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Editors' Introduction

This is the 14th issue of *Tolkien Studies*, the first refereed journal solely devoted to the scholarly study of the works of J.R.R. Tolkien. As editors, our goal is to publish excellent scholarship on Tolkien as well as to gather useful research information, reviews, notes, documents, and bibliographical material.

All articles have been subject to anonymous, external review as well as receiving a positive judgment by the Editors. In the cases of articles by individuals associated with the journal in any way, each article had to receive at least two positive evaluations from two different outside reviewers. Reviewer comments were anonymously conveyed to the authors of the articles. The Editors agreed to be bound by the recommendations of the outside referees. Although they are solicited and edited by the editors, book reviews represent the judgments of the individual reviewers, not *Tolkien Studies*.

MICHAEL D. C. DROUT
VERLYN FLIEGER
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Acknowledgments

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Finally, we acknowledge a special debt of gratitude to our anonymous, outside reviewers who with their collegial service contribute so much to *Tolkien Studies*.

In Memoriam

Tolkien Studies notes the passing of Richard L(awrence) Purtill (1931–2016), who died on December 4, 2016. A professor of philosophy at Western Washington University who made important contributions to Tolkien and C. S. Lewis studies, he was born on March 13, 1931, and received his Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Chicago in 1965. Like Tolkien, he was a Catholic convert. His *Lord of the Elves and Eldils: Fantasy and Philosophy in C. S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien* (Zondervan, 1974; rev. ed., Ignatius Press, 2006) was a parallel consideration of theological issues in the works of the two authors, including one of the first clear scholarly demonstrations that *The Lord of the Rings* was a story with a deep-set religious basis, before the publication of *The Silmarillion* or Tolkien's *Letters*. A later book, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Myth, Morality and Religion* (Harper & Row, 1984; reissued, Ignatius Press, 2003), is a collection of essays, including Purtill's 1977 Mythopoeic Conference Guest of Honor speech discussing levels of symbolism in "Leaf by Niggle" that, in Purtill's view, were too complex to make the story a simple allegory. Other essays discuss religious and theological matters in *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*. Purtill also wrote Christian apologetics, sometimes focused on Lewis' work; numerous college textbooks on logic and metaphysics, often with philosophical dialogues included; and several fantasy novels, most of them inspired by the mythology and archaeology of Greece, a country he often visited for philosophers' conferences.

Conventions and Abbreviations

Because there are so many editions of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, citations will be by book and chapter as well as by page-number (referenced to the editions listed below). Thus a citation from *The Fellowship of the Ring*, book two, chapter four, page 318 is written (*FR*, II, iv, 318). References to the Appendices of *The Lord of the Rings* are abbreviated by Appendix, Section and subsection, so subsection iii of section I of Appendix A is written (*RK*, Appendix A, I, iii, 321). The *Silmarillion* indicates the body of stories and poems developed over many years by Tolkien; *The Silmarillion* indicates the volume first published in 1977.

Abbreviations

Works by Tolkien

- Aotrou* *The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun together with the Corrigan Poems.* (Poem first published 1945.) Ed. Verlyn Flieger. London: HarperCollins, 2016.
- ATB* *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil.* (First published: London: Allen & Unwin, 1962; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963.) [50th anniversary edition.] Ed. Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond. London: HarperCollins, 2014.
- B&C* *Beowulf and the Critics.* Ed. Michael D. C. Drout. Rev. 2nd ed. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 402. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 2011.
- Beowulf T&C* *Beowulf: A Translation and Commentary together with Sellic Spell.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2014.
- Children* *The Children of Húrin* [title as on title page:] *Narn i Chîn Húrin: The Tale of the Children of Húrin.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007.
- FA* *The Fall of Arthur.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013.

Conventions and Abbreviations

- FGH* *Farmer Giles of Ham.* (First published: London: Allen & Unwin, 1949; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950.) [50th anniversary edition.] Ed. Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- FR* *The Fellowship of the Ring.* (First published: London: Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954.) Second edition, revised impression, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- H* *The Hobbit.* (First published: London: Allen & Unwin, 1937; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1938.) *The Annotated Hobbit.* Ed. Douglas A. Anderson. Second edition, revised. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002.
- Kullervo* *The Story of Kullervo.* Ed. Verlyn Flieger. London: HarperCollins, 2015; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016.
- Lays* *The Lays of Beleriand.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985.
- Letters* *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien.* Ed. Humphrey Carpenter, with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien. London: Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.
- Lost Road* *The Lost Road and Other Writings.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Unwin Hyman; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- LT I* *The Book of Lost Tales, Part One.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Allen & Unwin, 1983; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.
- LT II* *The Book of Lost Tales, Part Two.* Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.
- M&C* *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays.* London: Allen & Unwin, 1983; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.
- Morgoth* *Morgoth's Ring.* Edited by Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993.

Conventions and Abbreviations

- OFS* *Tolkien On Fairy-stories*. (Essay first published 1947.)
Extended edition, ed. Verlyn Flieger and Douglas A.
Anderson. London: HarperCollins, 2008.
- Peoples* *The Peoples of Middle-earth*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien.
London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin,
1996.
- RK* *The Return of the King*. (First published: London: Allen
& Unwin, 1955; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956.)
Second edition, revised impression, Boston: Hough-
ton Mifflin, 1987.
- S* *The Silmarillion*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. (First pub-
lished: London: Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton
Mifflin, 1977.) Second edition. London: Harper-
Collins, 1999; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.
- Sauron* *Sauron Defeated*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London:
HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
- S&G* *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*. Ed. Christopher
Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton
Mifflin Harcourt, 2009.
- Shadow* *The Return of the Shadow*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien.
London: Unwin Hyman; Boston: Houghton Mifflin,
1988.
- Shaping* *The Shaping of Middle-earth*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien.
London: Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin,
1986.
- Smith* *Smith of Wootton Major*: (First published: London:
Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967.)
Extended Edition, ed. Verlyn Flieger. London: Harper-
Collins, 2005.
- T&L* *Tree and Leaf*. (First published: London: Unwin Books,
1964; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965.) Expanded as
*Tree and Leaf, including the Poem Mythopoeia [and] The
Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son*. London:
HarperCollins, 2001.

Conventions and Abbreviations

- TT* *The Two Towers*. (First published: London: Allen & Unwin, 1954; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955.) Second edition, revised impression, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
- Treason* *The Treason of Isengard*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Unwin Hyman; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989.
- UT* *Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Allen & Unwin; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980.
- Vice* *A Secret Vice: Tolkien on Invented Languages*. Ed. Dimitra Fimi and Andrew Higgins. London: HarperCollins, 2016.
- WJ* *The War of the Jewels*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994.
- WR* *The War of the Ring*. Ed. Christopher Tolkien. London: Unwin Hyman; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990.

Reference Works

- Artist* Hammond, Wayne G., and Christina Scull. *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist & Illustrator*. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995.
- Bio* Carpenter, Humphrey. *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1977. As *Tolkien: A Biography*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.
- C&G* Scull, Christina, and Wayne G. Hammond. *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion & Guide*. 2 vols. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006.
- RC* Hammond, Wayne G., and Christina Scull. *The Lord of the Rings: A Reader's Companion*. London: HarperCollins; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.

The Mystical Philology of J.R.R. Tolkien and Sir Israel Gollancz: Monsters and Critics

H. L. SPENCER

I. THE GOLLANCZ LECTURES

One of Tolkien's best known works of non-fiction (familiar to readers of his fiction and students of Old English alike) is the lecture which he gave on 25 November 1936 to the British Academy: "*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*."¹ It was a brilliant, assured performance in which Tolkien gave considerable license to his own imaginative engagement with the poem, and to his wit. Though its influence has recently been reassessed, it may still fairly be said that it effected a *bouleversement* in academic study of the Old English epic.

"The Monsters and the Critics" was one in a series of lectures by various speakers, given biennially in honor of the British Academy's founding Secretary, Sir Israel Gollancz. A senior Establishment figure, medieval and Shakespeare scholar, Gollancz had been the first Jewish professor of English in a British university (King's College, London). He had been knighted in 1919. Gollancz had himself persuaded a wealthy donor and personal friend, Mrs. Frida Mond, wife of the industrialist, Ludwig Mond, to give the money to the Academy which provided for the biennial lectures (*Annual Report*). Tolkien was one of many medieval scholars to benefit from the generosity which had created this most distinguished showcase for their talents, although, thanks to Tolkien's later fame as much as its own merits, "The Monsters and the Critics" is probably the most widely known of these performances.

The lectures had been created as a means of perpetuating Gollancz's memory after his death in 1930. In that they have succeeded. Medievalists, and specialists in Old English in particular, know his name, in part, it must be said, because of the success of Tolkien's lecture, but also as an editor who did much to make accessible texts which are now regarded as essential for the study of medieval English literature, especially the fourteenth-century poems surviving uniquely in a single manuscript (British Library, MS Cotton Nero A. x), in particular *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Perhaps inevitably, Gollancz's editions have since been superseded, not least by the work of Tolkien himself and his co-editor E. V. Gordon. Indeed, their edition of *Gawain* was published in Gollancz's lifetime, and was in competition with his work on the poem.

The two men belonged to different generations: Gollancz was born in 1863; Tolkien in 1892. The up-and-coming younger man who gave the memorial lecture in 1936 was also a rival seeking to displace a patriarchal older figure who was becoming unfashionable in the 1930s. The obvious, and explicit, target for Tolkien's criticisms in the lecture was another of the previous generation, the distinguished Scottish literary scholar, W. P. Ker (1855–1923), mentioned repeatedly in the lecture, even while Tolkien stressed that he honored him.² As for Gollancz, although it is not evident that Tolkien had known him personally, they certainly both knew of each other. Gollancz had published very widely, and Tolkien found that when he set about carving out his own career and literary interests, Gollancz's prints were everywhere. It cannot be doubted that Tolkien knew that he was following in the older man's footsteps, and it is extremely unlikely that he would have wished to do so slavishly.

Indeed, Gollancz's literary interests and enthusiasms coincided remarkably with Tolkien's own. In the circumstances, the odd thing about Tolkien's Gollancz Lecture—intended to perpetuate Gollancz's memory—is that he did not mention Gollancz's name even once.³ Although not obligatory—another Gollancz lecturer, Robin Flower, also simply got on with his chosen task⁴—the majority of the lecturers did have something to say about the man they were commemorating. It seems a striking omission: at the very least piquant. It is, of course, difficult to argue from silence. We can only guess why Tolkien did not mention Gollancz. But the circumstances themselves suggest that the failure to mention him was a positive choice, not a simple piece of forgetfulness. All of the Gollancz lecturers were invited to give papers addressing Sir Israel's known literary interests and concerns; this in itself obliged the speakers, Tolkien as much as the others, to think about him. From the Academy's point of view, Frida Mond had given the money for lectures "connected with Anglo-Saxon or Early English Literature, and cognate studies . . . in token of a highly valued old friendship and his [Gollancz's] efforts to further these studies."⁵ Lecturers were chosen accordingly. It is argued here that there are clues in "*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*" itself that Tolkien was not only thinking hard about Gollancz, but also about his own writing and how it compared with Gollancz's. The publication of the lecture in 1937 coincided with the publication of *The Hobbit*. It was a defining, and uncomfortable, moment in Tolkien's life and career, when he, so to say, "came out" publicly as a writer of fantasy just after he had given an unusually imaginative public lecture in the heart of the academic establishment from which Tolkien feared disapproval for his fantasy writing.

What is less well known is that Gollancz had made his own, admittedly much more tentative, excursions into fantasy, children's fiction, and myth, based in his imaginative engagement with not only Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic literature, but also with Shakespeare. As a professor of English dabbling with this sort of material (Gollancz never went further than dabbling), he was also anticipating Tolkien in areas that were not strictly academic. The lecture to the Academy was not the place for Tolkien to air his own fantasies openly (although, once *The Hobbit* was published, it is easy to infer that in the lecture he was thinking about his own fiction while also describing *Beowulf*). And it was not the place to talk openly about Gollancz's fantasies either, though the lecture does seem to hint at them. There are remarkable similarities between the two men, as well as obvious differences in temperament, not least because both, for religious reasons, thought of themselves, at least to a degree, as outsiders in early twentieth-century British society. Gollancz, who experienced anti-Semitism (McMullan, "Goblin's Market"), strove hard for the acceptance by the British establishment which he undoubtedly won. Tolkien had to make his own accommodations; in his case, active service during the Great War was undoubtedly a defining experience (*Bio*; Garth, *Tolkien and the Great War*).

Thus it is argued here that, in the lecture, Tolkien was not merely using the opportunity which Gollancz and the British Academy had provided to get his views of *Beowulf* off his chest, while hinting obscurely at his own special imaginative qualifications for doing so. He was certainly doing this, but he was also tacitly engaging with Gollancz, and not just as a competing older scholar, but as one who, like him, was drawn to expressing himself in storytelling and parables.

II. PROFESSORS IN WONDERLAND

When Gollancz has attracted notice in the last thirty years, it has not always been sympathetic, and even in his own day his personality did not win over everybody, though he was a notably genial man. Part of the problem was his seeming ubiquity. Wherever one looked among Establishment literary causes there he was. In his Shakespearian bardolatry, and patriotism, the sun appears to have set on him as much as the Empire, for whose institutions, notably the British Academy, he did so much. Yet he was a man of many facets, with a cosmopolitan, as well as British, identity, and the world of medieval English studies owes him a great debt. Also the circumstances after the Great War of 1914–18 must be taken into account: it was a time which brought out oversimplified expressions of patriotism. Tolkien is likely to have shared

the mixture of respect and irritation with which others responded to the older man, and, perhaps inevitably, as the younger scholar, he felt the need to disagree, however politely, with a grand panjandrum. Gollancz's ventures into the world of imagination and fantasy—which Lewis Carroll had called “Wonderland”—were part of his scholarship, and not offered as fiction. Tolkien's creation of a fictional world was also based in mythology, and underpinned by the etymologies of real, as well as created, languages (Shippey, *Road*). But in formal academic writing, Tolkien was secretive about his mythology in a way that Gollancz was not; Tolkien may well have found Gollancz's fictional excursions both tasteless in themselves and out of place. And yet Tolkien's Gollancz memorial lecture is rich in little stories, allegories, discussion of mythology and in dragon-lore in a way which on the face of it seems unexpected in such a setting. It is arguable that Tolkien was using Gollancz's example to allow himself certain freedoms to discuss material—including dragons—which, if not off limits, was nevertheless rather suspect.

Gollancz, as much as Tolkien, was a trained philologist. He had studied at Cambridge, where he had also learned Old Norse, and he was taught by W. W. Skeat. Both Tolkien and Gollancz shared the wider passion among philologists of their time to quest for mythological origins concealed in names, which are rarely innocent. When investigated, names reveal rich seams of half-visible culture, tradition and *narratives* which express, maybe unconsciously in their later tellings, the older meanings that can be glimpsed only through the misty spectacles of allegory. Not for nothing was Gollancz the disciple of the author of Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*. As Gollancz's friend, the bibliographer and fellow Shakespeare scholar, A. W. Pollard, put it, “Those who bring imagination to their study of language will find much of the history of man that really concerns us vividly reflected in the history of words.” (“Z” [A. W. Pollard], *Life, Love and Light* 26). It is noteworthy that Pollard made this remark in a work of popular morality, which he published anonymously—it did not do for scholars to admit in public that they had imaginations.

Accordingly, this mythologizing philology was rather a guilty passion, of which not everyone approved. Thus the Oxford classical scholar, L. R. Farnell, the Rector (head) of Exeter, Tolkien's own undergraduate college, had commented tartly in a lecture, given to the British Academy no less, on the glib and fanciful nature, as he saw it, of such speculations: “The axiom that the hero is the faded god has been an obsession of German and English scholars.” Worse, “the whole field is fascinating, and seems easy to work in, and appears to be especially alluring to the feminine mind” (Jessie Weston's 1920 *From Ritual*

to *Romance* would be published in the following year) (Farnell, 'Value and Methods' 37, 45). However, in the early 1930s, Tolkien, as much as Gollancz, could be seduced by the fascination of these kinds of speculation, albeit in the remote fastness of an archaeological report, and hedged about with qualifications (Tolkien, "The Name 'Nodens'"). Gollancz was less shy. Tolkien's elaborate reticences in 'Monsters and Critics' were hardly surprising in 1936.

Gollancz's literary imagination was aroused most powerfully by his reading of Shakespeare, an author of whom Tolkien famously said he was not fond. The origins of names were at the heart of Gollancz's reading of *The Merchant of Venice* in particular. His mythologizing engagement with this play was complex, and too detailed to describe fully here, but was strongly and painfully involved with his own Jewish identity. His arguments may be found in the three lectures which were published by his friends posthumously in his memory (Gollancz, *Allegory*). He was not merely seeking to exonerate Shakespeare from crude Jew-hating, but in convoluted and indirect ways seeking to explain his own position as a Jewish professor of medieval English under a decent show of objectivity. The strength of his feelings meant that he could not leave the subject alone. As Pollard said of him, "It is the more interesting to note the fascination which it exercised, so that it was essayed again and again." But Pollard also noted that the arguments were incapable of proof in any conventional academic manner (Gollancz, *Allegory* 12).

The natural outlet for such convictions is in creative writing. Gollancz, though not a fully-developed writer of fiction or an independent poet, satisfied this instinct by verse translations of *Pearl* and other texts—he was a fluent translator, with a fondness for an archaic turn of phrase. Tolkien shared several of these characteristics, likewise undertook translations into verse, felt it his special privilege to interpret literature of the past for the present, and began his career of writing fiction with writings for children—his own initially—including Christmas stories. However, Gollancz's most sustained exercise in storytelling (also for a child) related to a different play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which, after the high seriousness of *The Merchant*, he reveals his playful side. And like Tolkien's *The Father Christmas Letters*, Gollancz's little story was a Christmas gift.

III. FAIRIES AND DRAGONS

Gollancz's edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, addressed to an unnamed girl, and with plentiful black and white illustrations by Robert Anning Bell, included in his introductory matter a fairy tale for

children, with a generous helping of sugar to beguile youngsters into accepting some Shakespeare learning. The edition also satisfied his taste for pretty books. The publisher, J. M. Dent, agreed to the enterprise on condition that Gollancz should write a preface. Dent insisted that Gollancz tell his child readers something about “the Geography and History of Fairyland”—something Gollancz thought children would find boring. But “publishers are terrible creatures,” Gollancz told the girl, “and it is dangerous to thwart them” (Gollancz, *Midsummer* x–xi). Gollancz, even more than Tolkien, disliked sustained academic writing for publication, having established his scholarly reputation largely through his many editions of texts—as Pollard said in the memorial volume, *Allegory and Mysticism*, he “preferred speaking to writing” (Gollancz, *Allegory* 11).

Gollancz, like most who have written for children, including Tolkien, did so in the shadow of *Alice in Wonderland*.⁶ He teased his readers by calling the girl (real or imagined) whom he addressed, “Dearest.” The book is a gift to her: “the most beautiful of all gifts for a fairy-loving child—this wonderful fairy-tale told three-hundred years ago” (Gollancz, *Midsummervii*). If it was a real gift, it was a Christmas present, since, though the events are set in midsummer, the book was published at Christmas, with Dent’s eye to the Christmas market (as *Alice* had been dedicated to “a dear child in memory of a summer’s day”). And Gollancz sent copies of the book to friends as Christmas presents, including the medieval scholar and entrepreneur, F. J. Furnivall, who told him that people were agog to know who “Dearest” was. “Why,” said Furnivall, “there are 150 of em, so you may choose any one you like. G[ollancz] loves *all* nice young girls.”⁷

“Dearest” is a young girl whom Gollancz finds in her school-room; Furnivall, who may have been right, and evidently did not wish to spoil his friend’s little mystery, suggested that rather than an individual, she was any one of the pupils. In so doing, he mischievously raised the prospect of a Gollancz with a sentimental fondness for well-behaved schoolgirls, which is at least appropriate for him as the editor of *Pearl* (though 150 is as nothing compared with that poem’s 144,000 uniformed maidens). Whoever “Dearest” was, Gollancz said he found her one bright spring day “poring over those terrible NOTES, committing to memory Mr Theobald’s conjectures, and Mr Johnson’s and Mr Steevens’ . . . while at her side lay a gloomy-looking thing labelled “MIDSUMMER NIGHT’S DREAM; NOTEBOOK OF ETYMOLOGIES, &c.” carefully compiled, by her teacher “from the pages of a famous volume she familiarly described as ‘Skeat!’” With her teacher’s permission (probably this was important to Gollancz), the pair take a holiday from serious scholarship to have some fun. They went out into

an old-world garden, “and we banished from our fairyland, ‘upon pain of instant death,’ all trespassers, namely, parallel passages, various readings, conjectural emendations, etymologies, commentaries, commentators, etc., etc.” (Gollancz, *Midsummerviii*). And away the two went with the fairies, undisturbed by pesky Etymologies, until a host of fairies captured Dearest as a more attractive child than the boy-changing they already had, “And with the noise I awoke and found myself all alone in my lonely turret, my head buried in the yellow leaves of a worm-eaten Folio” (Gollancz, *Midsummerx*).

Before the end of the introduction Gollancz managed to get in some diluted Shakespeare biography, as well as some edifying material about the play, including diagrams to help Dearest and her friends keep track of the lovers’ romantic gyrations between partners. He even smuggled in an Etymology or two in his brief account of fairy-lore, so Dearest does not escape instruction scot free. This is perhaps what distinguishes Gollancz from other pedagogues turned children’s storytellers (better ones, it must be said). Even while his story begins, as many do, with an act of transgression, it is under adult supervision, and he cannot forget he is a teacher. Tolkien, on the other hand, said that the idea for *The Hobbit* came to him while doodling—as he should not have been—on a candidate’s exam script. He saw the writing of the book as an illicit pleasure of which colleagues would doubtfully approve, and which was not guaranteed publication (Shippey, *Road* 60).

