point of view, which was definitely familiar to Tolkien, there are in the Gospels two events announcing the real and final victory of Light over Darkness and Good over Evil, namely the resurrection of Jesus Christ on the one hand and Pentecost on the other hand. The resurrection is the victory over death, brought into the world when the Devil managed to deceive Adam and Eve and lure them into sin in the Garden of Eden. In



this sense the resurrection really is the Final Victory of Jesus Christ over the Enemy and sin. The meaning of Pentecost is of the same importance, even though it is not always perfectly understood. *The Cathechism of the Catholic Church* is perfectly clear on this point.

> "On that day [Pentecost], the Holy Trinity is fully revealed. Since that day, the Kingdom announced by Christ has been open to those who believe in him: in the humility of the flesh and in faith, they already share in the communion of the Holy Trinity. By his coming, which never ceases, the Holy Spirit causes the world to enter into the "last days," the time of [..] the Kingdom already inherited though not yet consummated" (article n°732).

Thus there is no doubt that Pentecost heralds the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth and marks the beginning of "the last days", i.e. the eschatological time when the total Victory over Evil becomes a reality.

We happen to have in *The Lord of the Rings* a section, the healing of Théoden, which shows strong similarities with Pentecost, first in its narrative structure and also in its deeper meanings. The best way to point out those similarities may be to use a synoptic table.

PENTECOST	HEALING OF THÉODEN
The apostles believed that Jesus Christ would be the future King but he has been betrayed and killed by his enemies	Théoden believed that Theodred would be the future King but he has been betrayed and killed by his enemies.
The apostles lock themselves in the Cenacle, the Upper Room, for fear of the outer world they consider hostile and dangerous.	Théoden locks himself in Meduseld, the Upper Room, in Edoras for fear of the outer world he considers hostile and dangerous
Suddenly we have a sound like a mighty wind, and tongues of fire come down on them	Just after the irruption of Gandalf in Meduseld we have a loud noise in the form of a roll of thunder and a flash of lightning
The apostles fear no more they go outside to harangue the crowd	Théoden fears no more, he goes outside and harangues his soldiers
The apostles leave their country to evangelise the world. All of them (with the exception of St John) will suffer a violent death	Théoden leaves his country and will meet his end in a violent death far from his land
All of this to prepare the return of the King (Jesus Christ) during the Parousia (see Catechism above)	All of this to prepare the Return of the King (Aragorn)

We see that we have a remarkable correspondence between the structure of the tale of Pentecost and that of the healing of Théoden. However, at this stage, this could seem to be a mere coincidence because this passage in *The Lord of the Rings* seems to lack any supernatural element. Contrary to the pericope of the *Acts of the Apostles*[2] there is no obvious divine intervention. Nevertheless if we look closely we have several theophanies here.

Let us start with the thunder and the lightning. In the whole biblical tradition thunder and lightning are associated with an expression of the power of God. We have a good example in Exodus 19: 16-19, when God reveals for the first time his mightiness to the Hebrews "On the morning of the third day there was thunder and lightning, with a thick cloud over the mountain, and a very loud trumpet blast. Everyone in the camp trembled [..] and the sound of the trumpet grew louder and louder. Then Moses spoke and the voice of God answered him in the thunder". Another famous example can be found in the *New Testament* in John 12: 28-30 "Then a voice came from heaven saying 'I have glorified it, and I will glorify it again'. The crowd that was there and heard it said it had thundered [..] Jesus said, 'this voice was for your benefit, not mine'". A short time before the Last Supper, God the Father chooses to reaffirm the glory of the Son in a thunder-like voice. There is no doubts that Tolkien was very familiar with this meaning of the thunder in the Bible. His choice to include thunder and lightning during the healing of Théoden, points with certainty towards the numinous in one form or another.

It is true that in the Acts we have a loud noise even though it is not exactly thunder but a kind of gale. Instead of a peal of thunder we have tongues of fire coming on the apostles. Here again a mysterious fire is recurrently in the Bible the sign of God's presence. This is the case in Genesis 15: 17-18 when God makes his first covenant with Abraham. We have another example in Exodus 3 with the Burning Bush, or in 1 Kings 18 when Elijah defeats the priests of Baal in a sort of "magic duel".

In Tolkien we have no real fire. However, Gandalf explicitly refers to a fire when he argues with Gríma a few seconds before he heals Théoden "a witless worm have you become. Therefore be silent, and keep your forked tongue behind your teeth. I have not passed through *fire and death* to bandy crooked words with a serving man[3]". What is this fire Gandalf alludes to? Can it be linked to an expression of the numinous in Middle-earth?

The first time I read *The Lord of the Rings*, I understood that this fire was that of the Balrog during his duel in the Mines of Moria. This interpretation is plausible and it is accepted by various tolkiendili. However, when considering a so called "theology of Arda", this theory is not really satisfactory. How could a contact with the tainted and corrupting "dark fire of Udûn" give Gandalf more power and purity?

To have a better understanding, it is necessary to take a closer look on the exact nature of Gandalf's mission. He is an emissary of Manwë, the most powerful of the Valar, and he has been sent to Middle-earth to strive with the powers of darkness. Tolkien himself said that Manwë could be assimilated to the lord of the angels in the Christian tradition. We happen to have in the Bible an example of another emissary who, like Gandalf, volunteers to be sent into the world by a lord of the angels in Isaiah 6:1-8 "I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up, and the train of His robe filled the temple. Above it stood seraphim [..] and the house was filled with smoke. So I said: "Woe is me, for I am undone! Because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; For my eyes have seen the King, The Lord of hosts." Then one of the seraphim flew to me, having in his hand a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from the altar. And he touched my mouth with it, and said: "Behold, this has touched your lips; Your iniquity is taken away, and your sin purged." Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying: "Whom shall I send, And who will go for Us?" Then I said, "Here am I! Send me."

Before commenting on this pericope, perhaps we should define a seraph. Mannerist painters of the 18th century have changed our conception of the original biblical idea. We tend now to see them as winged babies just good enough to fill the corners of paintings or murals. But in the biblical and Judaic tradition things are very different. Seraphs are six winged angels whose name literally means "the one who burns" and they are the formidable warders of heaven. In the

Christian tradition, according to the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, they are still "the ones who burn" but they no longer burn their enemies, on the contrary they are burning out of love for the Almighty. The important point is that, in both of the earliest traditions, the seraphs are positioned at the top of the heavenly hierarchy. Lucifer, the mightiest of the angels before his rebellion is a seraph and Michael, his brethren who remained faithful, is one also.

Thus, there is no doubt that in the passage of the *Old Testament* quoted above, the seraph who purifies Isaiah is one of the most powerful, maybe the most powerful, angels of heaven. Therefore, it seems legitimate to make a comparison between this seraph and Manwë and between the sending of Isaiah and that of Olorin. We see that Isaiah has to "pass through fire" on his lips to be purified and to become worthy of his mission. This fire is a pure one coming from the altar of the Holy of Holies in Solomon's shrine. Accordingly the fire through which Gandalf has passed has to be a pure and purifying one. It can't be the "dark fire" of Melkor. The fire Gandalf is referring to when he speaks with Gríma is then much more likely the one he invokes on the bridge of Khazad-dûm just before his duel with the Balrog.

> "I am a servant of *the Secret Fire*, wielder of the *flame of Anor*. You cannot pass[4]" (The Fellowship of the Ring – The Bridge of Khazad-Dûm).

We happen to know the exact nature of this Secret Fire and of the Flame of Anor. In his book *Tolkien and the Silmarillion* (Page 59) Clyde Kilby says "Professor Tolkien talked to me at some length about the use of the word "holy" in The Silmarillon. Very specifically he told me that the "Secret Fire" sent to burn at the heart of the World in the beginning was the Holy Spirit[5]". Therefore, when Gandalf says that he has "passed through Fire", we can assume without being too bold, that he means that he has received the Holy Spirit, that same Spirit which the apostles would receive, a thousand years later, at Pentecost. This creates a new correspondence between the tale of the healing of Théoden in *The Two Towers* and the account of Pentecost in the New Testament.

Let us turn back again to Gandalf's sentence when he speaks with Gríma. Gandalf says that he not only passed through Fire, but also through Death. We know that Gandalf died in the Mines of Moria and was after sent back by Manwë to Middle-earth. At the beginning of this paper I said that Christian eschatology considers two different Final Victories, Pentecost and Resurrection during Easter night. The reference made by Gandalf to a death and a resurrection is therefore a clear allusion to the Final Christian Victory Tolkien was referring to in his letter to Amy Ronald.

But I think there is even more. For all Christians of any denomination, Baptism is the sacrament which enables one to receive the Holy Spirit. In this sense it is a sacrament of life, but it is even more so a symbol of a death followed by a new birth. This is clearly explained in *the Cathechism of the Catholic Church* (article 628)

> "Baptism, the original and full sign of which is immersion, efficaciously signifies the descent into the tomb by the Christian who dies to sin with Christ in order to live a new life. We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life".

If we accept a Christian reading of the passage of the healing of Théoden, then we can understand the words of Gandalf "I have passed through fire and death" as "I have been baptised in the Holy Spirit".

Jesus' last words just before his ascension into heaven are about the results of baptism "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved [..] And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils [..] They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover". (Mark 16: 16-18). The parallel with Gandalf who overcomes Gríma and is not hurt by this "snake" and who is the cause of Théoden's recovery seems obvious.

I am perfectly aware that such a Christian reading of this passage of The Lord of the Rings will seem far-fetched and even inappropriate to many. I certainly will not say that this is the only valid interpretation or that this interpretation is superior to other possible ones. I have merely tried to explain what I see in the Healing of Théoden when I read it. It is for me "a glimpse of the Final Victory" and I hope it can be of some interest to other readers.