In early 1937, the year of publication both of “Monsters and Critics” and *The Hobbit*, Tolkien was clearly anxious about how the latter was going to be received, not least by his university, since, as he said, he was under contract to get on with serious research, not “frivolities” (*Letters* 18–19).⁸ Dragons were much on his mind after the Academy lecture of 25 November 1936, and he was still thinking how to get an academic audience not to dismiss them as childish but to take them at least semi-seriously. He published two poems in 1937, one in February, the second in March, which addressed the problem in a fictional guise. They appeared in *The Oxford Magazine*, founded in 1883 as a weekly University publication, which included poems and reviews by members of the university as well as more official notices. The first was “The Dragon’s Visit,” a comic narrative poem (but with serious undertones) in which the dragon laments that modern people “have not the wit” to appreciate “a dragon’s song or colour . . . The world is getting duller.”⁹ The second, “Íúmonna Gold Galdre Bewunden,” was a more serious performance, and was an exploration of ideas and themes in *The Hobbit*. In it Tolkien created a dragon that unmistakably owed much to *Beowulf*, but he put right what he saw as the defects of that creature. The *Beowulf* dragon, he said in “Monsters and Critics” was

too allegorical. Accordingly the bestial nature of Tolkien's own dragon is emphasized. As he had said in the lecture, the problem with the *Beowulf* dragon, "if one wishes really to criticize," was that it was more *draconitas* than *draco* (*M&C* 17).¹⁰

In between these poems, Tolkien published another, "Knocking at the Door," with the telling mock-heroic subtitle, "Lines induced by the sensation when waiting for an answer at the door of an Exalted Academic Person."¹¹ The incident may, or may not, have happened—it does not greatly signify. But Tolkien had metaphorically been knocking at the door, in that he had sought in "Monsters and Critics" to get the attention of the august academic community, represented by that academic fortress, the British Academy. The sub-title of the lecture, "The Monsters and the Critics," creates a parity between monsters and scholars, and one is left speculating on which is which. Similarly in "Knocking at the Door" Tolkien imagines the creatures residing within the exalted academic's lair as grey and sinister fantastical creatures, which he calls "Mewlips," who feed on the prey that comes to their door. The mythical creatures in Tolkien's imaginary zoo not only really bite, but they eat unwary Oxford people (members of the public and members of the university) for supper. This rather savage poem was, unlike the other two, published—understandably—under a pseudonym: "Oxymore." The moral of all three is that "correct and sober taste" rejects ogres and dragons at its peril—they may turn and rend. Also that, unless a dragon's defender "speaks in parables, he will kill what he is studying by vivisection, and he will be left with a formal or mechanical allegory" (*M&C* 15).¹²

IV. "NORTHERNNESS"

Tolkien famously disapproved of Shakespeare's fairy plays, and he is likely to have deplored Gollancz's capers in fairyland. Tolkien had himself said that "a professor at play rather suggests an elephant in its bath" (*Letters* 22).¹³ Yet, as a philologist, Gollancz had been drawn to "northernness" as much as Tolkien. "Northernness" is a word used by C. S. Lewis to describe that special glamor of Nordic legends, landscape and climate, an indescribable quality that could only be summed up as "It's the Northernness—the Northernness."¹⁴ Gollancz had been a member, and subsequently President, of the Viking Club, mocked by journalists as an association of Victorian gents who drank tea, assumed Norse names and held gala dinners.¹⁵ As philologists, both men were aware that the etymology of words often took them into Nordic mythology; thus Gollancz noted that *fairy* was derived from a French word, also borrowed into English as "fay", and that "fay" "is of the same

Latin origin as our English word 'fate.' A "fay" was originally one of the Three Fates of Greek and Roman mythology; equivalent entities appear in Old Norse. Accordingly, "something of its old meaning still clings to the word, though we use it very loosely for all sorts of wonderful beings and stories from wonderland" (Gollancz, *Midsummer* xlvi–xlvii).

Gollancz made repeated connections between his work on Shakespeare and the training in Icelandic he had received at Cambridge. Thus his familiarity with Norse myths and legends led him to edit the Icelandic versions of the Hamlet story, represented by *Ambales Saga* (Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*).¹⁶ Eiríkr Magnússon, his teacher at Cambridge, had been one of the sponsors of his application for the professorship in English advertised by University College London in 1899, and commended Gollancz's "thorough training in the principles of Teutonic philology," combined with the extensive literary knowledge which enabled him to "enter on a hitherto untouched field of research and to collect Icelandic MS. materials bearing importantly on English literature of the sixteenth century" (*Testimonials* 10).¹⁷ Gollancz considered that Shakespeare had taken "a rude, barbaric tale of the North" to create his play, "which represents in some very vital way one of the noblest and most ancient of northern myths, where a young demi-god was, as it were, the Noonday Sun" (Gollancz, *Allegory and Mysticism* 48). Tolkien endorsed the same principle in the lecture when he spoke of poets' handling of old tales as "alchemy performed upon the base metal" (*M&C* 13).

Gollancz and Tolkien thus had very similar tastes and literary views. Tolkien's first prose story, based on the Kullervo cycle from the Finnish *Kalevala*, and written in 1914–15, while he was an undergraduate, marked, as he said, the "germ of my attempts to write legends of my own"; it also has striking similarities to the story of *Hamlet*.¹⁸ Tolkien, as is well known, was stirred by the evocative opening of the fifth of the Old English *Advent Lyrics* (*Christ I*), "Eala Earendel, engla beorhtost!" [Hail! Earendel, brightest of angels!] (11.104–5); he would have read the poem most probably in Gollancz's edition—Gollancz himself had even drawn attention to the power of the line, which he, too, felt strongly (Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland* xxxvi–xxxviii; *Cynewulf's Christ I*. 103, and note).¹⁹ Tolkien did not mention this.

Gollancz's excursions into northern scholarship surfaced in strange places—even in his edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which he told Dearest that, though Oberon's name looked French, it was Germanic in origin; he was "in reality the famous little dwarf Alberich," and his name meant "Elf-king." He regaled her with information about the Norns who sat "under a wonderful ash-tree," and with an extended

account, which brings us very close to Tolkien's fictional concerns, of Light and Dark Elves. Gollancz pointed out that elf-lore had its origins in Old English and Scandinavian mythology, but his anxiety to make elves appealing to a small girl who needed to be guarded from the darker and scarier aspects of mythology led him to describe them as diminutive and guilty of nothing worse than mischief, except that dark elves stole children (the drawing back from real horror is of a piece with Gollancz's insistence that, if he had been in his right mind, Shylock would not *really* have exacted the pound of flesh): "Nothing delighted these little elves more than dancing . . . and the feasts in elf-land were never without elfin-music, which was so weird and enchanting, that any mortal coming near was forced to join in the dance." "Little dwarfs" were "long-nosed, little-eyed, bluish-grey little creatures" who "selected wicked people" as the victims of their jests (Gollancz, *Midsummer* xlv–xlvi). If Tolkien knew these fairy imaginings, as seems not unlikely, the winsomeness with which Gollancz so lavishly coated mythological matter seems the very thing to have revolted him, and the pretty children's book, with its charming illustrations, may have done something to confirm him in his avowed disapproval of Shakespeare *per se*, probably of his fairy plays in particular, and certainly of their Victorian successors. He did not subscribe to the belief in serving children with the milk of light and easy doctrine. His is "splendid reading for children with strong nerves" (Briggs 209).²⁰

V. TOLKIEN'S "OBSCURE BATTLE" WITH GOLLANCZ

In such a context, the invitation to Tolkien to give one of the memorial lectures for Gollancz, a man very different from himself in temperament, but whose literary interests closely, and probably uncomfortably, anticipated his own, must have given Tolkien reason to think when the British Academy invited him to contemplate his predecessor. But, though Tolkien seemed pointedly to ignore Gollancz in the lecture itself, we are not therefore wholly dependent on conjecture as to his views. There is other evidence that Tolkien did not approve of Gollancz, and something may also be inferred from remarks made by other Gollancz lecturers, Tolkien's contemporaries, who did comment on the man. It is apparent that Gollancz's posthumous reputation was very mixed.

For a start, there was the rivalry between them. Tolkien and Gollancz were powerfully drawn, though for different reasons, to the same medieval texts, the thirteenth-century guide for women recluses known as *Ancrene Wisse*, and, above all, to *Pearl* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Tolkien was emotionally drawn to these texts, both as

West-Midlander and Catholic. All three texts, in different ways, are strongly religious, and all three have their origins in different parts of the West Midlands. All are recorded in varieties of a West-Midland literary standard dialect of English. Tolkien produced an important study of the language of *Ancrene Wisse*, and would, in due course, edit the text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 402 (“Ancrene Wisse and Hali Meidhad”; *Ancrene Wisse*). He edited *Sir Gawain*, and although he never edited *Pearl*, he had fully intended to do so, and the work was completed by E. V. Gordon’s widow, Ida (Gordon, *Pearl* iii–iv).

Gollancz, though no West-Midlander, quite simply adored the Cotton Nero poems, especially *Pearl*, to which he returned throughout his working life. He probably did the most of any scholar to promote enjoyment of these texts’ literary qualities and make them better known. He fully subscribed to the reading of *Pearl* as a father’s elegy for a young daughter, and he recognized that the poem could speak for the grief of all parents who had lost children in the Great War.²¹ Furthermore, both Gollancz and Tolkien valued the Cotton Nero poems (and, in Tolkien’s case, also *Ancrene Wisse*) as witnesses to the continuity, as they saw it, of literary traditions going back to Old English despite historical upheavals which temporarily sent the stream underground. Literary and linguistic continuity had a particular resonance for both men after the War (Gollancz, *Middle Ages*; Tolkien, “*Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidhad*”).

The shared attraction to *Sir Gawain* had led to a direct conflict of interest. In 1924, Gollancz discovered to his chagrin that Tolkien and his Leeds colleague, E. V. Gordon, had proposed an edition of the poem to Oxford University Press, which the Delegates had accepted, and which frustrated his own plans for a “school” text. He protested. The Secretary to the Delegates (and Tolkien’s former tutor), Kenneth Sisam, replied “sweetly,” but without giving ground.²² Gollancz retreated, clearly hurt, but courteous as ever. However, he did not give up in the face of competition. Despite the existence of Tolkien and Gordon’s 1925 edition, Gollancz’s own edition of *Sir Gawain* was published posthumously by the Early English Text Society (EETS) in 1940, prepared for press and with introductory material supplied largely by his former student, Mabel Day. In 1940 many of Gollancz’s friends were still alive, and remembered him fondly. Among them was R. W. Chambers, Quain Professor of English at University College, London (in succession to W. P. Ker), and, at this date, Director of the EETS. Chambers had corresponded with Gollancz, and, after his death in 1930, he wrote to Lady Gollancz to condole with her loss of “one of the most kind hearted of men, and one to whom English Scholarship is under an inestimable debt,” adding: “To those of us who had the privilege of

his friendship the loss is irreparable.”²³ Chambers had a foot in both camps, since he was also Tolkien’s friend, to whom Tolkien would later send an advance copy of *The Hobbit*, which Chambers enjoyed during a period of convalescence.²⁴ Chambers was a past master at academic diplomacy.

Accordingly, Tolkien’s and Gordon’s text of *Sir Gawain* was in competition with the posthumous EETS edition by Gollancz, and the OUP records show that the editors were well aware of the rivalry. The two editions were bound to be compared, not least by Tolkien himself. And, although he kept his criticisms *sotto voce*, Tolkien did not like Gollancz’s book. We have a witness.

Twelve years after Gollancz’s death, the medievalist, Derek Brewer, returning to Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1942, to resume his English degree, remembered Tolkien in lectures on *Sir Gawain*. They were given “to a small group of devotees, confining himself entirely to textual cruces (often forgetting to tell us which line he was discussing), and doing obscure (to me) battle with some mysterious entity, prophetically as it may now seem, called something like ‘Gollancz.’” Brewer evidently recognized that he was close to putting a foot wrong, and adroitly drew back, “Even I eventually discovered that the reference was to the admirably ingenious Early English Text Society edition by Sir Israel Gollancz, no relation to Gollum” (Brewer and Gibson 2, and footnote).

We should appraise Brewer’s anecdote from his undergraduate days about the obscure war which Tolkien waged on Gollancz with caution. After all, we only have Brewer’s word for it. It is certainly true that Tolkien used his lectures to criticize readings in Gollancz’s text of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*—it was very unlikely that Brewer made this up²⁵ and Tolkien engaged closely with Gollancz’s notes and emendations. But Brewer’s suggestion that Gollancz’s name was being taken in a way that seemed to him “prophetic” is most reasonably interpreted as a glance at the similarity of the name to one of Tolkien’s most well-known characters, Gollum, both in *The Hobbit* and as Tolkien would later develop him in *The Lord of the Rings* (1954). But, assuming this is right, it is Brewer’s interpretation, not something he was reporting at first hand. Probably aware of the sensitivities, Brewer avoided being more explicit. It was unlikely that Tolkien himself made such a connection within the formal setting of a lecture to undergraduates.²⁶ It would have been deeply improper. His thoughts, however, were his own. As “Knocking at the Door” shows, he *did* privately represent senior academics (the class to which Gollancz belonged) to himself as Gollum-like cannibalistic monsters, “Mewlips.” A touch of malice is understandable, since, at the time he wrote it, he was on edge about academic recep-

tion of *The Hobbit*. But he was careful to publish “Knocking at the Door” under a pseudonym, as a semi-serious skit in an academic magazine, and when the poem was later reprinted under Tolkien’s name, it was toned down and its subtitle was omitted. Tolkien also, of course, belonged to the class of senior academics himself. He had been elected in 1925 to the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford—something that would have made it inappropriate both for him to make rude remarks published under his own name about “Mewlips,” and to make unkind public, or semi-public, comments about Gollancz, as Brewer hinted that he did. However, although the suggestion that Tolkien made a connection between Gollancz and Gollum is initially startling, Brewer’s testimony at least merits consideration.

Gollum’s name alludes to the convulsion in the throat, transcribed “Gollum,” which characterizes his speech; it also refers to the suffix of his original name, Sméagol. Additionally, the resemblance of this suffix to the Old Norse *gull* [gold], is appropriate in view of his obsession with his “precious” ring. It has also been suggested that there may be an allusion to Hebrew, “golem,” an “embryo,” “monster,” or “automaton” (Nagy, “Lost Subject” 59–60). This is still a long way from “Gollancz,” but, as McMullan has pointed out, it is unfortunate in hindsight that Gollancz seems on occasion to have been known to his friends by the affectionate nickname “Goblin.” We simply do not know whether this was known to Tolkien; clearly he himself was not on “Dear Goblin” terms with Professor Sir Israel.

It is true that Tolkien used his Oxford lectures to snipe at what he saw as Gollancz’s editorial lapses.²⁷ As others noted in reviews, the details of Gollancz’s editing were not irreproachable. The view was current that Gollancz’s scholarship, while pioneering, could be swashbuckling and prone to conjectures in pursuit of a pet theory. Tolkien, whose scholarly publications were mostly concerned with editing or close philological study, evidently disagreed with his emendations; we also know that Tolkien waged war on other editors by name in his lectures.²⁸ The irony is that Tolkien, in his own later editions could also be described as a bold emender: once again there are marked similarities between him and Gollancz.²⁹

Tolkien’s academic disputes were likely, thanks to his temperament and the decencies, to be “obscure,” even while they were also sufficiently heated to be described as a battle and remembered by an excited undergraduate. Yet Tolkien needed to tread carefully when dealing with Gollancz. Apart from considerations of *nil nisi bonum*, there was the difficult Jewish question—it is clear from Gollancz’s tortuous dealings with Shylock how painful this was. It should be made abundantly clear that, if Tolkien did make unkind comparisons

between Gollancz and his own anti-hero, Gollum, this was based in the two men's differences of opinion, nothing worse. Tolkien was not being anti-Semitic. Tolkien took trouble to show support for the Jews. When in 1938 the German publishers of *The Hobbit* wanted to know whether he was himself of Jewish origin, he replied angrily: "I can only reply that I regret that I appear to have no ancestors of that gifted people." He continued, "I have been accustomed, nonetheless, to regard my German name with pride."³⁰ His railing against that "ruddy little ignoramus Adolf Hitler," is well known.³¹ As others have noticed, Tolkien's invented dwarvish language owes a debt to Hebrew. Indeed, Tolkien's generosity to the Jews was unusual in British public opinion between the two World Wars. The leading Catholic newspaper, *The Tablet*, in the same edition which carried a review of Tolkien and Gordon's edition of *Sir Gawain*, also contained, on adjoining pages, an article, "Is the Jew an Anomaly?"³² It makes nasty reading (even though the author, as a Catholic in the 1920s, regarded *all* non-Catholics as 'anomalous'). Tolkien is likely to have read the essay, both as a committed Catholic himself, and, one presumes, as someone interested in reading reviews of his own work. Tolkien was proud of his surname, though it evidently ran the risk of creating silly misunderstandings (not all names of German origin indicate Jewish antecedents—and the German publisher's enquiry was impertinent and worse). But it might be added that others who bore a Jewish-sounding name *were* embarrassed: the author of *The Tablet's* article is likely to have been the same "Vera Telfer" who, in 1938, found it expedient to abandon by deed poll her original Eastern European surname of Leviansky.³³ Tolkien rightly distanced himself from such views, but they were commonplace among his own community as much as the wider population.

So, if Tolkien wanted to wage obscure war on Gollancz's scholarship, this would not be surprising. But he was not therefore impugning either his race or religion. Although this point should not be exaggerated, both Tolkien and Gollancz felt themselves in some measure in a minority because they held religious beliefs, albeit different ones, which, as both knew all too well, had been cruelly persecuted in England in the past; both were highly sensitive on the point.

VI. MONSTERS AND CRITICS

Tolkien's reticence about Gollancz in "Monsters and Critics" leads one reasonably to see what other Gollancz lecturers had to say about him in the years shortly after his death. C. L. Wrenn, who had succeeded to Gollancz's chair at King's, gave the fullest appraisal. Without being

uncharitable, he hinted at his predecessor's faults. Gollancz's posthumous reputation was of being too fanciful and clever for his own good: those reaching out for adjectives to describe him, including Wrenn, typically settled on "ingenious"—a word which is not always a compliment. They were referring to what were perceived as Gollancz's over-subtle emendations of edited texts, and to his propensity to stretch evidence in the interests of a good story.³⁴ Derek Brewer's mention of the "admirably ingenious" Gollancz was similarly double-edged. The first of the Gollancz lecturers, John Livingstone Lowes, spoke of Gollancz's "friendship" to scholars and his "warm humanity" ("Art of Geoffrey Chaucer" 297).³⁵ Kenneth Sisam referred to Gollancz's "pioneer" services as editor of *Gawain and Pearl*, and alluded to his "admirable translation" of Cynewulf's *Christ*. Again, Sisam's remarks were not wholly complimentary: "pioneer" suggests disregard for strict accuracy in the interests of blazing a trail, and Sisam indirectly also hinted at Gollancz's—and others'—inclination to make up stories unsupported by evidence by alluding to a "staid critic," who, "some half century ago," could conjure up a wife, "Cyneburh" for the Old English poet Cynewulf, "without even a rib to build on." "Those were the excesses of an age of great discoveries, and should be passed lightly." It is not stated, but the suggestion is there that Gollancz's excesses, too, should be passed over lightly to avoid getting lost "in a maze of ingenuities" ("Cynewulf and his Poetry" 303, 320). Even Gollancz had recognized that his proffered "elucidations" of texts were "bold" and had "carried me into strange paths" (*Cædmon MS* vii).

The intention behind Tolkien's omission of Gollancz's name in "Monsters and Critics," need not necessarily have been to wage war, or at least, not simply so. It is clear that all of the Gollancz lecturers gave careful thought to Sir Israel's scholarly interests and enthusiasms when choosing their subjects. As did Tolkien. For, especially at the beginning, where an acknowledgement to Gollancz might have been expected, the lecture covertly engages with remarks which Gollancz had made, and ideas which he had expressed with passion, most particularly in the lectures on "Allegory and Mysticism," published posthumously five years earlier. In the circumstances, even Tolkien's passing reference to a "Shylockian plural" seems suggestive in the light of Gollancz's obsession with this character (*M&C* 12). Shylock was not mentioned in the Oxford lectures on which "Monsters and Critics" was based; he was added when Tolkien worked up the material for the British Academy.³⁶ The result of these hints is that Gollancz is present though absent, although whether as a Monster or a Critic is carefully veiled. Perhaps Tolkien was not quite sure himself.

Tolkien's main argument was that the literary study of *Beowulf* had been neglected while critics rootled around looking for truffles of philological, archaeological, or historical interest. In the light of his well-known disagreements over the English syllabus at the University of Oxford, and the generally austere tenor of his philological publications, his stance here seems a little unexpected. It was, perhaps, a covert acknowledgement that the man, recently dead, in whose honor he was speaking, and in the institution—the British Academy—which Gollancz had done so much to establish, was himself known as a philologist, one who had been “trained,” as Magnússon said, “in the scientific school of Sievers” and other German luminaries, but whose interest, as another of his referees had said, “is rather in literature than in language for its own sake” (*Testimonials* 9–10).³⁷ Equally, Tolkien's remark that “*Beowulf* has been used as a quarry of fact and fancy far more assiduously than it has been studied as a work of art” (*M&C* 1), was a charge that could be levelled at Gollancz, who sought his own unprovable personal mythologies in Shakespeare as well as *Pearl*, and whose edition of the fourteenth-century alliterative poem *Winner and Waster* had contained some egregiously unctuous conjectural readings designed to flatter the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII (Trigg 115–27).