Notes

1 My emphasis
2 For the complete passage of the Pentecost please see Acts 2 : 1-40.
3 My emphasis
4 My emphasis
5 My emphasis

All the quotation of the Bible are from the "New International Version" in the 1988 edition

Jean Chausse was born in France in 1963. He graduated in 1985 with honour of HEC Business School and has, since then, done most of his career in Finance. He currently lives in Hong Kong and is CFO of the largest Chinese food retailer. He was introduced to Homer by his father at the age of 7 and immediately fell in love with mythologies. He discovered Tolkien, merely by chance in 1986, and was enthralled by Middle-earth. Since then he dedicates some of his part time to Tolkien's studies. He has already published several articles in *Mallorn* and in *Amon Hen*. He, also, has contributed to the French book *Pour la Gloire de ce monde, recouvrement et consolations en Terre du Milieu*

Checking the Facts

NANCY BUNTING

When reading the accumulated J.R.R. Tolkien commentary and scholarship, the reader assumes an authority or expert who knows the facts and is able to interpret them in new and revealing ways. This essay explores some examples of Tolkien scholars' relationship to facts, documenting problems with ignoring established biographical facts, overlooking a well-documented historical context, changing views without acknowledging or explaining this, and creative editing of quotations. The overall result of these errors appears to be a 'biographical legend'.

The first example of this problem is from Verlyn Flieger and Douglas Anderson's 2008 *Tolkien on Fairy-stories, Expanded Edition, with Commentary and Notes*. On March 8, 1939, Tolkien presented the lecture, "On Fairy-stories," when he was an academic whose private life was of little or no interest to his audience. He had no reason to be cautious about a passing self-revelation. At that time he wrote and later kept in his revised essay the comment:

> A real taste for [fairy-stories] awoke after 'nursery' days, and after the years, few but long seeming, between learning to read and going to school. In that (I nearly wrote 'happy' or 'golden', it was really a sad and troublous) time I liked many other things as well, or better: such as history, astronomy, botany, grammar, and etymology (*TOFS* 71).

Flieger and Anderson comment on this passage saying:

> Tolkien describes this time rather vaguely as being "after the years between learning to read and going to school." The best likelihood would make it a reference to the years following his mother's death when he was twelve years old. He and his younger brother Hilary were left in the guardianship of Father Francis Morgan, a priest from the Birmingham Oratory who had been their mother's counsellor and friend. Father Francis arranged for them to stay with their aunt Beatrice Suffield, who had a room to let in her boarding house in Birmingham. This would have been a sad and troublous time indeed for a grief-stricken, orphaned boy, and it is no wonder that he turned to fairy tales (108).

On the contrary, Tolkien does not describe this time "rather vaguely." The Carpenter biography specifically states that Tolkien began to read at four and he began school at the age of eight in 1900, i.e. the years at Sarehole (21, 24). According to Tolkien, this period of time was "the longest seeming and most formative part of my life" (*Bio* 24). Further, internal evidence in Manuscript B, which Flieger and Anderson reproduce, confirms that the time period was before the age of eight: "I thought early about these things (and was not exceptional in that) before I was eight (when my childhood reading or hearing of fairy-stories ceased)" (234). This passage is completely at odds with Flieger and Anderson's conjecture that Tolkien was referring to time after his mother's death, i.e. at the age of 12, when "grief-stricken" he took refuge in fairy tales. Given that the biographical facts are easily available and should be familiar to Tolkien scholars, this rewriting of history cannot be called 'speculation'.

The reviewers of this book, perhaps impressed by the authors' reputations, are generally favorable. *Tolkien on Fairy-stories, Expanded Edition, with Commentary and Notes* received its first review in *Tolkien Studies* (2009) from Colin Manlove who found no faults in this book (241-248). In *Tolkien Studies'* (2011) "The Year's Work in Tolkien Studies," David Bratman reviews works from 2008. In his review of *Tolkien on Fairy-stories,* he states "each of the three texts is accompanied by textual annotations by the editors ... Some of the editorial points are awkwardly put, but others are trenchant and most are highly valuable" (245). Jason Fisher in *Mythlore* 27:1/2 Fall/Winter, 2008 notes defects that "are few and small" (179-184). These include mis-numbering pages and items missed in the bibliography as well as his suggestions for more references to Tolkien's other works. David Doughan in *Mallorn* 47, Spring 2009 finds only one fault, and that is a lack of the text of *Mythpoeia* (7- 8). In the same issue, Alex Lewis also reviews the book and has no concerns (15-18).

Further, Raymond Edwards in his 2014 biography, *Tolkien*, cites Flieger and Anderson's revision of the facts as canonical, though he repeatedly cites Carpenter's biography elsewhere. This is what Dimitra Fimi, in *Tolkien, Race, and Cultural History*, identifies as the construction of a 'biographical legend', as opposed to fidelity to the facts of biography (7). Edwards also accepts the assertion in John Garth's 2003 *Tolkien and the Great War, the Threshold of Middle-earth* that "You and Me and the Cottage of Lost Play" is a "love poem to Edith," although Garth admits the "setting of the poem has nothing to do with the urban setting in which he and Edith had actually come to know each other" (72). Garth makes this conjecture without other discussion or corroboration. Edwards' interpretation is the children are now "obviously meant for Tolkien and Edith" (99).

Nancy Bunting in "1904: Tolkien Trauma, and Its Anniversaries" ["1904"] contends that the cottage during the "sad and troublous" time in Sarehole is a source of the poem's "Cottage" as are Tolkien and his younger brother Hilary as "a dark child and a fair" (72). In *Roverandom*, Christina Scull and Wayne Hammond note the similarities between the garden from Howard Pyle's 1895 *The Garden Behind the Moon, A Real Story of the Moon Angel*, a place where children go when they die, with the cottage on the dark side of

the moon in *Roverandom* and the dream land of "The Cottage of Lost Play" (*R* 99). Carpenter stresses Tolkien relied "almost exclusively upon *early* (italics in original) experience [...] to nourish his imagination," and Hilary nearly drowned during the "sad and troublous" years at Sarehole (*Bio* 126; H. Tolkien, 6). Pyle's story presented Tolkien with a moving consideration of the death of children. Consequently, Edith does not fit Pyle's setting as Tolkien never knew her as a child nor do we know of any life-threatening experiences for her.

In that garden, Pyle's children "never have trouble and worry; they never dispute nor quarrel; they never are sorry and never cry." Tolkien appears to draw on this in his poem when fairies visit "lonely children and whisper to them at dusk in early bed by nightlight and candle-flame, or comfort those that weep" as the years at Sarehole were a time of likely physical abuse for Hilary (*LT*1 20, "1904" 70-73). Pyle's narrator states the garden can be visited in dreams (xi).

Children commonly slept together at the turn of the twentieth century and in the poem, "you and I in Sleep went down/ to meet each other there" (*LT*1 22). Hilary had dark hair and Tolkien had fair hair which then became "tangled" because as Carpenter states Tolkien and his brother wore "long hair" ("1904" 72, *Bio* 21). The poem includes the pair walking on sand and gathering shells, and Tolkien and his brother had a seaside visit during the years in Sarehole (C&G 1.4). The "Cottage of Lost Play," later "Little House of Play," appears to be a combination of the place where they stayed during the seaside visit ("looked toward the sea" *LT*1 23), Pyle's garden, and the cottage at Sarehole with its familiar flowers (*LT*1 23). "We wandered shyly hand in hand" (22) can also refer to Tolkien and his brother as this was unremarkable behavior among "nursery" age children and consistent with their close relationship as they had no other playmates (*Bio* 21; Bunting, "Finding Hilary Tolkien in the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien, Part I," 2 and Part II," 4). "The shapes," which are more clearly fairies in the final version, are clad in white gowns. This would be evocative of the Sarehole years as Carpenter states Tolkien and his brother wore "pinafores," i.e. gowns, while living in Sarehole (*Bio* 21). Hilary Tolkien's book has a picture of them dressed in fine white gowns consistent with Grotta-Kurska's report that Mabel Tolkien dressed her children in the "finery of the day" (62; see also John and Priscilla Tolkien, *The Tolkien Family Album*, 21).

Tolkien first wrote this poem in April, 1915, a time when Hilary Tolkien would be shipping out to the front lines in France as he volunteered in the first wave of war time enthusiasm (*LT*1 19, *Bio* 72). He was a bugler and a stretcher bearer, and this last duty was likely to expose him repeatedly to enemy fire (Currie and Lewis, 106). In June, 1915 Tolkien joined the military, and he too was facing the uncertainty of surviving the war (*Bio* 77). It would make sense for Tolkien to reflect on their close relationship in light of the stark possibility that they might never see each other again or survive the war. They would be reunited at "The Cottage of Lost Play" where dead children go.

Edwards cites Christopher Tolkien's "clear reference" to Francis Thompson's poem *Daisy* (305). In this reference, C. Tolkien tentatively writes, "This [line 56 only out of 65 lines] seems to echo the lines of Francis Thompson's poem *Daisy*:

> Two children did we stray and talk
> Wise, idle, childish things (*LT*1 21).

These lines do not "echo" any poetic device, e.g. rhyme, meter, or alliteration, between the two poems. The poems do have the same two words: "childish things." The *Daisy* poem presents the flirtation of an adult heterosexual couple. The narrator is a man who feels the woman is a tease. Being childish is part of this couple's flirting. In 1915 when Tolkien wrote "You and Me and the Cottage of Lost Play," his marriage was so important to him that "it was like death" when he separated from his wife to go to France in World War I (Garth 138). Given the depth of Tolkien's feeling for Edith, he is not likely, in a "love poem" to his wife, to quote from a poem in which the woman easily and heedlessly leaves the man who feels jilted.

C. Tolkien then adds an atypical and rather cryptic or (Roland) Barthian comment that he will not offer any analysis, but the reader may interpret this poem "however" [he/she wants] as the reader needs no assistance in "his perception of the personal and particular emotions in which all was still anchored" (*LT*1 24). Speculating that this is a "love poem" about Edith, portrays Tolkien being in bed with his wife, when they are children, and this is unlike any other material we have from Tolkien. His reticence about sexuality is well known, and this imagery has awkward implications.