Tolkien developed his argument in two short allegories—a mode of discourse which, in other circumstances, he notoriously disdained, and dismissed even within the lecture as “formal” and “mechanical” (*M&C* 15). Here the device allowed him as an as yet private storyteller to indulge his fancy. Furthermore, allegory was also at the heart of Gollancz's most strongly felt response to the texts which most mattered to him throughout his scholarly life, as testified in his memorial volume, *Allegory and Mysticism*. In the first of Tolkien's allegories, the “excellent ladies,” Historia, Philologia, Mythologia, and Laographia (the study of folklore) attend *Beowulf*'s christening, but Poesis was not invited. This was primarily a quiet dig at R. W. Chambers's *Beowulf: An Introduction* (*M&C* 6, and n. 2). Chambers, unlike either Gollancz or Tolkien, was not at ease consorting with Laographia, describing the main story of *Beowulf* as a “wild folk-tale.” “Quite true,” Tolkien agreed. “It is true of the main story of *King Lear*, unless in that case you would prefer to substitute *silly* for *wild*” (*M&C* 12).³⁸ His views echo Gollancz, who had described *Lear* as a story “of an ancient king of Britain who, in his old age, became very foolish in his attitude towards his children.” Underlying it, as divined by “your student of folk-lore and anthropology,” said Gollancz, is a myth, whereby “King Lear is Neptune, the Scandinavian and Celtic Neptune, and the rough, heartless daughters are the fierce waves, and the gentle Cordelia is the mild wave” (Gollancz, *Allegory* 15).³⁹ In terms of Tolkien's second allegory, whereby the propo-

nents of assorted academic disciplines, push over a man's tower in order to pick over the stones out of which it is made, it is reductive of Gollancz to dig away the material which had delighted Shakespeare's audiences to leave readers with a "Scandinavian or Celtic Neptune" story, and a feeling of "so what?" But Gollancz's abiding conviction was that Shakespeare, through his genius, had been able unconsciously to intuit—"divine"—the myth so that the blend of the ancient myth with the "entrancing" Jacobean add-ons results in something "too great for any stage" (*Allegory* 15). The moral that the sum is greater than its parts is also the lesson Tolkien preaches about *Beowulf*. As he pointed out, the owner of the tower, before the scholars had demolished it, had been able to see the sea—which was perhaps poetically quite satisfying enough without being able to perceive Neptune cavorting there with his daughters in some kind of Northern Trevi fountain.

Tolkien and Gollancz were, then, close in the imaginative importance which both attached to Scandinavian and Germanic mythology. And both were led by their creative urges to speculate in ways which Farnell, in 1926, had ridiculed as alluring fantasy built upon insufficient foundations; as he put it, "if Penelope was originally a water-duck, her epic career becomes all the more startling" (41). Even though he was aware that the temptation to build stories out of fascination with words was open to criticism, Tolkien had himself previously indulged in his own circular byways of "linguistic palaeontology" (Fraser "Linguistic Evidence").⁴⁰ His formidable philological knowledge, which included the Celtic languages, had led him just a few years before his Gollancz lecture to his own speculations about "the ultimate original of King Lear." However, his conjectures were tucked away in the decent obscurity of an appendix to an archaeological report for the Society of Antiquaries. His admission that "linguistic considerations unaided by other data can do little, usually, to recall forgotten gods from the twilight" was a libation to the godling of academic decencies which prefaced a series of etymological speculations to link the "Nodens" venerated by the Romano-British Silures of Gloucestershire with the Irish mythological hero, Nuada "of the Silver Hand," king of the Túatha dé Danaan, taking in the Mabinogion en route to conjure up "an echo of the ancient fame of the magic hand of Nodens the Catcher." Whether this god, Nodens, was a "catcher" in a sinister sense, or "merely as being a lord of vengery, mere etymology can hardly say." He might also have been an acquirer of valuable property—like a sword—or "a ring." ("Nodens" 133, 137).⁴¹ Tolkien's fiction would be nothing without annular acquisitive serendipity.

In conclusion, the difference between Gollancz and Tolkien was more one of style than substance, but style was not trivial in this case.

Gollancz was fulsome and sentimental where Tolkien was reticent and acerbic. Tolkien was a complex man and his views on the prominent and distinguished medievalist who had dominated the literary Establishment in the 1890s and the first two decades of the twentieth century were almost certainly also complex. Gollancz's prominence, as much as his philological and editorial idiosyncrasies, left him open to criticism from the rising and prickly younger man. Yet Tolkien's own little allegories and asides can also be read as a private, if rather grudging, compliment to Gollancz. But, as Tolkien must have recognized, there were marked, and probably uncomfortable, points of resemblance between them. In the lecture, Tolkien took pains to distance himself from Gollancz, not because Gollancz was a Jew, but because he was a competing philologist with leanings towards fantasy. In short, Tolkien may have passed over Gollancz in his lecture in deafening silence, but he could not, and did not, really ignore him.

NOTES

I am most grateful to Professor Gordon McMullan for sending me his essay on "Goblin's Market." The present essay independently develops the suggestion which he made there concerning Gollancz and Gollum. Professor Derek Pearsall read this essay in draft, and made valuable suggestions. I am grateful for his help (responsibility for errors remains my own). I should also like to thank the anonymous reader and the editors of *Tolkien Studies* for valuable advice and suggestions. The research for this paper was begun during my tenure of a Leverhulme Research Fellowship (2014–15): I gratefully acknowledge the Trust's support.

1. See further, *B&C*. For recent assessments of the significance of this lecture see Drout's introduction; also Shippey ("Tolkien's Two Views").
2. *M&C* 8. A lesser target (among others) was the Australian scholar, Sir Archibald Strong (1876–1930), who came in for more sustained attack in Tolkien's preceding Oxford lectures: see *B&Cs*, 6, *passim*.
3. Compare Gwyn Jones, "Egil Skallagrímsson in England," the Gollancz memorial lecture for 1952, who took *Ambales Saga* for his starting point, confident that "the distinguished and versatile scholar to whose memory we now pay tribute, would have approved" (128).

4. "Lawrence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times."
5. Annual Report, 1923–4, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 11 (1922–25), 4.
6. Tolkien discussed the similarities between his own fiction and Carroll's in a letter of 31 August 1937, to C. A. Furth of Allen and Unwin (*Letters* 21–22).
7. Letter to Gollancz, 26 December 1895, Princeton University Library.
8. Letter to Allen and Unwin, 28 May 1937.
9. Published 4 February, 1937, *The Oxford Magazine*, 55, no. 11, 342; referenced, but not printed, for copyright reasons, in *C&G* 2:214.
10. *The Oxford Magazine*, 4 March 1937, 55, no. 15, 473.
11. *The Oxford Magazine*, 18 February 1937, 55, no. 13, 403.
12. "Knocking at the Door" (simply entitled "The Mewlips," and without its subtitle) was later included in *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil*. The Mewlips are later said to live beyond the "Merlock Mountains"; in the original version, these are the "Morlock Mountains," referring to H. G. Wells's cannibalistic underground creatures who form the underclass in *The Time Machine* (1895). The satirical edge of the poem is much softened by these changes.
13. Letter to C. A. Furth, of Allen and Unwin Ltd, 31 August 1937 (*Letters* 22).
14. *OED*, "northernness," n., sense 2, citing Lewis (*Rehabilitations and other Essays*).
15. Gollancz submitted a paper to the Club, "Gringolet, Gawain's Horse," *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, 5 (1906–7), 104–10 (summary of paper read at the meeting of 16 February); "Vikings Drink Tea," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 January 1894, 7; see further J.A.B. Townsend, "The Viking Society: A Centenary History," *Saga-Book*, 23 (1990), 180–212.
16. Published as vol. 3 in David Nutt's "Northern Library." The volume is dedicated to Magnússon and H.L.D. Ward.
17. Reference is dated 12 March. The successful applicant was W. P. Ker.
18. The hero grew up in the household of the man who killed his father, kidnapped his mother, and attempted to kill him.

19. Also noted, independently, by John Garth, "Birth of a New World."
20. See further, *OFS*; remarks on Shakespeare cited by (amongst others) Carpenter (*Bio* 27–28, 40–41); also Shippey (*Road* 163–66).
21. "In these latter days of stress and strain and tribulation, "Pearl" still symbolizes things of the spirit outliving the vesture of decay" (Gollancz, *Pearl* preface); proceeds of this edition were given to the British Red Cross Fund.
22. Letter from Gollancz to Sisam, 19 February 1924; Sisam's Memorandum, dated 20 February 1924, Oxford University Press archive, file PBED 020486. Access by permission of the Secretary of the Delegates to Oxford University Press.
23. Letter of 21 January 1931, on receiving a copy of Gollancz's memorial volume. Gollancz Papers, Princeton University Library.
24. Letter to Chambers, 8 February 1937, Chambers Papers 101, folder 2 of 2, University College, London. See also letter to C. A. Furth, 31 August 1937: "Professor Chambers writes very enthusiastically [about *The Hobbit*], but he is an old and kindhearted friend" (*Letters* 19–20).
25. The lecture notes survive among the Tolkien Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, as MS Tolkien A 12/1.
26. In his notes, Tolkien referred to Gollancz as "G," "Goll," or "Gollancz."
27. But Tolkien was not always in disagreement with Gollancz, and also used the lectures to criticise readings in his own edition with Gordon (referred to as "TG"), e.g., MS Tolkien A 12/1, fascicule 2, f. 24r, "Very curious remarks by TG!"; also fascicule 3, f. 31r, "TG miss the point. Gollancz muffs it." References by permission of the Tolkien Estate.
28. Tolkien's "strictures" on other scholars' textual readings were, as Joan Turville-Petre noted, a feature also of his lectures on *Exodus* (Tolkien, *Exodus* iii).
29. See the two editions published posthumously: *Exodus* and *Finn and Hengest*.
30. Often quoted, e.g., by Garth (*Great War* 42).
31. Letter to his son, Michael, 9 June 1941 (*Letters* 55–56).
32. *The Tablet*, 27 June 1925, 862–64. The review by "W.H.K." of *Sir Gawain* is on 865–66.

33. *London Gazette*, 29 April 1938, 2831.
34. “The authentic Cædmon has attracted explorers and speculators . . . Gollancz, naturally, in seeking to provide the necessary background to his reproduction of MS Junius II, could not resist the fascination.” (Wrenn 277).
35. “It is fitting that the theme of this lecture, chosen before his death, should be the poet whose learning . . . was also irradiated and mel-
lowed by his humanity.”
36. Compare *B&C*, B-Text, 116, “there is bias in this plural”; “there is bias in these plurals,” A-Text, 70. I am grateful to the editors of *Tolkien Studies* for pointing this out. The same source notes that R. W. Chambers’ reference, which Tolkien quotes, to a “wilderness of dragons” (*M&C* 12) glances at “a wilderness of monkeys” (*Merchant of Venice*, Act I, sc. i, l. 128). Tolkien relates the collective noun to the hunting manual, *The Book of St Albans*, but Chambers was more probably adapting the Shakespeare quotation.
37. Magnússon, and John Peile, Master of Gollancz’s college, Christ’s, and Reader of Comparative Philology at Cambridge.
38. Tolkien alluded to Chambers’, “Beowulf and the Heroic Age.”
39. See further *M&C*: “The myth has other forms than the (now dis-credited) mythical allegory of nature: the sun, the seasons, the sea, and such things” (15).
40. Fraser noted the circularity of linguists seeking help from archae-ologists and anthropologists, who in turn “have got into the way of using the results arrived at by the linguist” (260).
41. “It is possible to see a memory of this figure in the medieval Llund Llud Ereint . . . the ultimate original of King Lear—whose daughter Creiddylad (Cordelia) was carried off after her betrothal . . . by Gwynn vab Nudd, a figure having connexions with the under-world” (133). Further information on Nodens appears in Hutton (364–65).

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His Breath Was Taken Away: Tolkien, Barfield and Elvish Diction

CHRISTOPHER GILSON

We all recall the scene in *The Hobbit* where Bilbo steals into the lair of the dragon and sees Smaug lying asleep on his treasure. Of his reaction we are told:

To say that Bilbo's breath was taken away is no description at all. There are no words left to express his staggerment, since Men changed the language that they learned of elves in the days when all the world was wonderful (H, xii, 221).

In this paper I will examine what this remark implies about Elves and Men in the context of J.R.R. Tolkien's private mythology and how it may relate to the evolution of his invented languages. To begin with we have his own comments on this passage.

When *The Hobbit* was published in 1937, the blurb on the dust-jacket flap included a comparison with *Alice in Wonderland*, and the statement: "Here again a professor of an abstruse subject is at play." In reaction to this Tolkien pointed out that, although Philology may be abstruse, its only example in the book is the passage cited above, which is "an odd mythological way of referring to linguistic philosophy, and a point that will (happily) be missed by any who have not read Barfield (few have), and probably by those who have" (*Letters* 20–22, 435).

The influence of Owen Barfield's linguistic philosophy on Tolkien's writing has been thoroughly explored by Verlyn Flieger in *Splintered Light: Logos and Language in Tolkien's World*. But his prediction that readers will miss the point of this passage is borne out by some discussions of it. Douglas A. Anderson offers a speculation in *The Annotated Hobbit*, where he attributes to Flieger the suggestion:

that Tolkien's letter refers to Barfield's thesis that language in its original state was premetaphoric—that there was once an ancient semantic unity of word and thing, and words therefore referred to realities. Language is now, however, no longer concrete and literal. Hence in referring to this passage in *The Hobbit*, Tolkien meant that Bilbo's breath was actually taken away, in a literal sense, not a metaphoric one (271).

But what Tolkien asserts in the text is that saying “Bilbo’s breath was taken away” would *not* be a description, something it presumably would be if it were true in a literal sense. John D. Rateliff in *The History of The Hobbit* offers the opinion that Tolkien’s “use of the nonstandard ‘staggerment’ does draw attention to the passage and suggests the essential point: that Bilbo cannot put what he feels at the moment into words. Quite literally words fail him, falling short of the reality of the experience” (535). But this is not what *Bilbo’s breath was taken away* means in particular—words can be breath, but breath is not necessarily words. One might take the qualification of the phrase as hyperbole, a claim that it is inadequate to describe Bilbo’s emotional reaction. But given Tolkien’s later appeal to philology we should consider how this wording is more strictly non-descriptive in a philological sense.

Syntactically the phrase is comparable to a passive sentence like *My plate was taken away*, expressible actively as *Someone took my plate away*; so “Bilbo’s breath was taken away” in context is equivalent to: *Something (namely the sight of Smaug and his treasure) took Bilbo’s breath away*. And this is figurative rather than descriptive, even if Bilbo did stop breathing for a moment, because no one literally *took* anything from him. To describe an experience, especially an emotional or mental one, by personification of that experience is a commonplace of our language: *he was struck by a thought; a noise distracted her; or that prospect pleases me*. What is philologically interesting about the usage of such verbs, whose passive form normally takes a person as its subject, while the active form has a thing or abstraction as its subject, is that the constructions are all fairly recent additions to English, most having entered the language in the last three or four centuries. This is one of the reasons for Tolkien’s allusion to Barfield.

In the book *History in English Words*, which was first published in 1926, when Barfield comes to the semantic developments of the Restoration period, he elaborates how a process he calls *internalization* worked itself out “in the appearance of words betokening a sharper self-consciousness” (172). Of words for feelings and passions, Barfield explains: “The nomenclature of the Middle Ages generally views them from without, hinting always at their results or their moral significance.” Examples are *envy*, *happy* (meaning ‘lucky’), *malice* and *pity*. In contrast with this the 17th and 18th centuries brought in a number of “words which attempt to portray character or feeling from within” such as *apathy*, *chagrin*, and *homesickness* (174). And along with these there arose a class of words “describing external things” in terms of the internal “*effects* which they produce on human beings”—words such as *amusing*, *boring*, *exciting*, and *interesting*. Barfield points out that these words for human feelings and passions “are in a sense the very oppo-

site of those older words.” If a Roman described something as *auspicious* or *sinister* “the activity was felt to emanate from the object itself”; but when we describe something as *amusing*, “we know that the process indicated by the word *amuse* takes place within ourselves” (175). In the same way, when we are told that *Bilbo’s breath was taken away*, although the words seem to describe an external agency, we know that the process is actually taking place within Bilbo’s own consciousness.

One can confirm from the *Oxford English Dictionary* that the idiom *to take a person’s breath away* is quite recent, dating from the nineteenth century in fact. It may be instructive to trace very briefly its emergence in the language. In Anglo-Saxon *bræth* meant “an odor, scent, or aroma,” while in Middle English the word *breath* had acquired the additional meanings of “vapor, air in motion,” “exhaled air,” and “the faculty of breathing.” The expression *breath of life*, and the verb *to breathe*, both originated in the 14th century, while the use of *a breath* to mean a single act of breathing arose late in the 15th. Shakespeare employed the expressions *to lose one’s breath*, *be out of breath*, and *bated breath*, used the noun *breath* figuratively to mean both “utterance” and “life,” and the adjective *breathless* for “dead.” Daniel DeFoe was the first to record the expression *to hold one’s breath*, while Wordsworth first used *breathless* to mean “holding one’s breath, as in awe or expectation.” Ultimately Robert Browning personified this idea in the phrase *to take his breath away*, using it to describe a reaction to a work of art. Our modern idiom has an adjective *breathtaking* and the adverb *breathtakingly*, which is already a cliché in such phrases as *breathtakingly beautiful*.

The dictionary defines *to take a person’s breath (away)* as meaning “to cause him to hold his breath owing to sudden emotion; hence, to dumbfound, flabbergast.” Tolkien gave his own equivalent to the phrase, in the sentence that follows it in the story, expressed in a Lewis Carroll-like conundrum, which seems to exemplify what it denies. “There are no words left to express his staggerment” uses the word *staggerment* itself to express Bilbo’s reaction. This paradox has been illuminated by Peter Gilliver, Jeremy Marshall, and Edmund Weiner in *The Ring of Words*, where they observe that *staggerment* was coined by Tolkien himself, and indeed this occurrence in *The Hobbit* is the first use of the word in print. The first citation in the new edition of the OED is from a letter of Tolkien’s written in 1933, referring to an unexpected receipt of a copy of the original OED from a “well-wishing old gentleman” (Gilliver 193–95). It seems possible that Tolkien was aware of the fact that, although the word *staggerment* is a quite regular formation from the verb *to stagger*, the derivative was a neologism. In a way he was using derivation to do what Browning had done with phrasing. And if such words can be recent inventions, then going back into

the past there may have been a time when there was no word that was suitable by itself for expressing Bilbo's feeling at the sight of Smaug and his treasure.

This brings us to the second half of the narrator's statement in *The Hobbit*. If there was a time in the past when our language lacked words to express Bilbo's staggerment, how long had this situation lasted? The answer given in the story is that it has been true "since Men changed the language that they learned of elves in the days when all the world was wonderful." It is the implication about *elves* here which gives the passage what Tolkien characterized as "an odd mythological" manner of expressing his philological point. And even this characterization would have been enigmatic at the time Tolkien expressed it, for the allusion is to his own personal and then unpublished mythology. In the earliest version of "The Lhammas," an account of his invented languages and their place in the legendarium of the Silmarillion, written around the time of the publication of *The Hobbit*, Tolkien said:

The languages of Men were from their beginning diverse and various; yet they were for the most part derived remotely from the language of the Valar. For the Dark-elves, various folk of the Lembi, befriended wandering Men in sundry times and places in the most ancient days, and taught them such as they knew; and in the passing of the years the manifold tongues of Men developed from these beginnings, altered by time, and the invention of Men, and owning also the influence both of Dwarves and Orcs (*Lost Road* 179, 191).

The passage from *The Hobbit*, read in the context of this mythological background, implies that in those most ancient days when Men learned the language of the elves, it had contained words that could describe Bilbo's feeling when he saw Smaug's treasure.¹ The concept of Elves teaching language to Mankind goes back to Tolkien's work on *The Book of Lost Tales*. An Elf named Nuin, one of the Hisildi or twilight people, discovered Murmenalda, the Vale of Sleep, and beneath its trees found many sleeping forms.

The wizard Túvo told Nuin that the sleepers he had found were the new Children of Ilúvatar, and that they were waiting for light. He forbade any of the Elves to wake them or to visit those places, being frightened of the wrath of Ilúvatar but despite this Nuin went there often and watched, sitting on a rock. Once he stumbled against a sleeper, who stirred but did not wake. At last, overcome by curiosity, he

awakened two, named Ermon and Elmir; they were dumb and very much afraid, but he taught them much of the Ilkorin tongue, for which reason he is called Nuin Father of Speech (*LT I* 235–36).

The names *Ermon* and *Elmir* are presumably Ilkorin in origin, although they were never explained outside of this passage. The ending *-ir* of the second name *Elmir* is used in Goldogrin for some feminine nouns, like *Bridh(n)ir* ‘queen, princess,’ but is also used to form such agent nouns as *faithir* ‘liberator’ related to *faith* ‘liberty’ and *pridwir* ‘judge’ related to the verb *pridu-* ‘decide.’ If *Elmir* has the form of an agent noun, then the Goldogrin verb it would derive from is *elma-* ‘marvel at; admire’ related to the noun *elm* ‘a wonder, a singular, marvellous or unique thing; something strange.’² Perhaps we are to suppose that this word would have described Bilbo’s experience if he, like Elmir, had lived in those earlier “days when all the world was wonderful.”