Edwards is also willing to raise doubts about Tolkien's explicit dating of *Leaf by Niggle* to 1938- 9, citing in his footnote: "Hammond and Scull, however, date it to April 1942 (on the basis of a postcard seen on eBay - see H&S 2, p. 495)" (184, 312). This contrasts to what Tolkien, who was very careful with what he wrote for publication, states in his introductory comment in *Tree and Leaf* that both *Leaf by Niggle* and "On Fairy-stories" "were written in the same period (1938-9), when *The Lord of the Rings* was beginning to unroll." Tolkien reinforces this dating in his September, 1962 letter to his Aunt Jane Neave: it "was written (I think) just before the War began, though I first read it aloud to my friends early in 1940" (*Letters* 320). This is also consistent with Tolkien's March, 1945 letter to Stanley Unwin that *Leaf by Niggle* was composed "more than two years ago," and a more precise dating would not have been relevant to either Tolkien's or Unwin's concerns with this story. Scull and Hammond's *Chronology* entry "?April, 1942" states "Tolkien writes the story Leaf by Niggle" with only a question mark and a reference to 'note' to alert the attentive reader to possible problems (1.253). One has to refer to the separate *Reader's Guide* to find their citation of an April 21, 1943 postcard to the poet Alan Rook, in which Tolkien "hopes that Rook will one day (metaphorically) paint a 'great picture', and promises to send him a story relevant to 'pictures' that Tolkien 'wrote this time last year' (reproduced on eBay

online auctions, October 2001). This must surely refer to *Leaf by Niggle*, and therefore would date its writing to around April 1942" (2.495). Why "must" this refer to *Leaf by Niggle* when they present no reason or evidence to support this supposition? Why is it difficult to imagine Tolkien speaking metaphorically about his "picture" *The Lord of the Rings*? The *Chronology* documents that in the spring and summer of 1942 Tolkien was working of *The Lord of the Rings* and that time frame matches the reference in the Rook postcard. If a biographer wanted to report this allegation, would there not be an evaluation of the assertion? Edwards is willing to evaluate and give opinions on detailed information about C.S. Lewis' relationships with Mrs. Moore and Joy Davidson, which details Tolkien did not know and which had no effect on his personal life, academic activities or writings, the purported focus of this book. However, when faced with evaluating conflicting claims about the chronology of Tolkien's writings, Edwards suddenly seems agnostic and willing to muddy the waters with an unsupported claim. This repeats the type of situation that Garth creates with his assertion that "You and Me and the Cottage of Lost Play" is a "love poem to Edith".

Reviewers, including David Bratman in the 2015 *Tolkien Studies* (196), Nancy Martsch in the September, 2016 *Beyond Bree* (1-2), and John Rateliff's letter in the October, 2016 *Beyond Bree* (10), generally praised this book. There were no reviews of Edwards' *Tolkien* in *Mallorn* or *Amon Hen*. In *Mythlore* 128, Spring/Summer 2016, Cait Coker acknowledges Edward's focus on Tolkien's academic studies and "how they framed his work" (185). However, she ends her review with: "*Tolkien* is a bit of an odd book ... [g]iven the Tolkien Estate's fractious protectionism of Tolkien's work" and lack of access to his personal writings (186).

Having noticed errors when dealing with Tolkien's biographical facts, the author wondered if there might be other examples.

Not only Flieger, but Anderson, has previously been negligent. In his article, "Obituary: Humphrey Carpenter (1946-2005)," Anderson quotes from "Learning about Ourselves: Biography as Autobiography." Anderson's paragraph, beginning with "This rather comic Oxford academic" and ending "I've therefore always been displeased with it ever since," is misquoted (219-220). While, in fact, all the words and sentences are in the correct order, Anderson has combined two paragraphs. The original first paragraph ends at "I never resolved this properly," and the second paragraph begins at "The first draft of that life" ("Learning about Ourselves" 270). As an experienced editor, Anderson, would know that combining two paragraphs makes a significant change in meaning and consequently places Carpenter's statements in a different context and light than in the original source.[1]

Running the two paragraphs together leads the reader to believe that the first draft, that was rejected by the Tolkien family, was the same as the first draft in which Carpenter treated Tolkien, the "rather comic Oxford academic – the stereotype of the absent-minded professor" in a "slightly slapstick" way. In the original article, the paragraph break signals a new thought indicating that the "first draft" submitted to the Tolkien family was not the same as the "first draft" in which Carpenter struggled with learning how to write his first biography and which contained the initial "slapstick" treatment of Tolkien. Anderson's editing implies that the Tolkien family rejected the initial biography because of Carpenter's disrespectful presentation of Tolkien. In the obituary, Anderson writes that the Carpenter biography has "pride of place," but that attitude is not evident in his use of its biographical information in *Tolkien on Fairy-stories* (223).

Anderson also writes that after Carpenter made the initial selection of letters for which Christopher Tolkien provided comments, this selection "proved too large from the publishing point of view, and cuts were made for reasons of length" (220). While there were cuts in the number of letters, there seems to be no evidence for a lack of appetite for publishing Tolkien materials.

Rayner Unwin, Tolkien's publisher, in *George Allen & Unwin: A Remembrancer* writes:

> During Tolkien's last years, in the early 1970s, when it was apparent that no major new work would be forthcoming, and yet the extraordinary interest that had grown up on both sides of the Atlantic during the past decade showed no signs of abating. I was hungry for new material that would help us continue to sell the old (245).

Consequently, Unwin was willing to explore "uncharted waters" by selling posters, calendars, and cards (246). He published *The Father Christmas Letters* in 1976 and Carpenter's biography in the spring of 1977 (247-248). The demand for *The Silmarillion* was so great that pre-publication orders reached 375,000 books in 1977, "the largest subscription for any book that we had ever published" (248). He published *Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien* in 1979 and notes "the expanding Tolkien industry" throughout the eighties. The volume of demand for all things Tolkien could now absorbed the previously prohibitive production costs of volumes with colored illustration, like *The Father Christmas Letters* and *Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien,* without hurting the profit margin (*C&G* 1.404, *J.R.R. Tolkien, Artist and Illustrator* 163, *Letters* 16-17). *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* was published in 1981, and Unwin still appeared "hungry" for material. Other twentieth-century authors have had multiple volumes of their letters published, e.g. Churchill and C.S. Lewis. Why was this not possible for Tolkien when there was such an interest and demand from the reading public?

In his Introduction to *Letters,* Carpenter states how he and Christopher Tolkien worked together. He adds, "We then found it necessary to reduce the text quite severely, for considerations of space" (3). While Carpenter discreetly says "We," he had made the larger selection. Christopher Tolkien, the literary executor, had previously required cuts that "castrated" the biography (Carpenter, "Learning about Ourselves" 270). Who is likely to have demanded cuts?

Flieger presents another example in her "Tolkien,

Kalevala, and 'The Story of Kullervo'" published in *Tolkien Studies* 2010. She changed some of her comments in her 2012 essay "Tolkien, *Kalevala*, and 'The Story of Kullervo'" in *Green Suns and Faërie, Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien*. In the 2010 commentary she states "Tolkien's story follows its source closely; its main departure is in the matter of names" (212). In contrast, Flieger's 2012 revision lists a number of the significant changes between Tolkien and the original *Kalevala*, and this is much more than "nomenclature" as previously claimed (192-198). While she corrected the error of her first version, she does not acknowledge that she has changed her view of this work. In the 2016 *The Story of Kullervo*, Flieger reprints the 2010 and 2012 essays, and she acknowledges revisions only to Tolkien's manuscript (vii).

The reviewers again have no critical comments or analysis. Merlin DeTardo in "The Year's Work in Tolkien Studies 2010," found in *Tolkien Studies* 2013, reviews Flieger's 2010 *Tolkien Studies* article, "'The Story of Kullervo' and Essays on Kalevala." He finds no fault in this article. In the same *Tolkien Studies*, John Rateliff reviews *Green Suns and Faërie, Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien* (235-239). In his footnote 8, he notes some "minor mistakes" including substituting Kullervo for Túrin (239). Jason Fisher in "The Year's Work in Tolkien Studies 2012," found in *Tolkien Studies* 2015, writes the essay "Tolkien, *Kalevala*, and 'The Story of Kullervo'" "expands on Flieger's work with Tolkien's Kullervo manuscript, published in volume 7 of *Tolkien Studies*" (211). He has no concerns about this article and does not comment on any changes. Janet Brennan Croft in *Mythlore* 115/116, Fall/Winter 2011 reviews *Tolkien Studies* 2012 including Flieger's essay (188). She reports on the essay's content with no other comments. A review of *Mallorn, Amon Hen* and *Mythlore* did not find any reviews of *Green Suns and Faërie.*

In both "'The Story of Kullervo' and Essays on Kalevala" and *The Story of Kullervo*, Flieger states, "The tradition that physical mistreatment of an infant could have psychological repercussions is an old one" (*Tolkien Studies* 241, *The Story of Kullervo* 53). This is not true as discussed in Bunting's "1904" (70-73). In the nineteenth century physical abuse and beating of children by strangers, educators, and parents was common, acceptable, and unremarkable. These 'thrashings' or beatings should be seen in the context of the casual and frequent physical discipline of boys, particularly in public schools (Rose 179). The widely accepted belief was that this practice was not only for the child's good, but also necessary for education (Rose 180). Biblical authority and custom, i.e. "Spare the rod and spoil the child," supported the physical abuse and exploitation of children, and this was even applied to infants. In the late nineteenth century culture saw children as little adults and the "indifference to what we should now see as cruelty to children sprang from […] ignorance of the consequences of maltreatment in youth on the physique and character of the grown man" (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 348, 349). This common view dates from at least the Middle Ages as presented in John Thrupp's Victorian overview, *The Anglo-Saxon Home, A History of the Domestic Institutions and Customs of England from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century* (1862) with its catalogue of child abuse, including a frank and well-documented discussion of infanticide and the regular beatings and floggings of boys in school. This view was still prevalent in Tolkien's childhood, though infanticide was now illegal (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 622).

In complete opposition to the nineteenth-century's accepted view, the *Kalevala*'s poet bluntly and repeatedly states that childhood abuse has a life-long impact, an unexpectedly modern attitude. Summing up Kullervo's life, the poet of the *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen, states:

> Children brought up crookedly,
> Any infant cradled wrongly,
> Never learns the way of things,
> Never acquires a mind mature
> However old he grows to be
> Or however strong in body (Friberg, 1988; 287).

When Tolkien was growing up in late nineteenth-century, Victorian culture, he would not have heard any such condemnation of childhood abuse. This poem would have been a completely new and unique presentation of this idea for Tolkien and his contemporaries.[2]

In Flieger's 2005 *Interrupted Music*, she acknowledges the reality of the nineteenth century's exploitation of children in "sweatshops, child labor, and child prostitution" (20). Violence and abuse created and maintained these actualities which are all irrelevant to Tolkien. She does not name the underlying problem.

In his chapter, "Why Source Criticism?" in Jason Fisher's *Tolkien and the Study of His Sources* (2011), Tom Shippey advocates an understanding of the "milieu" or context within which Tolkien lived and wrote (9). This is what Dimitra Fimi in *Tolkien, Race, and Cultural History: From Fairies to Hobbits* (2009) did. Many others have worked to accurately fill in the historical context, e.g. Michael Potts' "'Evening Lands': Spenglerian Tropes in *Lord of the Rings*" (*Tolkien Studies* 2016). However, Flieger ignores and/or misrepresents Tolkien's historical context.

Flieger and Anderson's *Tolkien on Fairy-stories* came out in 2008, and in ten years, no one has commented in print on an obvious error. I am not aware of any place that Hammond and Scull, who scrutinize biographical citations and maintain a commentary on their website documenting biographical information, comment on Flieger and Anderson's error in *Tolkien on Fairy-stories, Expanded*. A factual, biographical error seems at least as significant as mis-numbering pages and items missed in the bibliography. Further, this erroneous revision has now been incorporated as fact in Edward's 2014 biography.

Humphrey Carpenter, who had unlimited access to all of Tolkien's papers, dairies, and letters, was required by J.R.R. Tolkien's literary executor and editor, his son, Christopher Tolkien, to rewrite his original draft. Rayner Unwin's *George Allen & Unwin: A Remembrancer* independently confirms a major revision to the original biography (249). Carpenter

states he "castrated" his original draft of the Tolkien biography and "cut out everything which was likely to be contentious" ("Learning about Ourselves" 270). Carpenter's use of the word "castrated" indicates that what was left out was important and vital, if not essential. Whatever was left would be misleading due to an incomplete context. This is how biography becomes 'biographical legend'. On the last page of the official biography, Carpenter states, "His [Tolkien's] real biography is *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, and *The Silmarillion*; for the truth about him lies within their pages," and this would be true for the Kullervo/Túrin story (*Bio* 260, "1904" 68-70).[3] Flieger, Anderson, and Edwards continue the Tolkien tradition of 'biographical legend'.

Notes

1. As one of the editors of the 2005 *Tolkien Studies* Anderson's responsibility would be likely to include proofing his own article. Not only is *Tolkien Studies* a professional journal with a very high level of review as it caters to a readership of English majors equipped to nitpick every page, paragraph, and period, but the Carpenter obituary was sure to draw the interest of most, if not all, of the readers. If Anderson had originally separated the two paragraphs as they appear in the source, the lack of a break and/or extra white space would have been hard to miss. I am not aware of any later statement of errata in *Tolkien Studies* concerning this inaccuracy.
2. Elaborating on the long-term effects of child abuse, the perceptive and truthful poet of the Kalevala adds a second family. But even having a 'second chance' of finding oneself in a new family and having the hope of belonging again cannot 'fix' or 'cure' the effect of child abuse. This is opposed to Flieger's view that the family is merely there to provide a sister whom Kullervo has not seen for the act of incest (*Tolkien Studies* 193).
3. Tolkien began rewriting the Kullervo story in 1914 and his investment in elaborating this tale through numerous forms and revisions continued through the late 1950s. Christopher Tolkien notes the centrality, importance, and complexity of this story sets it apart (C&G2 1056-1062). Bunting contends Tolkien used his brother Hilary as the starting point for stories and characters including Túrin, Parish in "Leaf by Niggle," and Pippin and Frodo in *The Lord of the Rings* (Bunting "1904" ; Bunting, "Finding Hilary Tolkien in the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien, Parts I and II")

BIBLIOGRAPHY Anderson, Douglas A. "Obituary: Humphrey Carpenter (1946-2005)." *Tolkien Studies,* Volume II. Eds. Douglas A. Anderson, Michael D.C. Drout, and Verlyn Flieger. Morgantown, W.V.: W.V. University Press, 2005. 217-224.

Bunting, Nancy. "1904: Tolkien Trauma, and Its Anniversaries." *Mythlore* 34.1 (#127) (Fall/Winter 2015): 59-81.

-. "Finding Hilary Tolkien in the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien, Part I." *Beyond Bree*. December, 2017. 2-5.

-. "Finding Hilary Tolkien in the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien, Part II." *Beyond Bree*. January, 2018 3-7.

-. "The Shadow of the Past and The Birth of *The Lord of the Rings,* Part I." *Beyond* Bree. May 2013. 6-8.

Carpenter, Humphrey. *J.R.R. Tolkien, A Biography*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.

-. (in conversation with Lyndall Gordon). "Learning about Ourselves: Biography as Autobiography." Ed. John Batchelor. *The Art of Literary Biography.* Ed. John Batchelor. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. 267-279.

Currie, Elizabeth and Alex Lewis. *On the Perilous Road, an Unauthorised Biography of J.R.R. Tolkien.* Elansea@bizmark.com. 2016.

Edwards, Raymond. *Tolkien*. London: Robert Hale, 2014

Fimi, Dimitra. *Tolkien, Race, and Cultural History: From Fairies to Hobbits*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Flieger, Verlyn. "'The Story of Kullervo' and Essays on Kalevala." *Tolkien Studies,* Volume VII, Eds. Douglas A. Anderson, Michael D.C. Drout, and Verlyn Flieger. Morgantown, W.V.: W.V. University Press, 2010. 211-278.

-. *Interrupted Music: The Making of Tolkien's Mythology*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2005.

-.*A Question of Time, J.R.R. Tolkien's Road to Faërie*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997.

-."Tolkien, *Kalevala*, and 'The Story of Kullervo'". *Green Suns and Faërie, Essays on Tolkien.* Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2012. 185-201.

Friberg, Eino. trans. *Kalevala, The Epic of the Finnish People*. Helsinki: Otava Publishing, 1988.

Garth, John. *Tolkien and the Great War, the Threshold of Middle-earth*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003.

Grotta-Kurska, Daniel. *J.R.R. Tolkien, Architect of Middle-earth*. Philadelphia: Running Press, 1976.

Hammond, Wayne G. and Christina Scull. *J.R.R. Tolkien, Artist and Illustrator*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995.

Pinchbeck, Ivy and Margaret Hewitt. *Children in English Society Volume II: From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1948*. London: Routledge & Paul Kegan, 1973.

Pyle, Howard. *The Garden Behind the Moon, A Real Story of the Moon Angel*. 1895.

Rose, Lionel. *The Erosion of Childhood, Child Oppression in Britain 1860-1918*. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Scull, Christina and Wayne G. Hammond. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide,* 2 cols. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2006.

Thrupp, John. *The Anglo-Saxon Home, A History of the Domestic Institutions and Customs of England from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century.* London: Longman, Green and Row, 1862.

Tolkien, Hilary. *Black and White Ogre Country, The Lost Tales of Hilary Tolkien.* Ed. Angela Gardner. Moreton-in-Marsh, England: ADC Publications Ltd. 2009.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Book of Lost Tales, Part One*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983.

-. *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*. Ed. Humphrey Carpenter with assistance of Christopher Tolkien. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.

-. "On Fairy-stories." *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984. 109-161.

-. *Roverandom.* Ed. Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.

-. *The Story of Kullervo.* Ed. Verlyn Flieger. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016.

-. *Tolkien on Fairy-stories, Expanded Edition, with Commentary and Notes*. Eds. Verlyn Flieger and Douglas A. Anderson. London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2008.

-. *Tree and Leaf*. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1964.

Tolkien, John and Priscilla. *The Tolkien Family Album*. Houghton Mifflin Co.: Boston, 1992.

Unwin, R. *George Allen & Unwin: A Remembrancer.* Ludlow: privately printed by Merlin Unwin Books, 1999.

Nancy Bunting is a clinical psychologist

A Holy Party: Holiness in *The Hobbit*

NICHOLAS J. S. POLK

In a previous article written for the 2016 Winter Issue of *Mallorn*,[1] I argued that a proper understanding of patience, holiness, and humility, as what I believe Tolkien understood those words to mean, would allow a greater understanding of Tolkien himself, his legendarium, and the rest of his works. My primary vehicle for conveying this understanding was through *The Lord of the Rings*. My main purpose with *The Lord of the Rings* was to utilize it as a proof for my argument along with other supports. I argued that the reader of *The Lord of the Rings* would be able to see holiness running throughout the story by interpreting a few examples of holy events within it.

Similarly, I intend to launch an examination of holiness found within *The Hobbit* and its relation to the entirety of the legendarium. I will be referring to what Corey Olsen calls the Assimilation version of *The Hobbit*.[2] This examination will be primarily substantiated by arguments made in my previous article, i.e., what I believe to be a particular aspect of Tolkien's own understanding of holiness (which I believe to be inherent in his being Roman Catholic), and with pericopes from Tolkien's works, his letters, and with other explanations pertaining to the subject at hand belonging to both Tolkien scholars and theologians. My aim here is to arouse the reader to some oft neglected parts of Tolkien the author, and his works, in order to build on one's own comprehension of *The Hobbit*.