Above I alluded to Flieger’s thesis in *Splintered Light* that Tolkien was influenced by Barfield’s *Poetic Diction*, about which she summarized what his theory postulates: “Language in its beginnings made no distinction between the literal and the metaphoric meaning of a word, as it does today. Indeed, the very concept of metaphor, or one thing described in the terms of another, was nonexistent. All diction was literal, giving direct voice to the perception of phenomena and humanity’s intuitive mythic participation in them” (37–38). The suggestion that this influenced Tolkien was motivated by another of his remarks about Barfield, which we know from a letter written by C. S. Lewis to Barfield, probably in 1928, in which he said:

You might like to know that when Tolkien dined with me the other night he said *à-propos* of something quite different that your conception of the ancient semantic unity had modified his whole outlook and that he was always just going to say something in a lecture when your conception stopped him in time[.] ‘It is one of those things,’ he said ‘that when you’ve once seen it there are all sorts of things you can never say again.’ We went on to observe on the paradox that tho’ you knew much poetry and little philology the philological part of your book was much the sounder (Lewis 1509).

The final sentence, which was not included when Humphrey Carpenter published this excerpt in *The Inklings* (45), lends further support to the suggestion that Tolkien accepted Barfield’s philological thesis; although one should bear in mind that we are dependent largely

on Lewis's summary of his conversation with Tolkien. The one sentence he quotes directly is evocative without being at all specific. And while Lewis's allusion to Barfield's "conception of the ancient semantic unity" is often cited, it is sometimes unclear what that conception is understood to be.

Rateliff argues that "the 'ancient semantic unity' Barfield postulates may never have existed—after all, anyone learning a foreign language soon discovers that a similar phenomenon exists whenever we try to translate one language into another; we find some word which can be approximated by a cluster of words in one language but not exactly matched by any one word, since the concept it reflects doesn't exist as a whole in the other language" (536). What Rateliff appears to mean is that, if there is an analogy between semantic disparity among modern languages and semantic disparity in time, then we could view the difference from either direction and argue equally for either splitting or merging of semantic concepts in the history of particular words. But that is just another way of expressing the starting point of Barfield's argument, in which he goes on to summarize the view of "modern etymology" that the history of the meanings of words that are actually recorded is mainly "from homogeneity towards dissociation and multiplicity." The linguistic side of Barfield's thesis is that what is "plainly visible" in examples from written history ought logically to apply to the prehistory of language as well (*Poetic Diction* 65).

The most often repeated example, and perhaps the one that led Lewis to characterize Barfield's argument as his "conception of the ancient semantic unity," is the fact that the Greek word *pneûma* in the Gospel of St. John is translated alternately by English "spirit" and "wind."³ As Flieger observed: "Apparently, for John and his audience, *pneûma* had an undivided meaning that later perception could no longer grasp entirely and for which a later mentality must find different words to fit what by then it perceives as different meanings" (38). We can get a further sense of how these can be conceived as the same thing from the Greek translation of the Old Testament. In Genesis one can read that in the beginning "the spirit (*pneûma*) of God moved over the waters," and subsequently, after the Great Flood, "God brought a wind (*pneûma*) upon the earth, and the waters were abated" (1:2; 8:1). How this word which renders the original Hebrew *rûah* was understood is further clarified by an allusion to the earlier story in the Psalms: "By the word of the Lord the heavens were established, and all the power of them by the breath (*pneûmati*) of his mouth; Gathering together the waters of the sea, as in a vessel; laying up the depths in storehouses" (32:6–7). It seems clear, even though we cannot come up with a single word in English to substitute for *pneûma* in all three

passages to produce three appropriate translations, that nevertheless the same word *pneûma* is referring to the same thing in each case, something that is invisible and yet powerful enough to move water by the will of its possessor, in these cases God.

The noun *pneûma* has a formation similar to a number of Greek action and agent nouns, and is related to the verb *pnéō* ‘to blow, breathe; exhale; pant, gasp’ in the same ways that, for example, *rheûma* ‘that which flows, a flow, flood, stream, river’ is related to the verb *rhéō* ‘to flow, run, stream, gush,’ or *nêma* ‘that which is spun, thread, yarn’ is related to *néō* ‘to spin’ (cf. Wright, *Comparative Grammar* 131). And so *pneûma* as ‘that which blows’ or ‘that which is breathed’ can refer equally well to things that we compartmentalize as ‘wind,’ ‘air,’ ‘breath,’ ‘the breath of life’ and ‘spirit.’ And one should note, in line with John Rateliff’s point about semantic disparity, that “wind” is in the New Testament more often a translation of Greek *ánemos*; while ‘spirit’ as the invisible part of a person, the seat of the will and the understanding, which separates from the body at death, is as often referred to by Greek *psukhḗ*, although this is translated “soul” where in similar contexts *pneûma* is translated “spirit” (cf. Vine 1077–78, 1085, 1242).

The earliest recorded use of Greek *pneûma* is in a fragment from the lost work of Anaximenes of Miletus, a philosopher of the sixth century B.C., cited in a first century A.D. epitome by Aëtius, who reports that Anaximenes declared air to be the source of being and said: “Just as our soul (*psukhḗ*), being air (*aër*), holds us together, so do breath (*pneûma*) and air encompass the whole world” (Burnet 77; Ritter 20). This fragment might contain anachronisms, but Aëtius comments that *aër* and *pneûma* were used synonymously, so it seems that Anaximenes employed these actual words in this context (Kirk 158–59). How he understood the concepts was suggested by Simplicius five centuries later (citing the philosophical history of Theophrastus), who explained that Anaximenes “says air when it is thinned becomes fire, while when it is condensed it becomes wind (*ánemon*), then cloud, then when still more condensed, water, then earth, then stones. Everything else comes from these” (Ritter 20–21). One should bear in mind about the translation of Greek *aër* as “air” that our word *air* descends by way of Latin *aer* from the Greek word, and its meaning for us is the result of the philosophic and scientific thought that began with these early philosophers.

We can trace the use of Greek *aër* back further to Homer, where one passage in the *Iliad* is of special interest. Hera, in order to entice Zeus away from his watch on the fighting at Troy, obtains the help of the god *Hupnos* or ‘Sleep’ to lull him. Clothed in mist, they approach

Zeus on Mount Ida “and the topmost forest quivered beneath their feet. There Sleep did halt, or ever the eyes of Zeus beheld him, and mounted up in a fir-tree exceeding tall, the highest that then grew in Ida; and it reached up through the mists into heaven” (Book 14, vv. 285–88, pp. 86–89). Here the word translated as “heaven” is *aithēr*, the source via Latin *aether* of our word *ether*, while the word translated as “mist” is *aēr*. A scholium on this passage maintains that throughout Homer *aēr* is the region from earth to the clouds, while the region above the clouds is *aithēr*. Like *pneūma* these nouns are related to verbs: the noun *aēr* to the verb *āemi* which means ‘to breath hard,’ ‘to blow,’ or in the passive ‘to be beaten by the wind’ or ‘to toss about as if in the wind’; and the noun *aithēr* to the verb *aithō* meaning ‘to light up, kindle’ or intransitively ‘to burn or blaze’ (Liddell 28, 34–35).

Undoubtedly Tolkien was familiar with these details of Ancient Greek derivation and usage, from his study of the language at King Edward’s and during his first few terms at Oxford.⁴ The fir-tree on Mount Ida that reached into heaven is even suggestive of the great Pine of Tavrobel “that reached to Ilwë and the stars.” Melko climbs up this tree and is pursued by Telimektar and Ingil, “and they remain now in the sky to ward it, and Melko stalks high above the air seeking ever to do a hurt to the Sun and Moon and stars” (*LT II* 281). In this early mythology of Tolkien’s there are three airs through which Manwë and Varda fared to come into the world: “*Vaitya* is that which is wrapped dark and sluggish about the world and without it, but *Ilwë* is blue and clear and flows among the stars, and last came they to *Vilna* that is grey and therein may birds fly safely” (*LT I* 65). The *Qenyaqetsa* (or ‘Qenya Lexicon’) lists these three terms: *Vaitya* ‘the outermost air beyond the world,’ given under the root *VAÿA* ‘enfold, wind about’; *ilwe* ‘sky, heavens; the blue air that is about the stars, the middle layers’ given under the root *ILU* ‘ether, the slender airs among the stars’; and *Vilya* (a later alteration of original *Vilna*) given under the root *VILI* and glossed succinctly as ‘air (lower); 3rd layer.’⁵

Not only does Tolkien’s conception resemble that of Anaximenes in the layering of the “airs” in correlation to how thick or thin each is; but also one of these layers has a name derived from a root meaning ‘ether,’ and it contains the stars that were fashioned by the goddess Varda, also called *Tinwetâri* ‘Queen of Stars,’ a name that contains the Qenya word *tinwe* ‘star’ related to the noun *tint* ‘(silver) spark’ (*QL* 92, 102). There is an implicit connection of the notion of this middle layer of air with the etymological relation of the Greek *aithēr* to the verb *aithō* ‘to kindle,’ although Tolkien’s linguistic conception is rather different. Other forms given under the root *ILU* include the name *Ilūvatar* ‘Heavenly Father,’ *iluqinga* ‘rainbow,’ and *iluin* ‘dwellings beyond the

stars for the blessed' (42). *Ilu* is also the usual form of the name *Ilúvatar* in the draft text of "The Music of the Ainur" (*LT I* 61). This was a retention of the name *Ilu* used for the 'God of Heaven' in Tolkien's *Story of Kullervo*, whose accompanying "List of Names" also included *Ilwe* or *Ilwinti*, glossed as 'Sky, heaven.'⁶

The form of the name *Ilu* was probably inspired by the Akkadian word *ilu* 'God,' which appears in the name *Bāb-ilu* 'gate of God,' the source of the Hebrew name *Bābel* and the Greek name *Babylon*, as explained in the OED entry for *Babel*.⁷ Of course, given its context in Tolkien's conception and the occasion of its emergence, the fact that he could potentially devise a connection between *ilu* and the form of the Finnish word *ilma* 'air' may have been part of the reason for choosing it. In the lexicon alongside *ILU* under another root *ILI* 'shine oily' he included words such as *ilin* 'milk' and *ilma* 'oil,' and made annotations suggesting that the roots were ultimately connected (*QL* 42). This may remind us how, in those primordial times when the Valar had first come into the world, "light there was, silver and golden, but it was not gathered together but flowed and quivered in uneven streams about the airs, or at times fell gently to the earth in glittering rain and ran like water on the ground; and at that time Varda in her playing had set but a few stars within the sky" (*LT I* 69). That this is Tolkien's mythological explanation of the Milky Way, which in Greek is *galaxias* or simply *tò gála* (literally 'the milk') in Aristotle's *Meteorology* (Liddell 298), seems to be suggested by his etymological connection of Qenya *ilu* 'ether' with *ilin* 'milk.' Although no actual mention of the Milky Way as such appears in the *Lost Tales* or either of the early lexicons, this interpretation may be supported by the fact that Goldogrin *gala* means 'light' (*I-Lam na-Ngoldathon*, 37).

The names for the other two layers of air also have etymological connections with more familiar concepts. Thus alongside the name *Vaitya* under the root *VAÿA* 'enfold, wind about,' other items include the name *Vai* for 'the outer ocean,' the nouns *vaine* 'sheath, pod' and *vaile* 'covering,' the verb *vaita-* 'wrap,' and the names *Vaimo* and *Vailimo*, referring to Ulmo "as ruler of *Vai*" (*QL* 100). In *Lost Tales I*, Ulmo explains about *Vai*: "In this vast water floateth the wide Earth upheld by the word of Ilúvatar" (214). Thus *Vai* enfolds the Earth around its edges and underneath in much the same way that *Vaitya* enfolds the other two layers of air and so the world as a whole. The form of the word *vaile* 'covering' may be intended to resemble English *veil*, and the root form *VAÿA* was possibly suggested by the Sanskrit verb *vayāmi* 'weave' (cognate with Latin *vio* 'bind, weave together').⁸ But it also seems that the name *Vailimo* may have been inspired by the Finnish *Väinämöinen*. This name appears to be based on a word *väinä* meaning 'broad,

deep and quietly flowing river,' perhaps evocative of Vai, "the dark waters of the Outer Seas, that have no tides."⁹

The words under the root VAŶA also resemble the Gothic verb *waian* 'to blow,' which is cognate with Old English *wāwan* 'to blow' and with the Greek verb *áēmi*, 'breathe hard,' where the original *w* sound has been lost,¹⁰ and which we saw above is ultimately related to English *air*. Of these verbs the Old English is perhaps the most onomatopoeic and seems to be the inspiration for the Qenya root GWĀ under which the lexicon lists three words, 'wā 'wind,' 'wanwa 'great gale,' and 'wanwawoite 'windy' (QL 102). The adjective is also used as an epithet for Manwe, according to *I-Lam na-Ngoldathon*, the Goldogrin combination *Man'Wanweg* (Qenya *Manwe Wanwawoite*) being equated with *Manwe Súlimo* (43).

The byname *Súlimo* is given in the *Qenyaqetsa* under a root which has three variant forms SUHYU, SUHU, SUFU and the meanings 'air, breathe, exhale, puff, etc.' Other entries include *sū* 'noise of wind,' *suiva* 'soughing, moaning,' *sūlime* 'wind,' *susūlima* 'full of wind,' *sūne* 'the nose,' and *sūma* 'nostril' (86). The word *sū* seems clearly onomatopoeic, and the repetition of this syllable in *susūlima* suggests that the similar reduplication in Latin *susurrus* 'humming, murmuring, whispering' may have inspired the Qenya word. But the inspiration for the root, with its triple formation, seems to be the English word *sough* 'a sighing of the wind,' which Tolkien used in his gloss of the adjective *suiva*. The OED gives three pronunciations for this word, one rhyming with *enough*, another rhyming with *plough*, and a third Scottish pronunciation with the vowel like the *u* in *frugality*, and a final consonant like the *ch* in *loch*. The pronunciations 'suff' and 'sooch' are very close to the root-forms SUFU and SUHU. Lastly we should note that the consonants in the noun *sūne* 'the nose' are suggestive of such English words as *sneeze* and *snort*, associated with sounds involving air passing through the nose. One of these, *sneeze*, apparently arose in the 15th century as a variant of Middle English *fnese*, which goes back to Old English *ge-fnēsan* 'to sneeze' and *fnēosung* 'a sneeze,' related to *fnæst* 'a puff, blast, breath' and cognate with Old Norse *fnasa* 'to snort with rage' and *fnosun* 'snorting, blowing out' (Bosworth 296, 393; Gordon 345). And these are etymologically related to Greek *pnéō* 'to blow' and its derivative *pnēuma*.

I have examined the semantics and the earliest histories of these Qenya synonyms for words translated as 'breath,' 'wind' or 'air' in some detail in order to provide an example of how broadly and deeply Tolkien had already thought about language and the possible origins of words and concepts well before the publication of the works by Owen Barfield that would have an influence on his thinking about

such matters. Tolkien's assertion in the essay *On Fairy-stories*, "the incarnate mind, the tongue, and the tale are in our world coeval" (*M&C* 122), is rightly seen as congruent with Barfield's argument in *Poetic Diction*, that "myth, at any rate for the Aryan peoples, is intimately bound up with the early history of meaning. It is the same with innumerable words; if one traces them back far enough, one reaches a period at which their meanings had a mythical content" (76). But Tolkien's assertion is also closely connected with a suggestion he made in his earlier essay, *A Secret Vice*, about "what *pleasure or instruction or both*" a language-maker might derive from the process:

I might fling out the view that for perfect construction of an art-language it is found necessary to construct at least in outline a mythology concomitant. Not solely because some pieces of verse will inevitably be part of the (more or less) completed structure, but because the making of language and mythology are related functions (coeval and congenital, not related as disease to health, or as by-product to main manufacture); to give your language an individual flavour, it must have woven into it the threads of an individual mythology, individual while working within the scheme of natural human mythopoeia, as your word-form may be individual while working within the hackneyed limits of human, even European phonetics. The converse indeed is true, your language construction will *breed* a mythology (*M&C* 210–11, 220).

Tolkien's suggestion about the related functions of language-making and mythopoeia takes into account Barfield's theories of the history of meaning, but he was first and foremost describing his own earlier experience. In the compilation of the *Qenyaqetsa* with its two thousand or so entries grouped under several hundred roots, well over a hundred etymologically connected proper names had emerged, most of which would reveal their own mythical content as Tolkien composed *The Book of Lost Tales*.

Lewis said that no one ever influenced Tolkien, although the possibility that agreeing with a certain idea might lead to "all sorts of things you can never say again" may not have been what Lewis ordinarily thought of as *influence*. So I will conclude with a glimpse at the way Barfield's *Poetic Diction* may have come to influence Tolkien's lifelong project "to restore to the English an epic tradition and present them with a mythology of their own" (*Letters* 231), by tracing the further development of the philology of just one of the Qenya names mentioned above, *Manwe Súlimo*.

When Manwë and Varda came into the world they were accompanied by many lesser Vali, “the Mánir and Súru, the sylphs of the airs and of the winds” (*LT I* 66). *Súru*, the singular of the second of these two clans of air-spirits is cited in *I-Lam na-Ngoldathon* as equivalent to Goldogrin *Sulus* (68), and thus apparently related to Quenya *sūlime* ‘wind’ and the name *Súlimo*. In the various versions of the poems *Oilima Markirya* and *Earendil* from around 1930, this form *súru* is used as a noun meaning ‘wind, gale,’ and a related verb *sur-* ‘blow’ occurs in the word-lists from this period (*Early Elvish Poetry* 75, 100, 134). In *The Etymologies* under a Primitive Eldarin base THŪ ‘puff, blow’ Tolkien gives Quenya *súya-* ‘breathe’ and *súle* ‘breath,’ with a reference to *Súlimo* “surname of *Manwe* (wind-god)” (*Lost Road* 393).

In *The Lord of the Rings* in Galadriel’s Lament, the phrase *laurië lantar lassí súrinen* “like gold fall the leaves in the wind” contains the instrumental case of *súre* ‘wind’ (*FR*, II, viii, 394; cf. *M&C* 222). In the Appendices the name of the ninth letter of the Tengwar is *thúle* ‘spirit,’ with a variant (Third Age) pronunciation *súle*, and this is apparently related to *Súlimë*, the Quenya name of the month of March (*RK*, Appendix D, 388; Appendix E, II, i, 400), which has the same form as the word for ‘wind’ in the *Quenyaqesta*.¹¹ Manwë is not mentioned in *The Lord of the Rings*, but in the subsequently revised *Quenta Silmarillion* we are told that “his delight is in the winds of the world and in all the regions of the air; therefore he is surnamed *Súlimo*” (*Morgoth* 145, 148).

Tolkien’s work on the “*Silmarillion*” materials for eventual publication led somewhat characteristically to his reconsideration of much of the philological content of *The Lord of the Rings* in light of its pre-existing background. His subsequent thought about *thúle* ‘spirit’ was that the “Eldar did not confound ordinary ‘breath’ of the lungs with ‘spirit,’” which seems to show that he still had in mind the fact that *súle* was glossed as ‘breath’ in *The Etymologies*. Having then explained that the nature of the *fëa* or ‘soul’ of Elves (or Men) was “to operate upon the physical world” through its appointed *hrondo* or body as “mediary or instrument,” Tolkien draws the following contrast:

But the Eldar held that “spirits,” the more as they had more native inherent power, could *emit* their influence to make contact with or act upon things exterior to themselves: primarily upon other spirits, or other incarnate persons (via their *fëar*), but also in the case of great spirits (such as the Valar or greater *máyar*) directly upon physical things without the mediacy of bodies normally necessary in the case of “*fairondi*,” or incarnates. To describe this they used [but by deliberate symbolism—taken e.g. from such cases

as their breathing upon a cold or frosted surface, which was then melted—] the $\sqrt{\text{TH}\bar{U}}$ - [or $\sqrt{\text{S}\bar{U}}$]. In addition Manwë, the most powerful spirit in Arda, in this respect was Lord of Air & Winds, and the winds were in primitive Eldarin thought to be especially his emission of power for himself. Hence *thûlē* “blowing forth” was used=“spirit” in this special sense: the emission of power (of will or desire) from a spirit.¹²

The most striking part of this explanation is how Tolkien revivifies the long-standing mythical content of the name of Manwë Súlimo as “Lord of Air & Winds” by his description of an experience everyone has had of “breathing upon a cold or frosted surface, which was then melted.” Tolkien has devised an Eldarin example of one of Barfield’s “old single meanings” (*Poetic Diction* 91) with a symbolism that seems to be both original and somehow universal. Indeed it could be Tolkien’s version of the same example discussed above, since *thûlē* appears to be synonymous with Greek *pneûma*.

* * *

To sum up, we have seen how Tolkien’s early process of inventing vocabulary for his Elvish languages included nomenclature for his personal mythology; a close look at part of his cosmogony shows that the names he devised for such larger features of the imagined world as *Vai* ‘the outer ocean,’ *Ilwe* ‘sky, heavens,’ or *Vilya* ‘air’ and divine names like *Ilúvatar* ‘Heavenly Father,’ *Sūlimi* ‘Vali of Wind,’ or *Vailimo* ‘Ruler of Vai’ emerged alongside words such as *ilin* ‘milk,’ *sūne* ‘nose,’ *vaine* ‘sheath, pod,’ or *vīle* ‘breeze.’ Tolkien intended that the stories in which he elaborated these onomastic beginnings would provide the English with a mythology of their own, so he presented them as tales recovered from our own distant past and included within them a myth of how the earliest Men had learned their speech from the Elves. Barfield’s *History in English Words* and *Poetic Diction* outline the development of our language back as far as can be inferred from its historical records, concerning especially the changes in the meanings of words; and Tolkien’s occasional remarks suggest that Barfield’s thoughts about semantic history and prehistory served to moderate and also to reinforce his own ideas. Tolkien’s one philological remark in *The Hobbit* was to say that the expression “Bilbo’s breath was taken away” is not a description, alluding to the fact that this originally poetic figure of speech exemplifies Barfield’s thesis that the fairly recent emergence of internalization in English diction led in turn to new metaphoric expressions of feelings indirectly as the effects of external agency.