I

When reading the famous opening lines, "In a hole in the ground there lived a hobbit," I cannot help but think that this sentence evokes a sense of holiness in its readers. The word "holiness" is too often, and narrowly, interpreted as something that evokes a sense of powerful awe or doom, or something that is completely separated by all other things by supernatural purity. While these interpretations are not wrong, they are part and parcel to a more comprehensive conception of what holiness is. I argue that a biblical grasp of holiness is integrally wrapped up in humility. To be holy *is* to be awesome, compelling, and have a sense of "wholly otherness", but one misses out on all that holiness has to offer when regarded as not being woven into the fabric of humility. These first ten words are a first look into the holiness that may be found throughout *The Hobbit*.

The Narrator opens the hobbit's porthole-like door to the world of Bilbo Baggins. Here, we learn who Bilbo is, about some of his family history, and more about his home under The Hill and across The Water. Bilbo is a simple hobbit living in a simple neighborhood—a kind of holy paradise, if you will. What readers of Tolkien will come to know as "The Shire" is a place that is separate from a world inhabited by trolls, goblins, and dragons. Bilbo is living a holy life in a holy place. "Holiness is not a stagnant reality, however. It is a state of being in which its practitioner is continually reoriented towards the will of the Good…"[3] And in the foreshadowing fashion of Tolkien, we are given a glimpse into Bilbo's anticipated transformation: "you could tell what a Baggins would say on any question without the bother of asking him. This is a story about how a Baggins had an adventure, and found himself saying and doing things altogether unexpected."[4] From the beginning we know that Bilbo's life and reputation are going to be altered in a substantial way.

Holiness is not only a state of being, but is also a dynamic reality that nudges its holder to continually improve upon themselves. It is the holy person's response to that nudge that determines whether or not their alteration is one of positive or negative proportions: the positive being the surrender to the will of the Good despite one's self and the negative being succumbing to self-centeredness, or self-righteousness. I believe that here, Tolkien communicates to his audience that Bilbo is at a pivotal area of his life where transformation is not *just* going to happen, but that it also *needs* to happen. Readers soon discover that Bilbo is an essential part of the Unexpected Party that he belongs to, and that the success of his party hinges on the choices he decides to act upon. We may be able to see this by observing the tension between Bilbo's Baggins and Took natures.[5]

II

Throughout the story Bilbo's thoughts and actions are either attributed to his Tookish side or his Baggins side. Readers are given phrases such as: "something Tookish woke up inside him" and "the Baggins part regretted what he did…" and "the Took side had won."

Whenever Bilbo is feeling cowardly or regretful about the contents of his journey, he is guilty of letting his Bagginsness direct his emotions. Bilbo begins to revert to his Baggins side when things get difficult. He desires the nostalgia of home and comfortability. This reaction can be seen in the episode where Bilbo first enters The Lonely Mountain to search for the treasury of Erebor: "'You went and put your foot right in it that night of the party, and now you have got to pull it out and pay for it! Dear me, what a fool I was and am!' said the least Tookish part of him."[6]

Oppositely, when Bilbo performs courageously, he is inspired by his Took make-up. An instance of this Tookish courage resides in Bilbo's reflection on Ravenhill during Bolg's renewed attack on the alliance of men and elves: "He had taken his stand on Ravenhill among the Elves—partly because there was more chance of escape from that point, and partly (with the more Tookish part of his mind) because if he was going to be in a last desperate stand, he preferred on the whole to defend the Elvenking."[7] Bilbo has come a

long way from going without handkerchiefs or his armchair!

The tug-o-war that seems to be taking place between Bilbo's Took and Baggins side is not one of a definite dichotomy, however. Though there may be tension between the two natures, they are closely bound up in one another. Perhaps it is possible that the Baggins' want for comfort is not an evil inclination that drags Bilbo to a spoiled version of himself, and, on the other hand, maybe the Took's appetite for adventure is not a supreme way of being meant to replace the Baggins element within Bilbo. Instead, it may be possible that Bilbo's reminiscence of homey comforts serves as a sort of catalyst towards bravery. As Bilbo reprimands himself in the tunnel leading to the dragon-hoard for beginning a journey that perhaps he would not return from, he continues on anyway. This action of continuing down this passage is described as "the bravest thing he ever did."[8] The reconciliation of both natures is noticeable on Ravenhill. Both the Took and Baggins sides seem to be harmoniously present in the decision-making of Bilbo. I believe there is evidence here that shows a holy transformation of both familial parts that ultimately moves Bilbo to being a more holistic hobbit.

In light of Bilbo's transformation being viewed in this way, one may be reminded of the similarities Bilbo shares with Aulë in his premature making of the dwarves, in anticipation of the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar. Just as Aulë's desire to sub-create was intended to be, so may Bilbo's subcreative Baggins nature be intrinsic to his being.[9] Perhaps Bilbo is not morally corrupt in his loving of comfortability just as Aulë is not for his desire to create. That is not to say that these naturally good aspects are impervious to corruption, or that Bilbo and Aulë's situations are entirely identical. If Bilbo had entirely rejected the Party's call to adventure to cling to his belongings or if Aulë had haughtily attempted to defend and keep his dwarves, then one may possibly call these acts "sinful." This is alluded to when Ilúvatar gives the caution, "Love not too well the works of thy hands and the devices of thy heart…"[10] But Ilúvatar does affirm the truth that sub-creation is a part of his creatures' natures when he extends compassion in response to Aulë's humble reminder: "Yet the making of things is in my heart from my own making be thee; and the child of little understanding that makes a play of the deeds of his father may do so without thought of mockery, but because he is the son of his father."[11] Ilúvatar recognizes the necessary sub-creative nature of Aulë, but gracefully criticizes him, which leads him to participate with others in the creation of Arda even if the future's fruition is to arrive unexpectedly. By the same token, Bilbo's home is an inheritance from his father, Bungo, who expressed his subcreativity in the embellishment of Bag End. Bilbo has taken up the sub-creative torch from his father to continue the further beautification of his family home. Similar to Ilúvatar's challenge to Aulë, it is Gandalf who comes to challenge Bilbo to pursue the wholeness that his adventurous vulnerability, represented by his Tookish nature, brings to the table.

III

I think a question to ask at this stage is, 'what are the primary means by which holiness is extended, if indeed an element of holiness lies at all within the text?' I believe there are three primary ways by which holiness acts in *The Hobbit*: 1) Through a personal and incarnate agent, 2) through music, and, finally, 3) through "luck," as Tolkien means it in *The Hobbit*, i.e., the providence of Ilúvatar.

A

In our exploration of holy agents, I think that it is safe to establish Gandalf as the main point of interest. I will not be unpacking other possible emissaries of holiness such as Elrond and The Eagles, but I will not ignore that, though their appearance is short in *The Hobbit*, they serve a great deal in the aiding of holiness in the standalone story, as well as in relation to the rest of the legendarium.

It is fitting that Gandalf is the first, and chief, instigator of holiness in *The Hobbit*. His quick wit and inclination for wisdom is matched by few. Much ink has been employed to the discourse on Gandalf's challenging of Bilbo's "polite nothings," so that Bilbo may actually reflect on his words before speaking them, therefore assisting in Bilbo's personal growth. I think that touching further on this discussion would be redundant, but I do not want to miss the opportunity to acknowledge the importance that the incident at Bilbo's front door contains in regards to his maturation in holiness.[12] My focus on Gandalf will consist of why I believe that he is the epitome of holiness, and other examples of where his holy nature can be seen enacted and where its impact has landed elsewhere.

In my previous article, I have presented why I believe patience to be an essential part of holiness. Under the present criteria Gandalf, from his inception in the Ainulindalë to his etymological derivation, belongs to the designation of holy. In the Valaquenta, we are given the name that Gandalf was first known by: Olórin. We are also given a description of his character: "Wisest of the Maiar was Olórin. He too dwelt in Lórien, but his ways took him often to the house of Nienna, and of her he learned pity and patience."[13] With this passage, supplemented with Christopher Tolkien's compilation of notes that make up *Unfinished Tales*, we may catch an even closer glimpse of Gandalf's potentially holy nature. Tolkien writes of the Istari and their coming to Middle-earth that "coming in shapes weak and humble were bidden to advise and persuade Men and Elves to good, and to seek to unite in love and understanding all those whom Sauron, should he come again, would endeavor to dominate and corrupt." He further explicates upon Gandalf's arrival to Middle-earth, "But Círdan from their first meeting at the Grey Havens divined in him the greatest spirit and the wisest…"[14] Shortly following the previous statements, the reader discovers that Gandalf is one who opposes evil with "the fire that kindles" rather than "the fire that devours."[15] These holy characteristics might emerge from the etymology of Olórin, which is derived from the Quenya *olos* meaning "dream, vision." The note on this lays out the High-elven understanding of the word, "*olo-s*: vision, 'phantasy:' Common Elvish name for 'construction of the mind' not actually (pre)

existing in Eä apart from the construction, but by the Eldar capable of being by Art (*Karmë*) made visible and sensible. *Olos* is usually applied to *fair* constructions having solely an artistic object (i.e. not having the object of deception, or of acquiring power)."[16] Reading Gandalf's origin in this way, one may be tempted to say that Gandalf was destined to be an agent of holiness.

We may see Gandalf's various aspects of holiness on display throughout the Party's journey. In light of the notes quoted above, we may also be able to see that holiness is something that awakens others to what Tolkien calls "artistic vision." Another name for this artistic vision might also be "the will of the Good." We can see Gandalf's awakening and unifying work on display in his gathering of the party at Bag End. Not only does Gandalf assemble both Bilbo and the dwarves for a noble cause, but he does so in a way that

bestows ennoblement to the members of the party—particularly Bilbo and Thorin. Thorin arrives on scene with a regal entrance. The reader is meant to know that Thorin comes from royalty. Thorin's words and actions carry a haughty and dignified tone to them. There does not seem to be anything that Thorin is not an expert about. After all, he comes from a line of kings. Bilbo, on the other hand, is an exemplary citizen of The Shire and that is good enough for him. Gandalf addresses both Thorin's arrogance and Bilbo's apathy when everyone present expresses doubt about Bilbo's capabilities as a burglar, "If I say he is a Burglar, a Burglar he is, or will be when the time comes. There is a lot more in him than you guess, and a deal more than he has any idea of himself."[17] The reader misses out on all that Gandalf's statement has to offer when treated as a mere rebuke. Not only does Gandalf fall guilty of foreshadowing, as Gandalf is prone to do, but plants a sort of holy seed in the members of the Party. Bilbo has the potential to be so much more than just a well-to-do hobbit, and I would draw a parallel to Thorin with this statement. Thorin is capable of so much more than solely being a dwarven monarch. Gandalf has given an alternate perspective, and Gandalf will continue to patiently and humbly nurture his recipients in assisting them on their holy quest.