Barfield argued that tracing the usage of many words back through history leads to a time when their meanings were closely tied to mythology, and Tolkien associated this with his own experience of language invention inspiring the stories he told, concluding that word-making and myth-making are related functions of the mind. In the essay *On Fairy-Stories* he even went so far as to suggest that in our world language and story must have been coeval with human thought itself. “The mind that thought of *light, heavy, grey, yellow, still, swift*, also conceived of magic that would make heavy things light and able to fly, turn grey lead into yellow gold, and the still rock into swift water” (*M&C* 122). Insofar as the Elvish languages created by Tolkien express his personal aesthetic preferences and the aesthetic and creative faculties of the Elves in his tales symbolize those of humans at their best, it seems to follow that the mythological explanations of the semantics of Elvish words, like the example of *súle* meaning ‘spirit’ because it is the “blowing forth” of *Manwe Súlimo*, Lord of Air and Wind, can be read as Tolkien’s own stories about that primeval era when meaning and myth were the same.

NOTES

1. Rateliff observes that “from a very early stage of the legendarium the idea was already ensconced that humans were originally without language and learned how to speak from the elves” (536), and he cites the 1926 “Sketch of the Mythology” (*Shaping* 20).
2. For these Goldogrin (or Gnomish) forms see *I-Lam na-Ngoldathon*, (24, 32, 33, 64). If the name *Elmir* is indeed intended to mean ‘she who marvels’ (on seeing the wonders of the world), then the related interjection *elm! elum!* ‘think of that! marvelous!’ might evoke the sort of utterance she would have made (after having learned to speak). This may ultimately have inspired Tolkien’s conception of the Elvish legend that the element *ELE “was a primitive exclamation, ‘lo!’ ‘behold!’ made by the Elves when they first saw the stars” from which are derived such words as *elen* ‘star’ and *Elda* ‘Elf’ (*WJ* 360, 362–63). For an interpretation of the significance of this later conception, see Flieger 74, 89.
3. Barfield alludes to John, chapter 3, verses 5–8, as an instance where the “meaning (and therefore, in this case, practically the whole sense of the passage) is lost” in the varying translations of Greek *pneûma* (*Poetic Diction* 62–63). To Nicodemus’s question, “How can a man be born when he is old?” Jesus answered:

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of *spirit* he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the *spirit* is *spirit*. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The *wind* bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the *spirit*.

We can just make out the reasoning if we imagine the spirit as like the wind in being something one cannot see; but the argument is not immediately compelling. If we rephrase the passage to point out the logical connections and restore the Greek word *pneûma* on which they hinge, the argument becomes reasonably straightforward:

- 1) That (and only that) which is born of the *pneûma* is *pneûma*.
 - 2) The *pneûma* blows where it will and you cannot tell whither it goes.
 - 3) Therefore the same is true of everyone that is born of the *pneûma*.
 - 4) Therefore to enter into the kingdom of God (i.e. go whither you cannot tell) a man must be born of the *pneûma*.
4. While Tolkien was reading Classics during his first five terms at Oxford, the set texts included readings from Homer and Plato in the original Greek. He would have attended Wright's lectures on Comparative Greek Grammar as well as tutorials on "the elements of Greek philology" in 1912. And he received an 'alpha' for the paper on his chosen subject of Comparative Philology as applied to Greek and Latin in the examination for Honour Moderations in 1913. (Cf. *C&G* 1:28, 31–32, 37–38).
5. *Qenyaqetsa* (42, 100, 101). This is the dictionary of the earliest "fairy language" devised by Tolkien, the result of his heavily Finnicizing an earlier "attempt to invent an 'unrecorded' Germanic language." Its first surviving mention is in a letter to Edith Bratt in 1916, when he was already making "touches . . . to its improvement." The dictionary is usually referred to as the "Qenya Lexicon," the designation used by Christopher Tolkien, who cited numerous entries from the dictionary in an Appendix on Names in *Lost Tales I*. In the body of my paper I will use this designation, in the abbreviated

form *QL*, with page numbers from the full text of the dictionary as published in *Parma Eldalamberon*, no. 12.

6. *The Story of Kullervo* (22, 41–42). Tolkien retained the roots or components of other names associated with this story in Qenya. For instance *Kemenūme* ‘The Great Land’ (5, 41) and *Qēle*, another name for *Lem̄po* ‘plague & death’ (42), are connected with Qenya *kemen* ‘soil’; *ūmea* ‘large’; and *qele-* ‘perish’ (*QL* 46, 76, 97). *Qēle* was probably inspired by Old English *cwelan* ‘to die’ and, as it does not appear to have been Finnicized, may go back to Tolkien’s unrecorded Germanic language. *Kemen* seems to be inspired by a widespread group of Indo-European cognates including Greek *khamai* ‘on the ground,’ Latin *humus* ‘ground, soil,’ Lithuanian *žėmė* and Old Church Slavic *zemlja* ‘earth’ (Liddell 1711–12; Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, 99). These words attest to a primitive base with ablaut variants reconstructed as **ghem*, **ghom*, **ghm*, and Tolkien has Finnicized the first of these by replacing the initial aspirated voiced velar consonant *gh* with the corresponding unaspirated voiceless velar *k*.
7. This might be a coincidental resemblance of sound and sense; but *ilu* was also the Akkadian reading of the sign used as a determinative prefixed to the names of gods in cuneiform texts. If Tolkien’s interest “in antiquity and notably in the history of languages and ‘writing’” (*Letters* 384) led him to consult any of the various editions of Babylonian texts to which he would have had access as a student, such as L. W. King’s *Seven Tablets of Creation* (with its transcription and translation of the text of the *Enuma Eliš* on facing pages), he would have encountered this word *ilu* ‘god.’
8. These verbs are from the same root as Greek *itēa* ‘willow; wicker shield’ (Liddell 715–16). Wright’s *Comparative Grammar* gives the Indo-European base as **wejē-* ‘plait, wind’ with the related nouns, Sanskrit *vēman* ‘loom’ and Latin *vītis* ‘vine’ (61).
9. Cf. Magoun’s “Glossary of Proper Names” in Lönnrot, *Kalevala*, 405; *LT I* 68. In his Finnish-Swedish dictionary Lönnrot glossed this word *väinä* as “bred, djup och stilla flytande flod.” The posthumous notes in Jacob Grimm’s *Teutonic Mythology* include a related observation: “The Finns call a *μαλακία* (calm) *Väinämöinen’s way*, *Väinämöisen tie* or *kulku*: the god has walked, and all is hushed; he is named *Suvantolainen* fr. *suvanto*, locus ubi aqua quiescit” (1469). *Suvantola* ‘the land of still waters’ is another name of *Väinölä*, the dominions of *Väinämöinen*.

10. See Wright's *Primer of Gothic* (27); Liddell (28).
11. Tolkien first devised the name *thūle*, *sūle* for this letter in a revised section of *The Feanorian Alphabet, Part 1* (50), and glossed it as 'breath.' Later he added 'spirit' above this without deleting the original gloss. Cf. Higgins (3) for an independent suggestion similar to that given here as the potential inspiration for this semantic development.
12. *Words, Phrases and Passages* (124); the brackets are Tolkien's.

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His Breath Was Taken Away

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Could Gollum Be Singing a Sonnet? The Poetic Project of *The Lord of the Rings*

KATHY CAWSEY

The *Lord of the Rings* is, in many ways, a manifesto: an argument for the value of old things. J.R.R. Tolkien, in his Middle-earth writings, is making a claim for the worth of old myths and legends, re-forged into new and exciting forms (Shippey, *Road* 181–82; Kraus 146; Chance and Siewers 2; Nagy 30). Old values, too, are recuperated and resurrected in the books—honor, valor, friendship, loyalty, tradition; though they are interwoven with a post-WWI awareness that other values—mercy, humility, pacifism, ordinariness—are equally important. Tolkien’s endeavor, in large part, was to show that themes, values, and stories which had fallen out of fashion were still exciting and worthwhile. In this article, I will argue that Tolkien’s recuperative and regenerative project extended to his poetry as well. Far from being mere “insertions”¹ into the real story, the poetry of *The Lord of the Rings* makes a claim about the value of older poetic forms, as well as their content and subject-matter. The poems and songs in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* demonstrate the worth of out-of-date, non-trendy, de-valued poetic forms—medieval and traditional forms which may no longer glitter, but which are still gold (Russom 53; Shippey, “Indexing” 238).

Tolkien deliberately eschewed the lyric or autobiographical poetry in vogue in his day; instead, his verses contribute to character and racial development. As he himself wrote to his son, “the verses in *The L.R.* are all dramatic: they do not express the poor old professor’s soul-searchings, but are fitted in style and contents to the *characters* in the story that sing or recite them, and to the situations in it” (*Letters* 396).² They have traditionally been received as such (see Stroda, Kelly, Drout, Phelpstead, “With Chunks,” Forest-Hill “Poetic Form”). For example, Tolkien’s choice to include a loose translation of “The Wanderer” in *The Lord of the Rings* as the poem most representative of Rohan is entirely appropriate, since he modeled much of Rohan’s language and society on the Anglo-Saxons (Shippey, *Author* 96–97; Flieger 528–29; Tinkler 164–69; Amendt-Raduege 119–20). Thus all of the poetry of the Rohirrim is in Old English-style alliterative verse (Lee and Solopova 195; Meyer 180; Phelpstead, “Auden” 444).³ Likewise, just as it is appropriate for the Rohirrim to use Old English alliterative styles, so it is appropriate for the goblins of *The Hobbit* to sing thoroughly

onomatopoeic songs, filled with harsh plosive consonants, in spondaic dimeter.⁴ The hobbits and dwarves sing primarily in common meter or long meter, while wiser, more complex characters such as Galadriel, Treebeard, and Tom Bombadil use hexameter or octameter. Yet Tolkien's use of poetic form goes beyond mere characterization or appropriateness. As Tom Shippey says, "Tolkien's idea of poetry mirrored his ideas on language; in neither did he think sound should be divorced from sense" (*Road* 196). Tolkien uses various forms to convey meaning and emotion in his poems, and he deploys this variety of poetic form to fashion an implicit argument for the redemption of traditional English forms and the reclamation of the seriousness of poetic styles now perceived as childish or comedic.

In terms of form, Tolkien was a virtuoso poet: the verses in *The Lord of the Rings* demonstrate his mastery of an astonishing variety and range of poetic structures. They also show extreme care with and attention to rhyme, rhythm, and overall sound.⁵ The majority of the poems of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* are in common or ballad meter (lines of iambic tetrameter alternating with lines of iambic trimeter) or long meter (iambic tetrameter), but there are poems in hexameter, heptameter, octameter, amphibrachic dimeter, dactylic trimeter, Old English alliterative meter, and free verse;⁶ the rhyme schemes range from *abab* to couplets to more complex forms, including a sestet (Aragorn's song of Gondor). Significantly, the only verse form Tolkien *doesn't* use is the form that had become, in the 500 years before he was writing, the standard meter of high-style English poetry: iambic pentameter; as Kullman writes, "Tolkien consistently avoids the meters prominent in canonized and anthologized poetry from Sidney, Spenser and Shakespeare to Wordsworth, Keats and Tennyson, most notably iambic pentameter" (287; see also Russom 53).

When he chooses, Tolkien can write extremely regular poetry. The barrel song the wood elves sing in *The Hobbit*, for example, is very rhythmically regular, as befits a work song—there are no deviations from the tailless trochaic tetrameter, and, moreover, the rhythm corresponds almost perfectly to the natural rhythms of speech: "Leáve thě / hálls änd / cáv-ěrn's / deép // Leáve thě / nóρθ-ěrn / móúnt-aíns / steép" (*H*, ix, 235). Only in a few places does a syllable take a stress which would in normal speech be unstressed, and it is never enough to disrupt the rhythm. Other poems are equally regular: Strider's song of Tinúviel (*FR*, I, xi, 204–5), Bilbo's song of Eärendil (*FR*, II, i, 246–49), Frodo's lament for Gandalf (*FR*, II, vii, 374–75), Galadriel's song (*FR*, II, viii, 393–94), and Treebeard's Ent and Entwife song (*TT*, III, iv, 80–81), among others, are all regular in their rhythms, despite having different metrical forms. It should be noted that most of these

songs are fairly formal, dealing with high subjects or sung on a high occasion. More importantly, when Tolkien takes advantage of natural poetic deviation—the occasional deviation from a strict rhythm to avoid dullness or a jog-trot effect—he does so to create specific effects. In Galadriel’s song, for example, the form is stately, elegant iambic heptametric couplets (Kelly 190; Flieger 527). The first line is a fine example: “ĩ sáŋg / őf leáves / őf leáves / őf góld / ănd leáves / őf góld / thĕre grĕw” (*FR*, II, viii, 388–89). Again, the stress pattern mimics idiomatic English speech patterns. The only deviation from the very regular rhythm is in the line “O Lórien! Too long I have dwelt upon this Hither Shore.” “I have” becomes awkward: it must either be elided to “I’ve,” an informal contraction at odds with the formality of the song, or the rhythm is disrupted. Without a contraction, the line could be scanned either as “Ő Lór-/ ĩ-én / tőo lóng / Í / hăve dwĕlt / ũ-pón / thĭs hĭth-/ ěr shóre,” with a pause after “long” and a stress on “I,” giving an eight-stress line, or “Ő Lór-/ ĩ-én / tőo lóng / ĩ hăve dwĕlt / ũ-pón / thĭs hĭth-/ ěr shóre,” inserting two weak syllables before the strong “dwelt.” Either way, it is the word “I” which disrupts the regular heptametric rhythm. This could be simply a common poetic deviation from an overly-regular rhythm, of course, but in a song about Galadriel’s exile from her homeland because of her prideful rebellion (a story told in the *Silmarillion*), in which she wonders whether she can ever return to Eldamar, her stumble upon the word “I” is suggestive.

Other rhythmic deviations come at appropriate, significant times, and again show that Tolkien thought about the ways poetic form affects meaning. In the dwarves’ dishwashing song at the beginning of *The Hobbit*, the rhythm is a fairly regular tailless trochaic tetrameter, but extra unstressed beats are often inserted. This is entirely acceptable, especially in an informal, comic song; suggestively, however, the extra quick-paced weak beats often come in lines about walking or moving (“trĕad ńn thĕ făt”). By the last line, the change to dactyls in “căre-fŭl-lŷ” gives the sense of someone tiptoeing; at the same time, as the rhythm becomes more irregular near the end, the reader worries that Bilbo’s plates might come crashing down along with the poetry (*H*, i, 42; Russom 58). Gandalf’s song of Galadriel, sung to the riders of Rohan to protest their calling Galadriel the “Sorceress of the Golden Wood,” changes its regular iambic tetrameter in two places. The second line, “Sĕl-dőm / hăve wălked / thĕ feĕt / őf mĕn” has to be changed to trochaic beat rather than iambic at the beginning of the line—the poetic implication is that the “feet of Men” are disrupting the calm order established “ĩn Dwĭm-/ őr-déne / ĩn Lór-/ ĩ-én.” By contrast, the change to trochees at the beginning of the lines “Clĕar ĩs / thĕ wă-/ tĕr / őf yőur / wĕll” and “Whĭte ĩs / thĕ stăr / ĩn yőur /

white hánd” feels more natural than the previous change, and draws emphasis to the words “clear water” and “white star” (*TT*, III, v, 118). In the dwarves’ song of the wind in *The Hobbit*, the regular iambic tetrameter is only lost on the phrases “ün-dēr heá-/ věns coól” and “ö-vēr thě / wíde séas / őf thě níght” (*H*, vii, 177–78)—that is, the two moments the dwarves’ song leaves this world and moves to the otherworldly realms of the heavens or the ocean. This pattern carries over into other poems: in the final version of the walking song, sung by Frodo at the end of *The Return of the King*, the iambic tetrameter changes at the end to the tripping, lilting “Wést őf / thě Moón / Eást őf / thě Sún” (*RK*, VI, ix, 308). One could almost say that the plodding, this-worldly iambs change to more lively, dancing beats once they leave this world. Again, Tolkien is perfectly in line with other poets in eschewing the boredom that might come with a perfectly regular line; however, the variance in rhythm is not merely aesthetic but adds to the meaning of the poems.

Tolkien’s use of rhyme and alliteration demonstrates a similar poetic skill. Often the rhymes simply reinforce the meaning—in the dwarves’ song “Far over the Misty Mountains,” for example, the rhymes “cold-old-gold” resonate (*H*, i, 44–45). Likewise, the Elves’ warning against putting one’s faith in material things, at the end of *The Hobbit*, echoes in the rhymes: “rusted-trusted” “perish-cherish” (*H*, xix, 355–56). The rhymes in Strider’s song of Tinúviel enhance the mystery and beauty of Lúthien: even in just the first stanza, the rhymes are “green-seen-unseen” “fair-there-hair” “shimmering-glimmering” (*FR*, I, xi, 204–5).⁷ The rhymes and assonance in Treebeard’s march to Isengard create a low thrum that ominously mimics the sound a moving forest might make in the distance: “gloom-doom-drum-come-come” (*TT*, III, iv, 88–89). The rhymes of the elves are often poignant: Galadriel’s song starts with the rhymes “grew-blew-sea-tree” but changes to “years-tears-day-away” in almost a summation of the problem of elves in Middle-earth (*FR*, II, viii, 388–89). There is also a melancholy feel to the rhymes of Legolas’ second song of the sea: “crying-flying” “falling-calling” “failing-sailing” “falling-calling” (*RK*, VI, iv, 234–35). The predominance of double (feminine) rhymes here, along with the repetition, gives a “falling” and fading feel to the song. Tolkien’s mythology comes through strongly in his rhymes: across poems sung by different characters of different races, “trees” almost invariably rhymes with “seas.”

More interesting, I think, is when the rhymes work *against* the surface meaning of the poem. The prime example of this is Sam’s song of the stars. A simple song in common meter, the rhyming pattern is a plain *abab*—a song “no listening orc could possibly mistake for the

clear song of an Elven-lord" (*RK*, VI, i, 185). Sam sings the song on the steps of Cirith Ungol, feeling a "new strength" rise in him after being "weary and feeling finally defeated." The song is a brave song, insistently bringing to mind flowers, spring, waters, birds and stars in the midst of the surrounding bleakness and darkness. He ends, "above all shadows rides the Sun / and Stars for ever dwell: / I will not say the Day is done, / nor bid the Stars farewell" (*RK*, VI, i, 185). The explicit meaning is positive: Sam insists that the sun and stars are still there, although he cannot see them, and that day is not done, although he is surrounded by darkness. However, the rhymes work against this positive message. "Sun" rhymes with "run" and "done"; "dwell" rhymes with "farewell." The rhymes create an emotional sense of loss even while the literal meaning of the song denies that loss. This contradiction perfectly encapsulates Sam's feelings at that moment—and, I believe, the emotional pathos of the entire series: the sense of loss and of things passing we feel even in the so-called happy ending.⁸

Like rhyme, the alliteration in the alliterative poems works to create a level of meaning that at times works with, and at times works against, the denotative meaning of the words. The alliteration in the prophecy of Malbeth the Seer connects words and ideas in ways that undergird the meaning of the poem: "tower-trembles-tombs" "doom-dead" "hour-oathbreakers"⁹ "hear-horn-hills" "whose-horn-who" "heir-oath" "pass-path" "door-dead" (*RK*, V, ii, 54).¹⁰ The "hear-horn-hills" alliteration is echoed in the song of the Mounds of Mundburg (*RK*, V, vi, 124–25), but this linkage also resonates thematically throughout this section of *The Return of the King*, as Gandalf and Pippin hear the "horns, horns, horns" of Rohan while they face down the Lord of the Nazgûl at the gates of Minas Tirith (*RK*, V, iv, 102–3), as Theoden blows a great horn with such force that it "burst asunder" (*RK*, V, v, 112), and as the whole host of Rohan rides into Gondor "and the blowing of the horns of Rohan in that hour was like a storm upon the plain and a thunder in the mountains" (*RK*, V, v, 112; Shippey, *Road* 215). In the song about the ride of the Rohirrim, the alliteration works slightly differently in order to emphasize the loss the people of Rohan feel (*RK*, V, iii, 76–77). Often the second alliterating word undercuts or shadows the meaning of the first: "golden-gloom" "Mark-mist" "feasted-faded" "forth-fear." This loss, however, is overturned at the end of the song, with the line "sank into silence: so the songs tell us." Here, the "songs" contradict "sank-silence" in a reversal of the pattern of the rest of the poem. The feeling of loss lingers, but the reader slowly realizes that the battle *cannot* have been a complete loss—someone survived to sing songs about it. The silence, both in the alliteration and the underlying meaning, is replaced by song.

Tolkien's poetic skill is particularly evident in a few specific poems, which I want to look at more closely before I return to the argument about the worth of older forms. Skillful use of rhyme and rhythm is perhaps to be expected in songs sung by Galadriel, for example, befitting both the race and character of the singer and the thematic gravity of the song; but it is somewhat surprising to find similar poetic effects in relatively simple songs, such as the Barrow-wight's song in *The Fellowship of the Ring* (*FR*, I, viii, 152). The form itself is plain, Tolkien's standard iambic tetrameter in rhyming couplets, with the occasional rhythmic variation natural to poetry, but the use of the form is subtly complex. The first line is perfectly regular headless iambic tetrameter, with a stress pattern which both corresponds to natural English speech patterns and, more significantly, sets up the theme and emotion of the poem: "cold-hand-heart-bone." Flieger notes that the Barrow-wight's song is full of single-syllable spondees, in contrast to Tom Bombadil's cadenced speech (524). The second line "ǎnd cöld / bĕ sleép / ún-/ dĕr stóne" has a missing weak syllable after "sleep," which forces a pause or rest entirely suitable for a lingering word such as "sleep." The rhythm is more problematic in the third line, as the reader first reads it "né-vĕr / móre tō / wáke ōn / stó- nŷ / béd"—a pentametric line—before returning to emend it to "ně-vĕr móre / tō wáke / ōn stó-/ nŷ béd," to keep the tetrameter. Emending the first word to a pyrrhic rhythm maintains the meter, but it is slightly disturbing emotionally that the emendation is required on the word "never." The fourth line also begins with the word "never," and again the "never" is problematic metrically; yet this time no satisfactory emendation of the scansion is possible. The rest of the line, "tĭll thĕ / sún fáils / ǎnd thĕ moón / ĩs deád" is acceptable tetrameter, with stress variation used to emphasize "sun fails," but the "never" simply cannot fit into a tetrametric line. As a result, the "never" is emphasized; moreover, the problematic rhythm also creates in the reader a sense of the sheer wrongness of both the situation and the poem. This barrow-wight—and this word—disrupt the proper ordering of things in a very uncomfortable manner. In lines 5, 7 and 8 the rhythm in the first half of the lines changes from trochees and iambs to pyrrhics and spondees, and since it is done in exactly the same place in each of those lines, the rhythm aurally links the words "black wind" "dark lord" and "dead sea." The rhymes, too, help in creating the ominous feeling of the poem: normally comfortable words such as "bed" and "lie" (see their use in poems such as the first walking song [*FR*, I, iii, 86–87] or Sam and Pippin's drinking song [*FR*, I, iv, 99]) are made extremely uncomfortable with rhyme-words "dead" and "die." This bed is a place of death, not sleep and comfort. Even in short, simple

songs, Tolkien clearly paid attention to the formal characteristics—rhyme, rhythm, alliteration—and to the way those sounds affect the content or meaning.

Bilbo's song of Eärendil is formally complex, but the complexity comes more through rhyme and sound than through rhythm (Shippey, *Road* 192–94). As is appropriate for a hobbit, the song is in fairly regular iambic tetrameter or long meter, yet Bilbo has clearly worked hard on the sound-structure of the poem. The stanzas vary in length, and the end-rhymes (in the form abcb) are not always pure: "tall-emerald," for example, or "long-wan." One could dismiss Bilbo (or Tolkien) as a poor poet; yet this would be to miss the complexity of sound in the poem: "The 'Eärendil' poem by its complexity not only represents Bilbo's skill as a poet . . . but confirms the range of Tolkien's formal brilliance" (Forest-Hill, "Poetic Form" 92). The poem is filled with interweaving internal rhyme, assonance, and near rhyme that creates more of a sound-scape than a strict formal structure. For example, the last or second-last word of odd-numbered lines has a sound repeated near the beginning of the following even-numbered line:

Eärendil was a *mariner*
that *tarried* in *Arvernien*
he built a boat of *timber* felled
in *Nimbrethil* to journey in;
her sails he wove of *silver* fair,
of *silver* were her lanterns made,
her prow he fashioned *like* a swan
and *light* upon her banners laid. (*FR*, II, i, 246–49;
my emphasis)

In the second stanza, the sounds become doubled: "ancient kings" is echoed by "chainéd rings" while "ward all wounds" repeats the sounds of "scored with runes." The patterns are not precisely rhymes, although they can be ("valiant-adamant" "crest-breast" "star-far" "ways-days"), but they are more than assonance, for it is a consonant-vowel pair which resonates: "*habergeon*" with "*scabbard*," for example, or "*light*" with "*life*," or "*errandless*" with "*unheralded*" (my emphasis). The alliteration, too, works to weave the sounds of the poem together: "sails-silver-silver," "like-light-laid," "gnashing-narrow," "night-naught-never," "back-borne-black." Tolkien also plays with near-alliteration, giving two alliterating sounds that transform into a sound that is very close linguistically: "shining-shield-scored" ("sh" to "sc," a linguistic pattern evidenced historically in the Norse-influenced northern forms of words versus the southern forms—"shirt-skirt" "ship-skip" for example); "runes-ward-wounds" ("r" to "w," again very close sounds—witness the

way “Laura” becomes “wa-wa” for a baby). This poem avoids all traditional forms of English poetry, and instead creates what can only be an attempt to imitate the complex sounds of Elven poetry.

Not only does Tolkien invent new forms of poetry, he challenges the unspoken aesthetic prejudices of modern poetry by reviving old-fashioned, discredited forms and using them for serious poetry. Tolkien seems to appeal to the value of older forms of poetry which sound “childish” to modern ears. Take, for example, the first song of the elves in *The Hobbit*—the first time that readers, if they are reading the books in order, encounter elves. A race known (in Tolkien’s legendarium, at least) for their poetry—to the point where they are merely politely tolerant of Bilbo’s best efforts in his song of Eärendil—produce what many observers would deem rather bad poetry here:

O! What are you doing,
And where are you going?
Your ponies need shoeing!
The river is flowing!
O tra-la-la-lally
here down in the valley! (*H*, iii, 91)

The poem is in the very unusual rhythm of amphibrachic dimeter—two amphibrachs, weak-strong-weak, per line. However, it is almost impossible to read the poem like that; instead, the rhythm naturally turns into a strong-weak-weak dactylic waltzing rhythm. It is quick-paced and feels like a child’s skipping rhyme, an impression reinforced by the chorus of nonsense syllables in the same rhythm: “tra-la-la-lally,” “tril-lil-lil-lolly.” Already in a rhythm our modern ears perceive as silly, the rhythm actually disintegrates as the song goes on. The first stanza is regular amphibrachic dimeter; the second stanza contains two extra stressed syllables (“ha! ha!”); by the third stanza there is the unnecessary and un-rhythmic tag-line “in June” along with the “ha! ha!”; while the fourth stanza adds the equally unnecessary, albeit rhyming, “to our tune.” Likewise, the rhyme pattern disintegrates, from a regular *ababcc* pattern in the first two stanzas, to the slant-rhymes of “wagging-Baggins” and “knowing-Dwalin” and the non-rhyming “valley” (which does rhyme with the ‘c’ rhymes of the first verse) and “June” (which does rhyme with the “tune” of the fourth verse). By the fourth stanza the pattern is *ababccdde*, with ‘e’ rhyming back to stanza three.

The elves’ song is reminiscent of medieval tail-rhyme poetry, with its bad rhymes, silly tag-lines, jog-trot rhythm, and ballad-like “tra-la-la-lally” nonsense words. The elves themselves are, in many ways, outdated and archaic by modern—or even hobbit—standards. The diction of the poem reflects this, with old-fashioned words such as

“faggot” or “bannock” or the prefix of “a-wagging” reinforcing the archaisms. Even readers who have no knowledge of medieval poetic forms can sense the old-fashionedness, but also the fun and silliness of this form. (Of course, maybe the elves are making fun of the dwarves through their use of *form* as well as content!¹¹). Yet the narrator introduces a note of caution: while we may think the song “pretty fair nonsense,” he might not share that opinion (“I daresay *you* think it” *emphasis mine*), and he tells us that to think elves foolish “is a very foolish thing to think” (*H*, iii, 92). Although these elves are very different from the solemn elves of *The Lord of the Rings*—a happier time, perhaps?—we can see the seeds of their “wise foolishness” here, conveyed through the poetic form of medieval verse.

The elves’ song in *The Hobbit* sounds silly to modern ears, although Tolkien suggests we may be misled by this sound in his hints about the “wise foolishness” of elves. Elsewhere, Tolkien uses a childish or comic metrical form for a serious, even solemn subject. The second song of the Rivendell elves in *The Hobbit*, which Verlyn Flieger calls an “elegy-cum-celebration” uses the same meter as the first one to create a much more mixed effect; Flieger says, “Whether intended as such or not, the later poem comments on the frivolity of the earlier version” (522). Bilbo’s rhyme/riddle about Strider, which appears first in Gandalf’s letter to Frodo left at Bree, also uses a rhythm rarely heard in serious English poetry. The meter is amphibrachic trimeter, although the first line lacks the first unstressed syllable and thus turns into a dactylic rhythm, a waltzing sound that carries throughout the poem: “All that is gold does not glitter, / Not all those who wander are lost” (*FR*, I, x, 182).¹² The rarity of the rhythm is emphasized by the fact that Tolkien changes the first line from a well-known English proverb, “All that glitters is not gold.”¹³ Most people know the proverb from Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice*, but the saying is older than that (although the *Oxford English Dictionary* only traces usage back to 1553)—Chaucer intones, “Hit is not al gold that glareth” in line 272 of the *House of Fame*. Interestingly, although Chaucer’s version is predominantly iambic, some of the earliest versions of the proverb are dactylic: the earliest version cited in the OED, Thomas Becon’s *Relikes of Rome*, is “Áll is nōt / gól-dě thăt / glíst-ěr-ěth.” (While Becon would not have pronounced the silent ‘e’ on “gold,” it is justifiable if the proverb itself is older.) Tolkien, in his choice of rhythm, is evoking an older form of the saying. The Shakespearean iambs of the proverb shift into the lilting rhythm of Strider’s verse in a formal movement that parallels the shift in meaning in the changed proverb—the form is overturned at the same time as the proverb’s meaning is overturned. Both proverbs advocate looking past the surface to the truth underneath, but while the original

proverb expresses a concern about showy surfaces, and suggests that there is a lot of falsity in the world, Tolkien's re-worked proverb inverts this to suggest that worthwhile things can look worthless on the surface. Ostensibly, of course, these lines refer to Aragorn and his destiny as the heir to Númenor, and the alliteration ("gold glitter" "blade broken" "crownless king") and rhyme ("woken-broken" "spring-king") reinforce this meaning. But it is tempting, especially given Tolkien's emphatic avoidance of iambic pentameter, to read the lines more generally. Poetry and poetic forms which seem clunky or childish on the surface may, in fact, be golden, once one sheds one's superficial assumptions about what makes good poetry. Within the context of the poetic oeuvre of *The Lord of the Rings*, and Tolkien's insistent revival and resurrection of medieval and archaic verse forms, such a reading becomes compelling.

Close reading of Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* poetry is rewarding in itself, and demonstrates the care and thought he put into creating the effects of the songs. Yet the formal structures of the poems are so diverse, and so insistently un-modern (no iambic pentameter), that I believe Tolkien is also advancing an implicit manifesto with regard to the value of different forms of verse. Tolkien's seemingly favorite verse-form, for example, is not iambic pentameter but tetrameter; moreover, it is a tetrameter that depends more on stress than on syllable count. His most common line scans strong [s] weak [w]/sw/sw/sw which is usually dubbed either headless iambic tetrameter or tailless trochaic tetrameter;¹⁴ yet the "heads" and "tails" sometimes appear (sometimes even within the same song—see the Goblins' song, which has the iambic line "tō líght / thě níght / fōr oúr / dē-líght" right next to the trochaic "báke ānd / toást 'ēm, / frý ānd / roást 'ēm!" [*H* vi, 151–52]). Moreover, the unstressed syllables in the middle can vary in count, from disappearing entirely to adding in up to three unstressed syllables. Tolkien seems to be recognizing that English, unlike Italian or other Latin-derived languages, is naturally an accentual rather than syllable-based language.¹⁵ To any English speaker other than an English professor, a line of poetry that scans ws/ws/ws/ws basically sounds the same as one that scans sw/sw/sw/sw, or even sw/ws/ws/ws. We know these rhythms from our childhoods, from clapping songs and skipping songs in which one can insert numerous little syllables in between the stresses, as long as one jumps or claps on the stress in a regular beat. The Goblin's song "Fifteen Birds" is a good example of this kind of song: all the extra little syllables do not fundamentally affect the steady tetrameter ("Ō whát / sháll wě dó / wíth thě fún-/nŷ lít-tlē thínɡs?" [*H*, vi, 151–52]). A reader of Old English poetry

would find nothing odd in a stress-based, rather than syllable-based, system; it is an older, more natural, more native English poetic form.

Using a stress-based, rather than syllable-based, rhythm helps when scanning the lines of the lament for Boromir, sung by Aragorn and Legolas (*TT*, III, i, 19–20). Given the singers and the occasion, we would expect a “high,” formal poetic form; yet the metrical form is difficult to discern. (The rhyme scheme is in couplets.) The poem looks a little like alliterative long lines, but the alliteration, while strong, is not quite pervasive enough. The base rhythm seems to be iambic heptameter (Forest-Hill, “Poetic Form” 94; Forest-Hill, “Boromir, Byrhtnoth, and Bayard” 85; Kelly 194–95) yet it is extremely irregular. One can find fairly regular lines (“thě wáil-/ ĩng őf / thě gúlls / ĩt beárs, / ānd át / thě gáte / ĩt moáns”), but these are interspersed with decidedly irregular lines (“whǎt néws / fröm thě wést / Ō wánd-/erĭng wĭnd / dō yōu brĭng / tō mé / tō níght” or “Ō Bór-/ ō-mír! / fröm thě / hígh wálls / wést-wārd / Ĩ loóked / ā-fár”). The effect is of a formal chant, not quite a song, that only works as poetry if one uses a stress-based system. If one *does* use a stress-based system, however, the stresses work to slow down and link key phrases—“nórh wĭnd” “hígh wálls” “whíte shóres” “loúđ hórĭn”—in a way that ties sound to content and increases the poetic and emotional effect.

Within this context of Tolkien’s implicit questioning of the modernist aesthetic valuations of the *forms* of poetry—his sometimes-cheeky insistence that older rhythms and poetic patternings can still have poetic value and meaning—it is tempting to read Gollum’s fourteen-line fish poem in the *Two Towers* as a subverted or warped sonnet. Before twentieth-century poets began to reject conventional forms, the sonnet was, arguably, the highest and most respected form of poetry in English for about half a millennium. In his whirling variety of form and structure in his poetry, Tolkien only includes one possible sonnet; and, ironically (even blasphemously), gives it to the *lowest*, most abject character of the series—Gollum.¹⁶ This song contrasts with Gollum’s song which comes immediately before the fish song; the first song is full of one-syllable words and childish rhymes. Reading the songs together, one is tempted to ascribe the first to “Gollum” and the second to “Smeagol”—especially given the empathy required to see from the point of view of the fish in the second song. Although not in iambic pentameter (since Tolkien steadfastly refused to write in that meter), Gollum’s second version of the fish riddle is, in form and rhyme scheme, a Petrarchan sonnet, fourteen lines in an octet and sestet, rhyming *aabbccdd eefggf* (*TT*, IV, ii, 227–28). The song is in two parts: the first four lines recite the riddle in *The Hobbit*, and consist of two

lines of dimeter followed by two of tetrameter. The continuation of the riddle is all in dimeter, a rhythm suitable for a simple creature like Gollum. And while the rhyme scheme fits the octet-sestet form, the syntax challenges this division, working against the rhyme scheme to split the poem into nine lines then five, corresponding to riddle and answer. The fact that it is one line off the traditional Petrarchan pattern may suggest that this poem is a twisted, debased sonnet, just as Gollum is a twisted, debased hobbit.¹⁷ Modern sonnets have continually challenged the rules of the sonnet form, to the point where “the most common modern sonnet is a fourteen-lined lyric poem that does not employ iambic pentameter or a set rhyme scheme” (Ennis). Indeed, “because of our long history with the form, whenever one writes a fourteen-line poem, it’s likely to be read as a variation on the sonnet” (Richardson). Tolkien, medievalist though he be, may be one of the first in a wave of modernist and postmodernist poets who challenged the strict form of the sonnet by varying line length, meter, or rhyme scheme—or, indeed, all three.¹⁸ Annie Finch writes, “the most common contemporary formal variations of the sonnet include such permutations as unrhymed metrical sonnets of 14 lines with a volta; rhymed nonmetrical (free verse) sonnets; sonnets that are metrically variable . . . and sonnets of various lengths (including 16, 18, and 12 lines) that keep rhyme and meter.” By such a definition, “Gollum’s Song” is a sonnet, and, in fact, one that is more traditional than some, since the rhyme scheme remains traditional despite the metrical shift from pentameter to dimeter. The choppy rhythm makes it hard to notice the sonnet structure—to my knowledge, no one else has made this claim—but it is tempting to think that it is Tolkien’s inside joke that the character who gets the highest form of modern English poetry is Gollum.

Tolkien gives a debased sonnet to Gollum, while the solemn prophecy of Strider’s riddle is couched in childish singsong. And iambic pentameter is nowhere to be seen. *The Lord of the Rings* is, in many ways, a reclamation of the medieval in the face of the modern—of Beowulf’s dragon, of the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*, of Merlin and Byrhtnoth and Beowulf himself; of Old English and Old Norse and Welsh; of the paratactic romance quest structure; of old values such as honor and courage and male friendship. In his embedded poetry, too, Tolkien is reaffirming the value of the medieval, the archaic, the devalued, and—sometimes seriously, sometimes winkingly, often amusingly—challenging the values of the modern. He does so not merely with content, but through the form of the poetry itself.

NOTES

1. As the title of one article (Kullmann) calls them; see also Raffel, who states that the poetry “can be skipped with no loss to the tale” (Raffel 232).
2. Thanks to the anonymous reviewer of this article for pointing me to this letter.
3. Indeed, unless everyone universally goes to get popcorn at that part—which in my experience they do not—one of the most widely-received English-language poems of the past century is J.R.R. Tolkien’s re-writing of the “hwaer cwom” section of the Old English poem “The Wanderer,” recited by Theoden (Bernard Hill) in Peter Jackson’s extended version of *The Two Towers* (Eilmann 188–93).
4. I am actually not sure “spondaic dimeter” is a real form, yet what else would one call lines such as “Clash, crash! Crush, smash!” or “Swish, smack! Whip crack!” (*H*, iv, 107)?
5. See Drout (3). Kelly, Kullmann, Russom, and Flieger are the best articles to date on Tolkien’s poetics in *The Lord of the Rings*. Russom is one of the few to closely analyze the meter of the poems; however, he is hampered by a bizarre fidelity to iambs and trochees, which leads him to mis-scan several poems (which are predominantly amphibrachic or dactylic). He also does not analyze meter in conjunction with meaning. The recently released *Tolkien’s Poetry* collection is a welcome addition to Tolkien scholarship, yet of the ten articles, only two focus primarily on *The Lord of the Rings*’ poetry. Individual poems such as “The Man in the Moon,” the “Ent and the Entwife” or the “Wanderer” translation have been explored more fully: see Shippey (*Road* 36–38); Stroda (356); Olsen (39–53); Lee and Solopova (48, 196).
6. For a sense of the variety, see the chart in Kullmann (305–7).
7. For more thorough analyses, see Shippey (*Road* 194–95); Kelly (185–88).
8. Tom Shippey shares my sense of the song being “at once hopeful and sad” though he does not link this sense to the rhymes (*Road* 191). Lynn Forest-Hill does not note the rhymes but provides an interesting analysis of Sam’s diction, tying it to the elves’ songs (“Poetic Form” 106–8). See also Kelly (176–77).

9. As in Old English poetry, in Tolkien's alliterative verse all vowels and 'h' alliterate with one another. Tolkien maintains the difference between silent and aspirated 'h', alliterating the first with vowels and the second with 'h' and 'wh'.
10. For further analysis of this poem see Shippey ("Tolkien as a Writer" 22).
11. Thanks go to the anonymous reader of this article for this suggestion.
12. Russom (60) scans this as iambic trimeter with inserted extrametrical syllables. Even allowing for some variation in scansion practices, it is difficult to see how this is a superior scansion to amphibrachic or dactylic.
13. Kollmann discusses the shift from Shakespeare's "All that glisters is not gold" to "All that is gold does not glitter," but does not analyze the metrical shift.
14. The question of which term to use spawned a lengthy, if unresolved, debate on my Facebook page, so this may be a good place to thank Lyn Bennett, Amy Airhart-Sheldon, Lawrence Warner, Allan Mitchell, Christina Luckyj, Rebecca Tierney-Hynes, Anna Smol and Rory McKeown for their contributions to my thinking on the scansion of Tolkien's poetry. Russom is similarly torn between headless iambic and tailless trochaic (57).
15. "Tolkien knew bloody well that the 'foreign' note in English verse came from imported metrical schemes from Romance languages; that the rhythms of OE verse still lived not only in Modern English poetry, but modern English prose, and even everyday conversation" (Holmes, 34); "Tolkien . . . points out that dips [unstressed syllables] are usually monosyllabic, but that there is no metrical limit on the number of unstressed syllables [Old English half lines] may contain" (Phelpstead, "For W.H.A." 51); see also Shippey ("Tolkien as a Writer" 13).
16. To my knowledge no one else has noted that Gollum's fish poem could be a sonnet, though Carl Phelpstead includes "even sonnets" in his list of the forms of poetry Tolkien uses, frustratingly without providing examples ("With Chunks" 29). Flieger calls this poem "surprisingly sophisticated" but does not comment on the form (529). For a poet who took such exquisite and painstaking care with form as Tolkien, I have trouble believing he did not no-

tice that he gave Gollum a 14-line poem with a Petrarchan rhyme scheme.