Both Bilbo and Thorin's holiness bloom preceding and following The Battle of the Five Armies. For Bilbo, this is evident in his negotiations with Thranduil and Bard in an attempt to prevent an all-out war amongst the Men, Elves, and Dwarves. Our Mr. Baggins has come from a place where even the thought of danger possessed him to fall on the ground "shaking like a jelly that was melting"[18] to being a hobbit "'more worthy to wear the armour of elf-princes than many that have looked more comely in it.'"[19] He is an adventurer who commands the situation with bravery and honor. Bilbo seeks to achieve a parley with no selfish gain in mind. To even meet with the Elves and Men, with the Arkenstone as a bargaining chip, is to do so at the risk of Bilbo's life, his share of the treasure, and his standings with his stunted comrades. Similar to Frodo's volunteering to take the Ring of Power to Mount Doom at the Council of Elrond, Bilbo offers the Arkenstone in a way that sees beyond himself.

The culmination of Thorin's holy transformation is manifested in his final goodbye to Bilbo: "'I wish to part in friendship from you, and I would take back my words and deeds at the Gate.'" It is a sad thing that Thorin waits to humble himself before a friend on his deathbed, but in light of his inevitable passing, Thorin has indeed become more than just King Under the Mountain. Without the obstacles of wealth or pride to cloud his sight, he experiences true sanctification. Bilbo also demonstrates his growth by honoring Thorin by addressing him as a king. Bilbo had every right to deliver Thorin a well-deserved "I told you so," but instead, he exalts Thorin at the expense of himself. Thorin responds in a most holy fashion: "'There is more in you of good thank you know, child of the kindly West. Some courage and some wisdom, blended in measure. If more of us valued food and cheer and song above hoarded gold, it would be a merrier world.'"[20] Any sign of Thorin's previous haughtiness seems to have disappeared in this scene. Not only does it seem to have vanished, but has been transformed by humility. He displays this by placing Bilbo's values above his own. Wealth, expertise, and entitlement have been given a new standing in the order of importance—one that is far below that of friendship and the merriment that homey comforts bring.

The two destinations that Bilbo and Thorin arrive at may be linked to the patient fostering of Gandalf. If it had not been for Gandalf, Bilbo would have not seen the letter and contract on his mantelpiece and therefore would not have even gone on the adventure in the first place. Likewise, if it was not for Gandalf's continuing challenge of Thorin's arrogance throughout the story, Thorin might not have arrived at a place of honorable humility in his final hours. Gandalf brings dramatic change to the lives of those he encounters. It is not an immediate change or something that Gandalf takes entirely into his own hands. Rather, it is patient action alongside a surrender to the will of the Good that promotes holiness in its benefactors. Gandalf chooses Bilbo for the quest on a hunch and finds Thorin through tremendous luck. These chain of events hold a deal more than coincidental implications. In considering the Assimilation version of *The Hobbit*, we may concur that Gandalf perceives this luck as the hand of Ilúvatar influencing events to being brought up into the theme of the Great Music. Gandalf, being an Ainu, acts in accordance with the harmonization of Creation by directly participating in the theme of Ilúvatar, and in doing so, assists Thorin and Bilbo in their growth in holiness.

B

Understanding Gandalf's call as an ongoing participant in the unification of the Great Theme of Ilúvatar, we may better grasp, not only Gandalf's function but, the important role that music plays within Middle-earth and in *The Hobbit*. Music serves as a means for which adventure, newness, and love—among other things—causes transformation. It is also a signifier of the change at hand. This first becomes evident after the unexpected dinner, "when Thorin struck [his golden harp] the music began all at once, so sudden and sweet that Bilbo forgot everything else, and was swept away into dark lands under strange moons, far over The Water and very far from his hobbit-hole under The Hill."[21] When reading this passage, one may be reminded of The Ainulindalë, where music is the means for creation. Perhaps Bilbo is awakened to things beyond his small world of "The Water" and "The Hill" because music is one of the primary means in which Eru Ilúvatar acts. Similar to the way in which Ilúvatar creates through music, so are the creatures moved to act sub-creatively when music falls upon their ears, i.e., when they are exposed to other forms of sub-creation.

When many of Middle-earth's inhabitants hear music or poetry they are able to say, as Julian Tim Morton Eilman has rightly pointed out, "I do not feel as if being inside a song. I am the song myself."[22] I believe that Eilman's articulation of this sort of phenomenon that Tolkien's characters

experience speaks to what Bilbo feels when he hears the dwarves' song. Bilbo is a creature who hears music that is sub-created by other creatures, and inspires Bilbo to respond in a holy fashion. Eilman continues: "certain forms of poetry are able to evoke vivid images and ideas into the recipient's mind, causing an effect that is repeatedly called 'enchantment.'"[23] Understanding the tension of created beings' ability to sub-create and the effect that sub-creation has on others (particularly music) is essential to grasping Tolkien's legendarium as a whole and his views on writing fantasy. This is where one may observe Tolkien's personal theology and perspective spill over into *The Hobbit*.

We must consider Tolkien's *On Fairy-Stories* if we are to successfully parse out what it means to be a sub-creator and what it is to receive sub-creation. Outside of fantasy, Tolkien says of the sub-creator, "He makes a Secondary World which your mind can enter. Inside it, what he relates is 'true:' it accords with the laws of that world. You therefore believe it, while you are, as it were, inside."[24] These elements are a product of, what John Carswell has called, Tolkien's Creative Mysticism. For Tolkien, sub-creation goes beyond quenching the thirst of our desire to behold the works of our hands. The artist's work holds eternal implications that transcend our finite vision. Carswell puts it this way, "mankind draws imaginative influence from the original work of the Creator, and through his imagination begins to see in the things of creation the world as the Creator intended it to be seen."[25] The music of Thorin and Company carry the same implications and stimulate Bilbo's senses to the wide world around him. Unlike the human recipient, Bilbo actually resides in Tolkien's Secondary World and is therefore a part of it. On the other hand, similar to the human recipient, Bilbo has spent most of his time living in naiveté and the sub-creativity of the dwarves begins to expand his perception of, not only the surrounding world, but of himself.

In light of Tolkien's views on the creature's drawn inspiration from the Creator, one may observe that music functions as—to assign it a theological term—a Means of Grace.[26] In Christian theology a Means of Grace is something through which God gives their Divine Grace, i.e., virtue, righteousness, holiness etc. Perhaps music viewed in this way may assist one in seeing the holy effect that it has on its beneficiary within the legendarium. The concept here is that Ilúvatar speaks through the music to nudge Bilbo further into the holy destiny that Ilúvatar has set forth. Bilbo's response will determine the ways in which he will participate in or refuse Ilúvatar's plan, and we shall see that the interplay between Eru's actions and Bilbo's reactions will affect the outcome of the story, the fate of Middle-earth, and Bilbo himself.

C

This sets us up nicely to delve into the third and final means by which holiness is delivered: luck. Tolkien bestows weight to the word luck, in a way that gives it a heartbeat all of its own. It moves in a way that progresses the protagonists, transforms them, and stunts their enemies. Where certain characters alongside their sub-creations of music or poetry are the means by which Ilúvatar acts, luck is his direct intervention. It is the fuel to the holy fire. It is here that I would like to attach a note of clarification. From reading Tolkien's works in regards to the legendarium, readers will see that Ilúvatar is Good and all that he does is good, but not all that comes from him is forced to be good. We shall discover that all things will eventually be drawn into the theme of Ilúvatar, making all things good. However, this result is not one of an ultimate force that constrains all things to be harmonized. Luck would lose its "luckiness" if it meant coercion. Rather, luck maneuvers in and through all things and circumstances that are good or bad, waiting for a response that "shall prove but mine [Ilúvatar's] instrument in the devising of things more wonderful."[27]

The theme of luck can be seen at the Unexpected Party when Thorin tells the story of Smaug's assault upon The Lonely Mountain: "Some of the dwarves who happened to be outside (I was one luckily—a fine adventurous lad in those days, always wandering about, and it saved my life that day)—well, from a good way off we saw the dragon settle on our mountain in a spout of flame."[28] Only from a proper understanding of luck in light of the entire story is the reader able to see that Thorin's choice of the word "luckily" is not a coincidental one. Who knows if in that moment Thorin fully comprehended the implications that his sentence carried? One may read that Thorin used luck to refer to the sparing of his life as a result of his wandering, but we know that Thorin's life is one life out of possibly thousands that suffered the brutality of Smaug. How can a tragedy at this capacity be good? The short answer is that there is no possible way for Smaug's onslaught of the citizens of Erebor and Dale to be good. However, we may be able to see this unfortunate event as an opportunity for good to blossom. Consider that two out of the three dwarven monarchs were lost to death and or lunacy, and that large quantity of dwarves and humans were killed directly by Smaug. The odds are not looking favorable towards our King Under the Mountain. Strangely though, the lucky fate of Thorin in an unlucky situation initiates a journey that follows closely to the narrative of his escape. We later find that if Smaug had not taken The Lonely Mountain and sent the dwarves in diaspora there might not have been a Battle of Five Armies that united the race of men, elves, and dwarves against their common foes and Bilbo certainly would not have found the One Ring at the roots of the Misty Mountains.