17. While the suspicion that Gollum sings a sonnet is my own, I owe much of the further insights into Gollum's two poems to the Fall 2015 class of Dalhousie's ENGL 2235: Tolkien and Medievalism, especially to Jeremy Foote, Ben Cable, and Sophia Myers.
18. For a few examples, see Elizabeth Bishop's "Sonnet" (dimeter, irregular rhyme), Paul Muldoon's "Quoof" (octet/sestet, irregular rhythm, no rhyme), Dorothea Tanning's "All Hallows' Eve" (iambic tetrameter; untraditional rhyme scheme), Todd Swift's "Sonnet" (irregular meter, untraditional rhyme). A good compendium of untraditional sonnets is Hilson.

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The Evolution of J.R.R. Tolkien's Portrayal of Nature: Foreshadowing Anti-speciesism

ELEANOR R. SIMPSON

Some recent scholarship on the work of J.R.R. Tolkien has focused on his attitudes towards the natural world. The memorable character Treebeard and the peaceful pastoral hobbit culture in the Shire are given much attention in establishing Tolkien as an eco-writer. Scholarly interest in environmental themes within his works is justified by Tolkien's declared intention to "take the part of trees as against all their enemies" (*Letters* 419). Tolkien's appreciation of trees permeated his writing and his daily life. He lamented the effects of industry, and proudly offered that he was "(obviously) much in love with plants and above all trees" and found "human maltreatment of them as hard to bear as some find ill-treatment of animals" (*Letters* 220). Understandably, any published eco-critical readings of Tolkien's works have closely examined his depiction of trees and nature (Curry, Evans and Dickerson, Flieger). I intend to demonstrate that his pioneering connections within the natural world were not limited to vegetation. Examining Tolkien's evolution of thought regarding the natural world, from his writing of *The Hobbit* to *The Lord of the Rings*, will show a general pattern of progressively more complex treatment of animals, trees, and rocks. Tolkien's arrival at a multifaceted depiction of the natural world parallels the ideals of Critical Animal Theory, which seek to represent the natural world as independent and intrinsically valuable.

Critical Animal Theory is a relatively young interdisciplinary critical discourse, deeply connected to the ideals of anti-speciesism, which relies on philosophy, literature, and biology to interrogate the perceived difference between humans and animals. Critical Animal Theory has its roots in feminist theory. Feminist thinkers asserted that the major inequalities between men and women were based on social constructs more than intrinsic differences. Similarly, critical animal theorists challenge the notion of animals as "other," inherently different and less valuable than people. Anti-speciesists find human exploitation of animals to be discrimination that must be opposed and overcome by expanding our understanding of humanity to include animals.

It is important to appreciate that anti-speciesism did not exist as a codified discourse at the time Tolkien was writing *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. What is more, I do not intend to suggest that indication

of anti-speciesist thought within Tolkien's work is evidence of a political agenda. Tolkien's early engagement with what is now known as Critical Animal Theory makes clear his ability to work within fantasy to uncover political ideas before they had fully emerged.

The term speciesism was coined in 1970 by Richard Ryder, and was subsequently clearly defined in 1975 by Peter Singer as "a prejudice or attitude of bias toward the interests of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species." Interestingly, Ryder and Singer were Oxford scholars, and the intellectual group called the Oxford Group was deeply involved in philosophical considerations of animal equality from the late 1960s to 1970s.

Critical Animal Theory is increasingly finding application in literary criticism with publications such as *Animal & Society*. I have relied on a 2005 article titled "Toward a Critical Theory of Animal Issues in Fiction" for my standards for anti-speciesist readings. According to Shapiro and Copeland, anti-speciesist fiction must do three things:

- 1) Deconstruct reductive, disrespectful ways of presenting nonhuman animals,
- 2) Evaluate the degree to which the author presents the animal "in itself," both as an experiencing individual and as [having] a species-typical way of living in the world, and
- 3) include an analysis of human animal relationships . . . and to place it in the universe of possible relationships - from the animal as forgotten resource for a consumer . . . to the animal as more or less equal partners in a relationship- the fruit of which is a common project, a shared world (345).

An anti-speciesist work would present non-humanoid beings as distinct and developed interactive partners with people. Thus an anti-speciesist portrayal, under the definition used here, 1) minimizes anthropomorphic characterization, 2) represents non-humanoids as characters rather than mere symbols, and 3) enables them to interact with people in a non-subordinate manner. Furthermore, given that both *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* are works of fantasy, I am concerned with Tolkien portraying the original non-human attributes of the animals as he translates them into a fantasy world, in contrast to purely species-appropriate representations.

The writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, which was completed intermittently in the 1940s, coincided with early interest in animal rights. In 1947, C. S. Lewis published an essay in a pamphlet of the New England

Anti-Vivisection Society, suggesting that Tolkien had a certain level of awareness about animal rights issues from conversations with his fellow Inkling (Root). Regardless of the extent of Tolkien's early awareness of the very origins of what was to become a worldwide movement, Tolkien makes apparent his ability to work within fantasy to elucidate social ideas. It is likely that Middle-earth's evolution from the fanciful and highly fantastic world of *The Hobbit* to the extensively developed and consistent world of *The Lord of the Rings* was concurrent with Tolkien's anti-speciesist treatment of animals as a part of his literary craft.

SPECIESISM IN *THE HOBBIT*

The tone and purpose of *The Hobbit* and its eventual sequel *The Lord of the Rings* are entirely different, and thus, it is important to clarify that I am not trying to assert a value judgment in my comparison of the two works. The change in Tolkien's depiction of non-humanoid beings can be seen as an evolution of thought and part of the general trend towards increasing complexity. For the purpose of comparison, I will begin with examples of speciesism in *The Hobbit*, where development of animals stands in marked contrast to *The Lord of the Rings*.

Beorn, the "skin-changer," is an appropriate place to enter into *The Hobbit's* world of animals, given his status as both man and bear. When he "changes his skin," he becomes "a huge black bear" and even Gandalf is not certain whether he is a bear who can become a man, or a man who can become a bear; but Gandalf suspects "the last is the true tale" (*H*, vii, 106). Accepting that Beorn is a human, I will apply the standards for anti-speciesism to his house servants. Tolkien states that Beorn has few human companions, but "as a man he keeps cattle and horses which are nearly as marvelous as himself" (*H*, vii, 165). These animals "work for him and talk to him" and "he does not eat them; neither does he hunt or eat wild animals" (*H*, vii, 165). Though Beorn does not eat his animals, Tolkien does little to develop Beorn's relationship with the animals further and the communication we see between Beorn and his animals is limited to instructions for supper preparations. The meal is set by "Beorn [clapping] his hands" and summoning "four beautiful white ponies and several large long-bodied dogs" (*H*, vii, 175). Beorn issues orders "in a queer language like animal noises turned into talk" (*H*, vii, 175). As a philologist and an inventor of complex fantasy languages that merit their own scholastic attention, any time Tolkien brings up language the moment is worth scrutiny. Through this description it is clear that Beorn's servants only have language through Beorn's translation of primal noise to an organized and recognizable language. This suggests that, without Beorn,

animals lack language and are therefore inherently inferior communicators compared to humans. In response to Beorn's commands, "some snow-white sheep" enter "led by a large coal-black ram" carrying silverware and dishes, "which the dogs [take] and quickly [lay] on the table" (*H*, vii, 175). Beorn's "dogs [can] stand on their hind-legs when they [wish,] and carry things with their fore-feet" (*H*, vii, 175). This notion of dogs is anthropomorphic to the point of impossible. Dogs can balance on the back legs somewhat unsteadily, and unless Tolkien's fantasy dogs have opposable thumbs there is little chance of them using their fore-paws to set the table. Tolkien does not seem to consider the ability of dogs to act as servants, and as a consequence these animals are reduced to caricatures. Tolkien uses the highly anthropomorphized animals as evidence of Beorn's magical features, and to get a few laughs perhaps, without regard to the animals as naturally distinct and intrinsically valuable characters.

The journey through Mirkwood is the most fantastical episode in *The Hobbit*, and in it Tolkien explores classical tropes of magic using animals as symbols. Tolkien's purpose for including the deer in the Mirkwood episode seems limited to their value as symbols of the mysterious otherworldly qualities of the forest. Appearing to inadequately meet our anti-speciesist second criterion, their identity as deer seems to have far less consequence than the color of their hide. As the company struggles to cross a river, "something bad [does] happen" in the form of the sudden appearance of a black deer (*H*, viii, 197). The deer charges "into the dwarves and [bowls] them over" in its effort to cross the river, but it does "not reach the other side in safety"; Thorin's arrow catches it mid jump (*H*, viii, 197). In the distance the company hears "the noise of a great hunt" (*H*, viii, 198). Moments later, "on the path ahead [appear] some white deer, a hind and fawns as snowy white as the hart had been dark" (*H*, viii, 198). Tolkien's utilization of black and white works on a symbolic level. The black hart acts as a negative force, knocking Bombur into the enchanted water; the dwarves also kill the stag, actualizing the age-old association between blackness and death. The death of the black stag serves no practical purpose: the company does not use its meat; but the relationship of hunter and prey is so instinctual Tolkien does not dwell on it. The "natural" relationship between the people of Middle-earth and its animals is largely one of exploitation that even our heroes fit comfortably in. For their part, the doe and fawns are "snowy white" and cause no harm to the company (*H*, viii, 198). The color white has the typical association with virtue as well as specific associations with the Celtic Otherworld; Douglas A. Anderson notes in *The Annotated Hobbit* that white animals symbolically represent a passage into the Otherworld. Like Beorn's

servants, the deer do not have any invested identity, are no more than objects as deer, and remain a very speciesist portrayal.

Tolkien's interests in *The Hobbit* were not narrowly focused on creating sophisticated representations of non-humanoid beings. The one-dimensionality of Beorn's servants, and the Mirkwood deer, reveal a lack of venture in creating a complex portrayal of creatures; his animals are reductive, anthropomorphic and subject to human control. By contrast, in *The Lord of the Rings* Tolkien has a vastly deeper commitment to creating a vivid and consistent Secondary World, and in doing so he gives distinct character to his natural world. The interplay Tolkien constructs between the humanoid consciousness and those of the flora and fauna gives *The Lord of the Rings* a rich texture, resulting in Middle-earth now being a more anti-speciesist world. Just as Tolkien treats trees as distinct beings with individual interests and agency in regard to their relationships with humanoid beings, many of his animals are also invested with the tenets of anti-speciesism.

ANTI-SPECIESISM IN *THE LORD OF THE RINGS*

At the outset of *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien strikes a more serious note than that of *The Hobbit*, even before the hobbits leave the Shire. On their first night outside traveling to Crickhollow, "they set no watch; even Frodo [fears] no danger yet, for they [are] still in the heart of the Shire" (*FR*, I, iii, 72). Unperceived by the hobbits, "a few creatures [come] and [look] at them when the fire [has] died away," which should not be surprising, since they are in a forest (*FR*, I, iii, 72). But Tolkien does not simply have animals express vague interest in the hobbits; he gives these creatures a representative. There is "a fox passing through the wood on business of his own [who stops for] several minutes and [sniffs]" (*FR*, I, iii, 72). Worthy of note, this fox has his own matters to attend to and Tolkien evidently feels no need to explicate. The decision to withhold this information preserves the fox's integrity and mystery as an animal. In true anti-speciesist fashion, Tolkien creates a fox that has a private world of his own, one who has no obligation to serve anyone but himself. Additionally, Tolkien does not refer to the fox as "it" as is common when talking about animals; this serves to respectfully acknowledge the fox as a living being. When the fox sees the hobbits, he thinks "Well, what next? I have heard of strange doings in this land, but I have seldom heard of a hobbit sleeping out of doors under a tree. Three of them! There's something mighty queer behind this" (*FR*, I, iii, 72). By directly revealing the fox's thoughts Tolkien gives him a distinct voice and intelligence, emphasizing that the fox is not necessarily interested in the hobbits

but rather in what is making them act out of character. The relationship that the fox has with the hobbits is one-sided, and Tolkien gives the fox dominance. The fox is conscious while the hobbits are sleeping, and he possesses knowledge about goings on around the Shire and standard hobbit behavior. Perhaps the most anti-speciesist element of Tolkien's treatment of the fox is the fact that the fox has a life beyond his role in commenting on the state of the hobbits. Tolkien creates a strong sense of the fox's future with narrator's comments that the fox "was quite right, but he never found out any more about it" (*FR*, I, iii, 72). The fox himself does not feel convenient or merely symbolic. He is a developed character whose personal world, in which he exhibits typical fox-like behaviors, intersects briefly with the tale. Furthermore, he is not the only natural character to have a personal world. Tolkien gives his trees as much animation as the fox.

From short stories "Leaf by Niggle" and *Smith of Wootton Major* to the Two Trees of Valinor at the heart of Tolkien's legendarium, trees have wide application as multifaceted living symbols with deep personal significance (Dickerson 680). Trees in *The Hobbit* exist to be climbed, as in escaping the wargs and trying to navigate the forest of Mirkwood. Distinctly in *The Lord of the Rings*, trees truly become their own characters. While the language of the animal rights movement might seem inapplicable to plant species, I evaluate Tolkien's tree and tree-like characters by the same criteria of anti-speciesism, which can apply to all living things. After all, Tolkien's fantasy trees are living beings endowed with a distinct point of view and set of organism-specific interests to the point that a tree is one of the first enemies that the hobbits encounter after leaving the Shire.

Old Man Willow is "enormous" with "branches going up like reaching arms with many long-fingered hands" and "singing" leaves (*FR*, I, vi, 127–28). This description uses very human anatomical descriptions and as such comes dangerously close to anthropomorphizing the tree. The branches are "like" arms and the hobbits "almost hear words." Still, if Tolkien stopped here it would be fruitless to claim that Old Man Willow was a truly anti-speciesist depiction of a tree. However, during the hobbits' encounter Tolkien's portrayal evolves, mirroring the hobbits' growing knowledge of the tree. The name "Old Man Willow" changes to "Old Willow-man" and finally as "the Great Willow" (*FR*, I, vii, 130, 141). In this progression toward innate (arboreal) characteristics, Tolkien deemphasizes and ultimately drops the "man" element of the name. This indicates recognition of the Great Willow's animate identity as a tree, not a human-like arborist characterization. The case of the Great Willow is nearly the opposite of that of Beorn in that it is the Great Willow's status as non-human that gives him value.

Tom Bombadil leads the hobbits to “understand the lives of the Forest, apart from themselves”, and “to feel themselves as the strangers where all other things were at home,” in the Old Forest (*FR*, I, vii, 141). And the hobbits begin to perceive the Great Willow in more tree-like terms. Tom tells them that the Great Willow’s “heart [is] rotten, but his strength [is] green . . . His grey thirsty spirit [draws] power out of the earth and [spreads] like fine root and invisible twig-fingers in the air” (*FR*, I, vii, 141). It is made clear that the Great Willow’s power does not come from his branches seeming like “long fingered hands” but rather from the earth and indeed his tree-ness. His character is embedded in his wood and he relies on the earth in an appropriately tree-like way to assert his will on the world around him. In Tolkien’s fantasy, trees are not powerless and necessarily subject to man’s control, nor do they have to become person-like to express an opposition to the hobbits’ presence. Tolkien enables his readers to see the Great Willow as a character interacting with the hobbits on his terms, and in his element, expressing self-awareness and a stake in the world to be considered. Tolkien develops a tree character devoid of anthropomorphic qualities who plays a meaningful role, albeit a sinister one, in the hobbits’ early journey, thus fulfilling the criteria I have set for anti-speciesism.

Any discussion of the natural world of Middle-earth would be incomplete without Treebeard. The Ents of *The Lord of the Rings* emerged relatively late in Tolkien’s rewrites. Treebeard started out as an enemy giant in 1939, according to Christopher Tolkien (*Shadow* 309). The creation of tree shepherds fostered Tolkien’s exploration of the distinct consciousness of rooted beings and their relationship to “things that go free upon the earth” (*FR*, I, vii, 141). Treebeard is not strictly a tree, and his status as an Ent allows him to be “Man-like” while avoiding anthropomorphism (*TT*, III, iv, 66). His ability to walk and talk makes it possible for Treebeard to demonstrate that such an element of nature has its own interests distinct from man or animals. The Ents keep the woods clear of “strangers and the foolhardy,” and personally resent any damage (*TT*, III, iv, 71). Treebeard explains to Merry and Pippin when they meet that he is “not altogether on anybody’s side” because “nobody cares for the woods as [he] cares for them” (*TT*, III, iv, 75). Trees do not make political alliances, and Treebeard is appropriately focused on the wellbeing of his forest rather than Merry and Pippin’s struggles. The relationship that develops between Treebeard and the hobbits is based on their collaboration to destroy Saruman. Treebeard is enraged by the fact that Saruman’s orcs are “felling trees—good trees,” feeding their fires at the cost of Treebeard’s “friends, creatures [he] had known from nut and acorn; many [of whom] had voices of their

own that are lost forever now” (*TT*, III, iv, 77). The Ents must counter the deforestation and, thus, Treebeard acknowledges that the hobbits “may be able to help” and would be “helping [their] own friends,” so Treebeard’s and the hobbits’ “roads go together—to Isengard” (*TT*, III, iv, 77). At the very heart of anti-speciesism, Tolkien sets up a partnership of equality between the hobbits and Ents that values and displays the intelligence and perspective of trees as matched to that of the humanoid beings. Tolkien proves that he is adept at progressive representation of nonhuman consciousness.

Before analyzing the nuanced differences of Tolkien’s portrayal of wolves between the two works, we must consider Tolkien’s fluid use of *wolves* and *wargs*. The lack of distinction between the use of these two words suggests that Tolkien intended his audience to accept the beings presented as a type of wolf that inhabits Middle-earth. Even at the time, people were curious about Tolkien’s use of *warg*, to the point that he addressed this matter in a couple of letters. In the first, written in November of 1966 to Gene Wolfe, Tolkien explained that he “adopted the word, which had a good sound for the meaning, as a name for this particular brand of demonic wolf in the story.” Later, in an August 1967 draft of a letter to Mr. Rang, Tolkien reiterated his intent for *warg* to refer to “an evil breed of (demonic) wolves” (*Letters* 381). In both letters Tolkien specifies wargs as a class of wolves, thus we can examine the evolution of the wargs with primary-world wolves as our point of reference in determining the degree of species-appropriate behavior Tolkien depicts.

In *The Hobbit*, a pack of Wargs ensnares the company by trapping them in the treetops. The Wargs speak in a “dreadful language” that Gandalf understands, as they circle below (*H*, vi, 147). He learns that the wargs “had come to meet the goblins” to collaborate on “wicked deeds” (*H*, vi, 147). Such deals between goblins and wolves are common, and in exchange for the wolves’ help, the goblins “[share] the plunder with them” (*H*, vi, 147). An alliance between the goblins and the Wargs, in which the wolves are ridden by goblins, “like men do on horses,” and gain a portion of the plunder, reinforces the notion that the wargs serve the goblins (*H*, vi, 147). This character development does not adhere to anti-speciesist criteria. The Wargs of *The Hobbit* are subject to goblin control; rather than hunting independently, they only eat the villagers that the goblins do not take as slaves (*H*, vi, 148). We would expect wolves not to care for plunder, their interests are limited to food and their pack. The Wargs seem to lack sufficient strength to hunt the villagers without the humanoid goblin influence. By contrast, the wolves of *The Lord of the Rings* have a more independent animalistic nature.

The encounter with the wolves in *The Lord of the Rings* is less sudden, as the fellowship initially credits the howling they hear to the wind. The fellowship seeks protection on a small hill, the peak of which is “crowned with a knot of old and twisted trees” and a ruined stone circle (*FR*, II, iv, 311). No attempt is made to hide from the wargs, and when they come it is slowly. First, eyes crest the hill; then a “great dark wolf-shape” is seen still and “gazing at them” (*FR*, II, iv, 311). When the captain’s attack is thwarted by Legolas’s arrow, “the watching eyes [are] suddenly extinguished” as “the hunting pack [flees]” (*FR*, II, iv, 312). The careful approach to the campsite, and retreat when the prey proves dangerous, is characteristic hunting behavior of wolves (Mech and Boitani). The wolves return silently and attack “without warning” in greater numbers, and without reliance upon goblins (*FR*, II, iv, 312). Again Gandalf is able to subdue the wolves using fire, and those not killed flee. The rematch of Gandalf and the wolves bears remarkable resemblance to the original episode in *The Hobbit*, but Tolkien invests heavily in maintaining the animalistic power of the Wargs in the later work. The wolves exist with true wolf qualities in *The Lord of the Rings*, dangerous in their own right, not mere symbols or plot points.

Wolves are not the only unpleasant beasts whose portrayal is deeply altered by Tolkien’s progression towards a more developed depiction of the natural world. Spiders similarly play a major part in Bilbo and Frodo’s stories. Bilbo encounters his spiders in the Otherworld of Mirkwood, and what we find are more bumbling bad guys than spiders. The spiders are “huge and horrible,” and inhabit “a patch of midnight that [has] never been cleared away . . . made of spider-webs” (*H*, viii, 209). Bilbo finds that he can understand their talk, which has a decidedly colloquial tone. The spiders “wager,” debate the best order to “kill ‘em” and “hang ‘em,” and mock the dwarves “a-struggling” to wake from “a bee-autiful sleep” (*H*, viii, 209). Tolkien’s stylized dialog gives the spiders more character than any of his preceding animal representations in *The Hobbit*, but it consequently belittles their identity as natural spiders. Bilbo’s solution to the dwarves’ predicament is to sing and “dance among the trees,” hoping to “infuriate [the spiders] and bring them after him” (*H*, viii, 211). It works just as anticipated, and the spiders are “frightfully angry” because in addition to “the stones [Bilbo throws] no spider has ever liked being called Attercop, and Tomnoddy of course is insulting to anybody” (*H*, viii, 211–12). The fact that the spiders find the name calling offensive is deeply anthropomorphic and reveals Tolkien’s use of the spiders as comedic villains with limited investment in their spider attributes in *The Hobbit*. In contrast, Shelob’s depiction in *The Lord of the Rings* is constructed by Tolkien to portray the essential spider traits of her being, contributing to

evidence of Tolkien's evolving anti-speciesist character development and thought.