Luck has an interesting way of transforming the situation quite literally, but also through the alteration of a character's perspective. To fully grasp luck in this way we must survey Tolkien's concept of eucatastrophe. To his son, Christopher he writes that eucatastrophe is "the sudden happy turn in a story which pierces you with joy that brings tears...joy that produces tears because it is qualitatively so like sorrow, because it comes from those places where Joy and Sorrow are at one, reconciled, as selfishness and altruism are lost in Love."[29] This is a concept that Tolkien develops further in *The Lord of the Rings*, but he attributes eucatastrophe to *The Hobbit* in the same letter. It seems that eucatastrophe is

closely related to the providence of Ilúvatar. Here is where we may observe the parallels held between the idea of holy and eucatastrophe.

It is in the Old Testament where readers first encounter the word holy in reference to the god of Israel, YHWH (יַהְוֶה). Holiness is what marks YHWH as unique from the other gods of Mesopotamia. YHWH is inherently holy, and followers of YHWH are frequently being called to be holy as their god is holy, particularly throughout the first five books of the Old Testament, which are commonly referred to as the Pentateuch. Where the Israelites saw and experienced oppression from other nations and their gods, it was YHWH's holy acts that delivered Israel from their trials. YHWH acting in this way is expressed in the ancient Hebrew word, *chesed* (חֶסֶד), which is "translated 'steadfast love.' *Chesed* is covenant love. On God's part it pledges Him to perform all the promises to His people."[30] YHWH does not prevent Israel from experiencing devastation, but he does promise to deliver them from it. A fitting example is that of the Exodus of Israel from Egypt to the Wilderness, which leads Israel to establishing itself as a nation. It would be difficult now to look at the difficulties of Israel and their wanderings in the Wilderness as cut off from the rest of the narrative. But it is in light of the whole of the Old and New Testaments that Tolkien would have seen these stories culminated in what he called the "greatest 'eucatastrophe'"—the Resurrection of Christ. It is the whole history of Israel, with misfortunes and all that Tolkien would have seen as integrally wrapped up in the story of the Roman Catholic Church. It is from this understanding of the holiness of God making an appearance throughout Christian history that bleeds into the eucatastrophe or luck of *The Hobbit*. Ilúvatar does not make a covenant with a certain people-group per say, but he has given his word. It is not very often that Ilúvatar talks, but when he does, we may be sure to pay attention because what he says carries overarching implications for the entirety of the legendarium.

The luck encountered by Thorin and Bilbo is not a coercive luck, but it is inescapable, similarly to the function of the holiness of YHWH expressed through *chesed*. Luck functions as eucatastrophe throughout *The Hobbit*—from Gandalf's finding of Thrain's map to the coming of the Eagles at the Battle of Five Armies. There really does not seem to be an event that hasn't been touched by luck, and when there are active participants in the luck handed to them, like Gandalf, others become subject to it. Bilbo and Thorin respond positively to the fortune that has befallen them, making them active members of a cosmic orchestra that help move the Great Theme closer to its crescendo.

Conclusion

The Hobbit can be summarized as a story of small individuals accomplishing big things in a big world. Even players such as Gandalf and Beorn are just small pieces that make up a much bigger picture. The best of heroes within Middle-earth live in accordance with this reality. We see that arrogance and pride are accompanied by self-obsession, which results in isolation and death as consequences. This sort of behavior is portrayed in people like the Master of Lake-town, who keeps the gold given by Bard after the Battle of Five Armies to himself, and then dies of starvation in the wastes. Smaug is the ultimate embodiment of selfishness in *The Hobbit*. He dreadfully murders the dwarves and men of the Lonely Mountain in order to take the entirety of their wealth. This is not even done for an end beyond Smaug's self. Thorin explains the worm's disposition, "'Dragons steal gold and jewels, you know, from men and elves and dwarves, wherever they can find them; and they guard their plunder as long as they live (which is practically forever, unless they are killed), and never enjoy a brass ring of it. Indeed they hardly know a good bit of work from a bad, though they usually have a good notion of the current market value.'"[31] There is no doubt that Smaug had committed evil before, but the overhaul of Erebor's treasure serves as further proof of his corruption.

We may draw a parallel to this sort of selfish behavior with Gollum's extended stay in the Misty Mountains with his precious Ring. The reader learns later in *The Lord of the Rings* that Gollum was born Smeagol, but becomes twisted after he murders his cousin in order to obtain the One Ring. Smeagol is then driven out after his heinous act and detaches himself from the rest of the world to keep in constant contact with his precious, and eventually becomes Gollum. Both Smaug and Smeagol are willing to go through extreme measures to take what they desire, and end up accomplishing things of terrible measure. It would seem that these "accomplishments" would be the initiation into their own destruction. For just as holiness is a dynamic reality that transforms those who bear it moment by moment, so does evil continually incline its owner to be more diabolical than before. But for every growing pain that brings the wicked to increase in wickedness, the harder their end. The trend for villains in Middle-earth seems to lead them to their malevolent magnum opus, which is followed by long periods of inactivity, and then culminates in an overzealous final attempt to secure what they lust for. In their last attempt to seize control is where Smaug meets the Black Arrow and Gollum takes a dive into the magma of Mount Doom.

Defeat is not what these creatures expected. In fact, the odds seem to be highly in their favor. Bard takes a lucky shot with information that he receives from the Thrush, who received their information from Bilbo, who attained it from Smaug. Gollum knocked out Sam with a rock and overcame Frodo to eventually win back the Ring. Not to mention that Sauron knew where the Ring was because of Frodo slipping it on his finger, and could easily have retrieved it if Gollum had escaped from Orodruin. But it is because Gollum loses his balance that he fell into the molten lava with the Ring. Luck seems to be at work in both of these instances.

It is from observing the fate of the big and bad and the humble and holy that we may be able to see the evidence of eucatastrophe at work. Smaug sees himself as magnificent and invincible, which leads to his proper end. Bilbo, on the other hand, views himself as a simple hobbit from Bag End,

but continually acts in a way that compromises his well-being for the sake of others. It is because of this that Bilbo is brought to a stature beyond the scope of his and the dwarves' original perception, and why he is able to nobly accomplish what he does. Eucatastrophe is an inescapable reality in Middle-earth. Its inhabitants can either align themselves in accordance with it or attempt to play by their own tune, only to be incorporated in the orchestra of the Great Theme.

To see holiness as an extension of Ilúvatar through the theme of eucatastrophe one may catch a glimpse of holy influences throughout the story. This in turn may bring the reader to a deeper grasp of what is going on in *The Hobbit* and those who reside in its pages. Bilbo and the dwarves are not just simple "good guys" out to win a treasure through the conquering of a "bad guy" because they are, in fact, the "good guys." The events preceding the Unexpected Party to the proceedings after the victory of the Battle of Five Armies have eternal consequences for Middle-earth, and everything that happens in between causes a complex ripple effect that spills over into every moment in the history of Arda. To understand this reality in Tolkien's works is to recognize that all have a part to play in the fate of the World and that each part, although small, carries significant implications for the whole.

In the end, Bilbo comes to the realization of his significance by recognizing how insignificant he really is in the grand scheme of things. Holiness culminates through patient and humble response to the lucky nudge to play one's part in a surrender to the will of the Good. Bilbo articulates this understanding with his final exchange with Gandalf: "'Then the prophecies of the old songs have turned out to be true, after a fashion!' said Bilbo. 'Of course!' said Gandalf. 'And why should not they prove true? Surely you don't disbelieve the prophecies, because you had a hand in bringing them about yourself? You don't really suppose, do you, that all your adventures and escapes were managed by mere luck, just for your sole benefit? You are a very fine person, Mr. Baggins, and I am very fond of you; but you are only quite a little fellow in a wide world after all!' 'Thank goodness!' said Bilbo laughing, and handed him the tobacco-jar."[32] After we turn the final leaf of *The Hobbit* time and time again, perhaps we may find ourselves becoming more hobbit-like with each visit.

Notes

1 Polk, Nicholas J.S. "The Holy Fellowship: Holiness in The Lord of the Rings." *Mallorn*, no. 57. 2016. 29-31.
2 Olsen, Corey. *Exploring J.R.R. Tolkien's The Hobbit.* First ed. Mariner Books. 2013. 12-13.
3 Polk. 30.
4 Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Hobbit*. Revised ed. Ballantine Books. 1977. 15-16.
5 Olsen. 22.
6 Tolkien. *The Hobbit*. 205.
7 Ibid. 269-270.
8 Ibid. 205.
9 Tolkien, J.R.R. "Letter 131" *The Letters of J.R.R Tolkien*. Edited by Humphrey Carpenter. Houghton Mifflin. 2000. 158. See Tolkien's footnote on the origins of Hobbits and their nature.
10 Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Silmarillion*. First ed. Ballantine Books. 1984. 150.
11 Ibid. 41.
12 Tolkien. *The Hobbit*. 17-19.
13 Tolkien. *The Silmarillion*. 24-25.
14 Tolkien, J.R.R. *Unfinished Tales*. First ed. Ballantine Books. 1988. 406.
15 Ibid. 408.
16 Ibid. 414.
17 Tolkien. *The Hobbit*. 31-32.
18 Ibid. 29.
19 Ibid. 258.
20 Ibid. 272-273.
21 Ibid. 26.
22 Eilman, Julian Tim Morton. "I Am the Song" *Light Beyond All Shadow: Religious Experience in Tolkien's Work*. Edited by Paul E. Kerry and Sandra Miesel. Lanham, MD: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011. 100.
23 Ibid. 103.
24 Tolkien, J.R.R. "On Fairy-Stories" *Tree and Leaf*. London: HarperCollins, 2001. 37.
25 Carswell, John. "All Tales May Come True: Tolkien's Creative Mysticism." *Mallorn*, no. 58. 2017. 10-11.
26 Marchese, Shawn E., and Alan Sisto. "Episode 059 - Run Away!" The Prancing Pony Podcast. November 12, 2017. Accessed December 20, 2017. *https://theprancingponypodcast.com/category/podcast-episodes/*. I want to thank Alan Sisto and Shawn Marchese for helping me arrive at this insight.
27 Tolkien. *The Silmarillion*. 6.
28 Tolkien. *The Hobbit*. 35.
29 Tolkien. "Letter 89" *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*. 100.
30 Greathouse, William M. *Wholeness in Christ: Toward a Biblical Theology of Holiness*. Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 1998. 24.
31 Tolkien. The Hobbit. 35.
32 Ibid. 286-287.

Bibliography

Carswell, John. "All Tales May Come True: Tolkien's Creative Mysticism." *Mallorn*, no. 58. 2017.

Eilman, Julian Tim Morton. "I Am the Song" *Light Beyond All Shadow: Religious Experience in Tolkien's Work*. Edited by Paul E. Kerry and Sandra Miesel. Lanham, MD: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011.

Greathouse, William M. *Wholeness in Christ: Toward a Biblical Theology of Holiness*. Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 1998.

Marchese, Shawn E., and Alan Sisto. "Episode 059 - Run Away!" The Prancing Pony Podcast. November 12, 2017. Accessed December 20, 2017. *https://theprancingponypodcast.com/category/podcast-episodes/*.

Olsen, Corey. *Exploring J.R.R. Tolkien's The Hobbit*. First ed. Mariner Books. 2013.

Polk, Nicholas J.S. "The Holy Fellowship: Holiness in The Lord of the Rings." *Mallorn*, no. 57. 2016.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Hobbit*. Revised ed. Ballantine Books. 1977.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Letters of J.R.R Tolkien*. Edited by Humphrey Carpenter. Houghton Mifflin. 2000.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Silmarillion*. First ed. Ballantine Books. 1984.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *Tree and Leaf*. London: HarperCollins, 2001.

Tolkien, J.R.R. *Unfinished Tales*. First ed. Ballantine Books. 1988.

Nicholas J. S. Polk works as a Social Worker and is a licensed minister in the Church of the Nazarene. He and his beautiful wife Kelly live in Nashville.

THE LONG DEFEAT

By Kaleb Kramer

Poet's Note:
An ekphrastic poem inspired by Jenny Dolfen's painting of Fingolfin fighting Morgoth in front of Angband.

O, high king! You stand
Silver mailed, heaven's
Blade in hand, thine eyes
Star-bright, so cold, grim.

Fey-your death looms tall
Above, despair's dark
Shroud wreaths his visage
While heaven's jewels weep
Iron-bound upon his
Dread crown. O, rejoice,
Bright angel, that fate
Decrees such an end.

Despair not, o king,
That you battle a god.
The triumph lies not
In victory, but
In the battle. Shield
Riven by fell blows,
Earth hewn about you,
Stand bright! Not for naught
Do the heaven blest stars
Burn fair in your gaze.
Swift strikes your bright blade,
Foul drips your foe's blood.

Extinguished, the stars
Go out, still lies your
Blade, your heart, your life.
Rest now, o king, vict'ry
Lies bitter upon
The usurper god.

For now, he limp-steps,
And from a god's blood
Grows a new world's bloom.

Kaleb Kramer is a university student studying creative writing in Colorado and has been published in the arts journal *Paragon*.

THE VOW

By Peter Beaumont

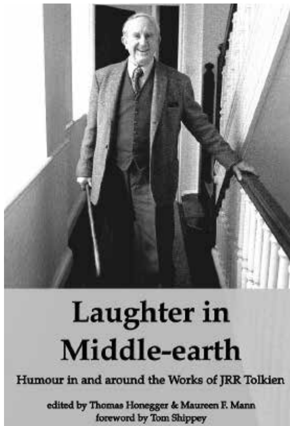
Elrond had revealed to me my name
Estel no longer walked in Rivendell
When I beheld her dance like shimmering flame
Enchanted, called out to her, "Tinuviel!"
And I have loved her from that moment on
Although I knew she was above me far
At dark times since, when every hope seemed gone
My love for her has been my guiding star

Thirty years strife, both triumph and defeat
I came to Lorien and found her there
Still young, dancing, elanor at her feet
Niphredil braided in her raven hair
We walked there together, clad in white
Beneath the mallorns of Cerin Amroth
One scented starry sacred night
To the other we plighted each our troth

Mine has been a grim hard life and a long
I wander now in strange and savage lands
Far from her joy and haunting silver song
I'll keep my vow, with victory win her hand
Or fail and fall in battle, my body hewn
Before the last strength of my blood is done
I'll overthrow the Tower of the Moon
Bring her to grace the Tower of the Sun

Peter Beaumont is a Physics teacher at Ilkley Grammar School and life-long Tolkien fan.

Laughter in Middle-earth



Laughter in Middle-earth: Humor in and around the works of JRR Tolkien

edited by Thomas Honegger and Maureen F. Mann.

Walking Tree Publishers. 2016. ISBN978-3-905703-35-1

Laughter in Middle-earth is a relatively short book with approximately 250 pages. It is a collective work regrouping several short essays. This is a kind of format I particularly like because it enables to make pauses during the reading between each essay. This is a personal opinion, and I perfectly understand that other readers could prefer a more linear book. At least you will know what to expect.

In spite of the title the topics touched in the book are not limited to Middle- earth only, because several papers dedicate quite a lot of space to "minor" works from Tolkien like *Farmer Giles of Ham*, *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*, *Leaf by Niggle* or even *Smith of Wotton Major*. I was a bit surprised at the beginning because those characters do not, from a purely technical point of view, belong to Middle-earth but I appreciated greatly because those books are too often overlooked by the "serious" critics. However, *Mr. Bliss*, or *Father Christmas Letters* are not included in the scope of the different studies even though I consider they are full of humour.

The book is structured in more or less three parts. The first one is dedicated to several essays on humour inside the woks of Tolkien. Then a second part deals with humour and fun about Tolkien. In the end a last paper deals with humour and satire in the works of other Inklings.

It is impossible to do a full review of all the essays because it would be much too long. Just be aware that by reading this book you will learn that nonsense makes sense in Middle-earth. You will discover the different types of laughter and in particular the differences between Melkor's laughter and the one of Tulkas or between the laughter of Sauron and Olorin's. You will be explained how laughter was a way for the high Elves to accept the passing of time and the fact that they had to fade away or for the hobbits a mean to release pressure when they have a very important decision to take. You will have an insight on etymological jokes made by Tolkien on some proper names. You will also discover how perfect Victorian etiquette when applied to trolls or dragons creates a funny discrepancy.

The second part of the book deals with parodies of the lord of the rings. I am a Tolkien Fan and know very well the works by Tolkien but the fandom world or the parodies are largely unknown to me. Nevertheless the different essays are very clear and instructive. So, even though I was unfamiliar with the subject, I enjoyed them. For those who had the opportunities to attend during past Oxonmoots the hilarious slide shows presented by Len Stanford, one of the paper dealing with Gollum will bring back good old memories. For the other readers it will be the occasion to discover incredibly funny drawings of Sméagol.

As you have probably guessed, I like this book and I recommend it. Nevertheless, even if it deals with humour and laughter it is not a funny book. The walking tree has accustomed us, book after book, to serious highbrow books and this one is no exception to the rule. You need a minimum of concentration to follow and very often the authors quote other books or other authors and they suppose that you are familiar with them already. To my great shame, in my case, it is seldom the case. Let's say that this is just an invitation for more future readings.

Reviewed by **Jean Chausse**

Mallorn: Guide for Authors

The following list describes the different types of material *Mallorn* usually accepts. If your submission does not meet this criteria, feel free to send a letter of inquiry.

Letters to the editor:

Letters include reader comments on material previously published in *Mallorn* or elsewhere or may include comments about *Mallorn* as a publication.

Reviews:

Reviews of books, films, theatre shows, art, web-sites, radio, exhibitions or any other presentation of Tolkien works or comments regarding Tolkien's works that may be of interest to a large, general audience. Reviews are to be no more than 1000 words.

Articles:

Scholarly articles about Tolkien's works, life, times, concepts, philosophy, philology, mythology, his influence on literature or other areas of interest regarding Tolkien. Articles are to be a maximum of 3000 words with references in either MLA or APA style. Submissions must be in English, double spaced, accompanied by a cover letter which includes an abstract of the article and a brief bio of the author. Please submit 2 (two) electronic copies in Arial or Times Roman 12 font. No hand-written copies will be accepted. Deadline for submission for a December issue is May 1 of that year. Submissions received after that date will be reviewed for the next edition.

Creative essays:

Creative essays regarding Tolkien's works, life, times, concepts, philosophy, philology, mythology, his influence on literature or other areas of interest regarding Tolkien will be reviewed. Essays are to be a maximum of 1500 words. Submissions must be in English, double spaced, accompanied by a cover letter which includes a brief bio of the author. Please submit 2 (two) electronic copies in Arial or Times Roman 12 font. No hand-written copies will be accepted. Deadline for submission for a December issue is May 1 of that year. Submissions received after that date will be reviewed for the next edition.

Poetry:

Verses and poetry must be original and unpublished elsewhere. Submissions must be in English accompanied by a cover letter which includes a brief bio of the author. Please submit 2 (two) electronic copies in Arial or Times Roman 12 font. No hand-written copies will be accepted. Deadline for submission for a December issue is May 1 of that year. Submissions received after that date will be reviewed for the next edition. Verse and poetry are to be a maximum of 1 page. Fan fiction will not be accepted.

"Well, I'm Back."

"Well, I'm Back." is a back page item of short non-fiction intended to amuse or enlighten. This item is to be no more than 500 words.

Artwork:

Mallorn gratefully accepts all artwork, whether paintings, drawings or photographs and will attempt to match the artwork with articles. Please include a brief bio with the original artwork.

Submission Guidelines:

All submissions are to be sent to the *Mallorn* editor at *mallorn@tolkiensociety.org*

Reviewers:

Many thanks once again to our Peer Reviewers - Sue Bridgwater, Jean Chausse, Timothy Furnish, Anam Hilaly, Eduardo Kumamoto, Kristine Larsen, Kusumita Pedersen and Robert Steed.