Shelob's introduction is reminiscent of *The Lord of the Rings* wolves in that Tolkien begins with a description of her eyes. Her presence is signaled by a feeling of "great malice bent upon [Frodo] and a deadly regard," and then he becomes "aware of eyes growing visible, two great clusters of many-windowed eyes" (*TT*, IV, ix, 329). Tolkien uses those eyes without immediately revealing their owner. When retreat proves impossible, Frodo draws Sting and his star phial and advances "steadily down to meet the eyes" (*TT*, IV, ix, 330). But the eyes give way, "one by one they dimmed, and slowly they drew back," revealing "a great bulk beyond the light's reach [heaving] its huge shadow in between" (*TT*, IV, ix, 330). The "great bulk" is our first glimpse of Shelob, but Tolkien maintains the mysterious danger surrounding her. Before Tolkien tells us that she is a spider, we get the sense of her alien, animalistic thoughts. She is clever in her spider way; Frodo and Sam know "too little . . . of the craft of Shelob" to escape (*TT*, IV, ix, 332). Tolkien gives her an intelligence that rivals the distressed hobbits. Similar to the way he developed the fox, Tolkien also develops a sense of Shelob's past such that her existence is more than a conveniently placed enemy. She has been "there before Sauron, and before the first stone of Barad-dûr" (*TT*, IV, ix, 332). An animal powerful in her own right, she is independent and has no master "but herself . . . for all living things [are] her food" (*TT*, IV, ix, 332). Tolkien makes clear that as would be for a spider, her interests are purely primal, for "little she [knows] of or [cares] for towers, or rings, or anything devised by mind or hand"; her only desire is "death for all others, mind and body and for herself a glut of life, alone, swollen till the mountains could no longer hold her up and the darkness could not contain her" (*TT*, IV, ix, 333). Despite her proximity to Sauron, there is no political alliance between them. He knows she is there and "it [pleases] him that she should dwell there hungry" as "a more sure watch upon that ancient path into his land than any other that his skill could have devised" (*TT*, IV, ix, 333). He uses her and calls her "his cat . . . but she owns him not" (*TT*, IV, ix, 333). Though Sauron views her as a pet, she does not acknowledge his authority and "serves" him only in the pursuit of her own goals. Shelob is clearly developed as a distinct intelligence with species appropriate goals. In Shelob's relationship with Sauron, Tolkien indicates that Sauron is mistaken to believe that he has any control over her; they coexist merely due to mutual benefit. This parallel examination of wolves and spiders between the two works illustrates the gravity of Tolkien's evolution towards portraying animals as developed, rich characters, fulfilling the objectives of anti-speciesism.

It is not only antagonist creatures that Tolkien gives deeper consideration to in *The Lord of the Rings*. Horses function as a chief means of transport in Middle-earth and evolve from archetypal beasts of burden to valued individuals appreciated for their use. Historically, humans and horses have had considerable influence on each other as selective breeding produced a variety of physical attributes suited for heavy hauling, speed, or warfare. Humanity grew to depend on horses and domesticated them. Tolkien's Middle-earth positions horses as the primary means of transport, and their role from *The Hobbit* to *The Lord of the Rings* remains largely consistent. However, in *The Hobbit* horses are little more than commodities in the eyes of the Company. When they are taken captive by goblins along the mountain path the narrator interjects, "I am afraid that was the last they ever saw of those excellent little ponies, including a jolly sturdy little white fellow that Elrond had lent to Gandalf, since his horse was not suitable for the mountain-paths. For goblins eat horses and ponies and donkeys" (*H*, iv, 108). The side-notation about the horses' unfortunate fate is all that is revealed until the Company is reunited on the other side of the mountain. Faced with exhausted rations and the need to travel several miles before nightfall, Bilbo laments that he is "dreadfully hungry" to which Gandalf replies that there is nothing to be done unless Bilbo wishes to "ask the goblins nicely to let [him] have [his] pony back and [his] luggage" (*H*, vi, 142). The Company seems to recognize the horses only for their function and gives little thought to loss of the animals besides regret that they now must walk. Even the narrator, who at least expresses sadness for the doomed animals, puts their "excellence" in terms of their suitability, sturdiness, and utility, limiting them to a highly speciesist representation. While the Company maintains a dismissive attitude towards horses, Tolkien provides us with a more developed perspective in the form of Beorn's relationship with the ponies he lends the travelers. These are not the fantastic serving beasts that work in his home; they function as conventional animals tasked with bringing the Company to "the gate" of Mirkwood but no further (*H*, vii, 183). The dwarves, in particular, "grumble at this" fact until Gandalf warns them that Beorn has stealthily followed them to "keep an eye on the ponies" (*H*, vii, 186). He further cautions them that "Beorn may be [their] friend, but he loves his animals as his children" and he has done them a great "kindness . . . in letting dwarves ride [the ponies] so far and fast" (*H*, vii, 186). Beorn, in his role as part animal and part man, challenges the dwarves' implicit speciesism with deep interest in the wellbeing of his horses. Beorn's attitude speaks towards anti-speciesism. Gandalf's comments characterize Beorn's relationship with his animals as protective and loving rather than

purely exploitive. Beorn refuses to let the ponies be placed in harm's way in Mirkwood simply to make the journey easier for the dwarves, and he rarely works the animals as hard as the dwarves have ridden them. In this manner, Beorn's treatment of the ponies is convincingly anti-speciesist, but Tolkien does not delve deeper into Beorn's relationship with animals. At no point do our characters seem to view horses as individuals with unique qualities and points of view. In contrast, *The Lord of the Rings* builds a much broader treatment of horses with a stronger overall anti-speciesist perspective.

Upon setting off from the Shire, the hobbits depend on several ponies to transport supplies. These creatures are initially given very similar treatment as in *The Hobbit*, described only as "sturdy little beasts of the kind loved by hobbits, not speedy, but good for a long day's work" (*FR*, I, vi, 120). Their value is limited to function; they have no life outside what they can do for the hobbits. But they do not remain nameless commodities for long. Tolkien utilizes Tom Bombadil's affinity for nature to shift the work's presentation of horses. While Tom overtly broadens the hobbits' understanding of the trees in the Old Forest, the change we see in the relationship with the horses is subtler. After Tom rescues the hobbits now lost and naked from the Barrow-wight, he calls to their horses saying:

Hey! now! Come hoy now! Whither do you wander?
Up, down, near or far, here, there or yonder?
Sharp-ears, Wise-nose, Swish-tail and Bumpkin,
White-socks my little lad, and old Fatty Lumpkin!
(*FR*, I, viii, 155).

Tom speaks directly to the animals and calls them individually. Tolkien clarifies that the ponies have no "such names, but they [answer] to the new names that Tom had given them for the rest of their lives" (*FR*, I, viii, 155). The names are, for the most part, not arbitrary monikers but are tied to the animals' identity and experiences as ponies. When the animals return, Tom does more than simply hand over the reins. He explains that the ponies have "more sense (in some ways) than [the] wandering hobbits have—more sense in their noses" (*FR*, I, viii, 156). Tom understands that the ponies have an intelligence that comes with being animals and he explains that the hobbits "must forgive" the ponies if they run from danger "for though their hearts are faithful, to face fear of Barrow-wights is not what they were made for" (*FR*, I, viii, 156). Similar to Beorn's refusal to allow his ponies into harms way for convenience, Tom asks the hobbits to recognize that the ponies have their own self-interest at heart. Up to this point, Tom's anti-speciesist respect for the ponies is a close parallel to Beorn's, but the

two models diverge as we consider the effect they have. Beorn effects little change in the Company's perspective whereas Tom seems to have a much broader impact. Sam especially expresses deep concern and affection for Bill the pony as the story progresses.

Bill the pony joins the travelers out of Bree as a malnourished and mistreated creature purchased from Bill Ferny. Bill the pony forms a bond with Sam and is rejuvenated in Rivendell. Sam insists on taking Bill with the fellowship as the "beast of burden," claiming, "that animal can nearly talk . . . and would talk, if he stayed here much longer. He gave me a look as plain as Mr. Pippin could speak it: if you don't let me come with you, Sam, I'll follow on my own" (*FR*, II, iii, 293). For the first time we see a hobbit advocating for a pony and seeking to understand the pony's point of view. The new concern for animal well-being continues at the Gate of Moria. Gandalf confides in Frodo that though "Bill has been a useful companion and it goes to [Gandalf's] heart to turn him adrift" the pony will not be able to make the passage through the Mines (*FR*, II, iv, 315). Upon hearing the news, Sam is "angry and distressed" insisting, "it'd be nothing short of murder" (*FR*, II, iv, 317). Gandalf comforts Sam but also speaks directly to Bill saying, "You are a wise beast, and have learned much in Rivendell. Make your ways to places where you can find grass, and so come in time to Elrond's house, or wherever you wish to go" (*FR*, II, iv, 317). Throughout this exchange the fellowship recognizes Bill's contribution as a "companion" and seeks to protect the pony. Gandalf engages directly with Bill and encourages him to go wherever he wishes, understanding that the pony has a sentient mind of his own and is capable of making choices. This is a far cry from the dwarves grumbling reluctantly to return their ponies to Beorn, and we can see how Tolkien has evolved his characters to embody more anti-speciesist ideology.

The anti-speciesist depiction of horses continues in *The Lord of the Rings* with the meeting of the horse-men of Rohan, who lend Aragorn, Legolas, and Gimli two horses named Hasufel and Arod. Legolas asks them "to take off saddle and rein" and immediately "to their wonder Arod [is] tame and willing beneath him, moving here and there with but a spoken word: such [is] the elvish way with all good beasts" (*TT*, I, ii, 42). By removing Arod's tack and verbally communicating, Legolas treats the horse as a partner rather than another being to be bent to his will. He even calls the horse "my friend Arod" characterizing their relationship as equal and important (*TT*, I, v, 108). This sense of respect between species is further manifested when Gandalf returns and calls Shadowfax. He too addresses Shadowfax as "my friend," and tells the horse "you are wise and swift and come at need. Far let us ride now together, and part not in this world again!" (*TT*, I, v, 108).

Shadowfax, for his part, is also pleased to see Gandalf as “he [stoops] his proud head and [nuzzles] his great nostrils against the old man’s neck” (*TT*, I, v, 108). Tolkien describes more than just Shadowfax’s majestic beauty, and by showing us the horse’s reaction to Gandalf, Tolkien ensures that we see their mutual affection, which seems most natural. Gandalf goes on to prepare for the group to depart towards Edoras saying, “Hasufel shall bear Aragorn and Arod Legolas. I will set Gimli before me, and by his leave Shadowfax shall bear us both” (*TT*, I, v, 108). There are many key anti-speciesist ideals in this statement. Gandalf defers dignity to Shadowfax, seeking his permission to carry Gimli as well. What is more, Tolkien’s formulation of Gandalf’s statement (“Hasufel shall bear Aragorn . . .”) positions the horses as the active parties bearing their riders. Tolkien builds an anti-speciesist relationship between horse and rider as a partnership of respect that values the horses for their capability and willingness to act as steeds.

The strength of these examples of increasingly anti-speciesist animal representation in *The Lord of the Rings* demonstrates Tolkien’s evolving focus. Middle-earth is also the setting of *The Hobbit*, but the world is fundamentally changed over time by Tolkien’s interest in depicting inner consistent, persuasive animals. Plainly, every animal in *The Lord of the Rings* is not portrayed in an unambiguous anti-speciesist light, nor is that necessarily Tolkien’s goal. To explore this further, I illustrate an example that runs contrary to the general trend towards anti-speciesism.

CONTRAVENING PORTRAYAL OF EAGLES

The manner in which Tolkien develops eagles in the two works serves as an example of inconsistency in the evolution of anti-speciesism. The eagles take on the role of rescuer in both *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, saving characters from certain doom and strategically inspiring hope in desperate battles. Tolkien’s representation of the eagles runs counter to the trend towards emerging anti-speciesism that I have advanced. In *The Hobbit*, the eagles save Bilbo and his company from the wolves, thanks to the Lord of the Eagles’ “curiosity” (*H*, vi, 150). Tolkien explains, “eagles are not kindly birds. Some are cowardly and cruel,” but he makes exception for these eagles because they are “proud and strong and noble-hearted” (*H*, vi, 150). While the idea of birds having the moral qualities we value in people is anthropocentric, Tolkien seems to invest in developing the eagles more deeply than any other animals in this work. The eagles do “not love goblins,” but they usually ignore them (*H*, vi, 150). The Lord of the Eagles’ interest is piqued by the “uproar in the forest” and he takes the opportunity

to attack the goblins and wolves, catch Gandalf mid jump, and rescue the rest of the company (*H*, vi, 149, 152–53). Bilbo is relieved to escape with his life, but is not altogether at ease with the eagles. In their eyrie he worries about being rude, and being eaten like a rabbit, to the point where he accidentally says “storks” instead of “forks” (*H*, vi, 156). In response, “the eagle only [sharpens] his beak on a stone and [trims] his feathers and [takes] no notice” (*H*, vi, 156). This lack of interest in the niceties of polite conversation is more evocative of an animal perspective and is in direct contrast to the spiders’ reaction to Attercop and Tomnoddy. What is more, the eagles have the dominant position in their relationship with the company. Gandalf cannot issue orders, but rather must negotiate the details of the plans to have the eagles carry the company “far away” (*H*, vi, 158). The eagles refuse to “take them anywhere near where men lived” because the people “would shoot at [the eagles] with their great bows of yew . . . for they would think [the eagles] were after their sheep. And at other times they would be right” (*H*, vi, 158). The Lord of the Eagles concludes that they “will not risk [themselves] for dwarves in the southward plains” and Gandalf accepts this word as final (*H*, vi, 159). The eagles are in debt to Gandalf because he “healed their lord from an arrow-wound,” but they do not deem this life debt significant enough to justify serving the company indiscriminately (*H*, vi, 157–59). In this portrayal of the eagles, Tolkien seems to give deeper consideration to their animalistic qualities. These birds may be heroes in the eyes of the company, but to the village people they are opportunistic thieves. The Lord of the Eagles’ blatant acknowledgement of the eagles’ propensity for stealing sheep indicates that neither the eagles nor Tolkien find this reprehensible. The eagles are unapologetically birds of prey, and Tolkien allows them to have a dignified independence; while their interaction with the company is positive, we have the sense that it could have gone differently.

Tolkien’s general progression towards anti-speciesism would suggest that the eagles we meet in *The Lord of the Rings* would be more animalistic and independent than those in *The Hobbit*, but this is not the case. The eagles are first mentioned at the council of Elrond as Gandalf recounts his imprisonment in Orthanc. Again, Tolkien employs the association between eagles and rescue. Before his arrival at Isengard, Gandalf requested that Radagast “send out messages to all the beasts and birds that are [his] friends” telling them to deliver news to Orthanc (*FR*, II, ii, 270–71). Gwaihir the Windlord arrives at Orthanc “unlooked-for” on this mission, but when he finds Gandalf captured “he [bears him] away” (*FR*, II, ii, 275). Gandalf asks the eagle how far he is willing to carry Gandalf on his back. The eagle replies “many

leagues . . . but not to the ends of the earth. I was sent to bear tidings not burdens" (*FR*, II, ii, 275). Tolkien's portrayal of Gwaihir up to this point is similar to that of the eagles in *The Hobbit*. Gwaihir has limits on the distance that he is willing to act as a steed, and Gandalf must compromise within these constraints. Gwaihir is a named character with a developed identity. But he was "sent" by Radagast, thus placing the eagle in a position of obligate servant. This is not the only case of Gwaihir being ordered to serve. At the three hunters' reunion with the resurrected Gandalf, Legolas comments that he has "seen an eagle high and far off . . . above the Eryn Muil" (*TT*, III, v, 98). Gandalf confirms that he "sent [Gwaihir] before [him] to watch the River and gather tidings" (*TT*, III, v, 99). Tolkien does not address whether Gandalf had to negotiate these services from the eagle.

Gwaihir rescues Gandalf a second time after his fight with the Balrog atop the Endless Stairs in "a dizzy eyrie above the mists of the world" (*TT*, III, v, 105). Distance is no longer any consideration. When Gandalf asks that Gwaihir "bear [him] to Lothlórien" Gwaihir responds, "that indeed is the command of the Lady Galadriel who sent me to look for you" (*TT*, III, v, 106). The distance from the "highest peak" to Lórien is great, but Gwaihir accepted Galadriel's charge that he find and deliver Gandalf. Thus, we see devotion within *The Lord of the Rings* of Tolkien's representation of the eagles. Gwaihir's last appearance in the book is at the battle at the Black Gates, where the arrival of the eagles brings hope to the army of the West. After the Ring is destroyed, Gandalf calls Gwaihir to him and asks to be carried into the land of Mordor, saying "thrice shall pay for all, if you are willing" (*RK*, VI, iv, 227). Gwaihir answers, "I would bear you . . . whither you will, even were you made of stone" (*RK*, VI, iv, 228). This exchange is complicated. On one hand, Gandalf does ask for Gwaihir's help reminiscent to his request in *The Hobbit*; but we must also consider Gandalf's implication that Gwaihir owes his service to "pay for all." The eagle is more willing to do Gandalf's bidding than at any other point in Tolkien's work.

This deviation, contrary to Tolkien's general trend towards anti-speciesism in *The Lord of the Rings* speaks to the complexity of Tolkien's project. In a letter addressing the film adaptation in 1958, Tolkien describes the Eagles as "a dangerous 'machine'" used in the text "sparingly, and that is the absolute limit of their credibility or usefulness" (*Letters* 271). Thus Tolkien's Eagles have become literary devices, consciously removed from their animal nature. Seeing this diversion from the trend in light of its literary purpose, and acknowledging additional speciesist depictions occur in the later work, leads to a more general discussion of why the trend remains largely consistent. And thus we

must investigate the meaning that Tolkien's move towards anti-speciesism and this contrary change has in terms of his literary goals.

IMPLICATIONS

Tolkien found pleasure in the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*, in part because its success served as proof "that the 'fairy-story' is really an adult genre" just as he had proposed in his lecture and later essay "On Fairy-Stories" (*Letters* 209). Crucial to Tolkien's sense of story telling is the creation of an "inner consistency of reality" (*OFS* 59). To Tolkien, consistent reality dictated the author carry out all the choices made in building the new world to their fullest extent. The lecture, delivered after the publication of *The Hobbit* and early in the writing process for *The Lord of the Rings*, led scholars Verlyn Flieger and Douglas A. Anderson to claim that the lecture and subsequent essay "came at a critical juncture in Tolkien's creative development" (*OFS* 15). Tolkien's essay began by defining a fairy-story, through which he excludes "beast fables," claiming that "the animal form is only a mask upon a human face" (*OFS* 36). It is noteworthy that he condemned the anthropomorphic mode he largely employed in *The Hobbit*. Tolkien's general evolution towards anti-speciesist representations of animals indicates that independent, developed creatures were part of his efforts to create a believable secondary world. Tolkien succeeded in giving the "setting an historical air or feeling, and (an illusion of?) three dimensions" in no small part by building a world filled with diverse beings subject to the fate of the Ring (*Letters* 188). The arrival at a world in which animals have their own place and importance in fantasy foreshadows the animal liberation social movement, bringing to fruition one of Tolkien's stated purposes of fairy-stories. Tolkien termed the power of fairy-stories to reawaken our interest in the mundane, a "recovery" or "regaining of a clear view" (*OFS* 66). The everyday includes animals, which "are like other realms with which Man has broken off relations, and sees now only from the outside at a distance" (*OFS* 74). The evolution from somewhat simplistic and disparate exploitation of animals in *The Hobbit*, to a sophisticated development of nature as characters in *The Lord of the Rings*, speaks to the developing complexity Tolkien imagined in his own created world.

Furthermore, the extent of Tolkien's organic arrival at anti-speciesist ideology conveys a compelling story about his changing perspective. While Tolkien may have used animals like wolves and spiders as negative forces in his work, in a letter he claims, "I do not dislike spiders particularly, and have no urge to kill them. I usually rescue

those whom I find in the bath!" (*Letters* 217). Thus, we see that his complex treatment of animals in *The Lord of the Rings* has reflective roots in the respect he showed for them in his own life.

Tolkien's creative direction within *The Lord of the Rings* indicates an engagement with the ideas of anti-speciesism during their early emergence. It is logical to arrive at this conclusion when one considers Tolkien's general shift in animal representation from *The Hobbit* to *The Lord of the Rings*. Tolkien is able to touch on such a wide range of primary world issues due to his dedication to creating a consistent secondary world.

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J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Fall of Arthur*: Creation from Literary Criticism

LEONARD NEIDORF

I. INTRODUCTION

For decades prior to its publication in 2013, *The Fall of Arthur* held a privileged position among Tolkien enthusiasts as one of his most eagerly anticipated unpublished works. Knowledge of its existence had been disseminated primarily through Humphrey Carpenter's *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (1977). Because he was granted unrestricted access to Tolkien's private papers, Carpenter was able to read the poem well in advance of the general public and compose a short description that summarized its content, situated its composition in the early 1930s, and identified some of its more striking features. Carpenter stirred up considerable interest in the work with the observation that "it is one of the few pieces of writing in which Tolkien deals explicitly with sexual passion, describing Mordred's unsated lust for Guinever" (168). Carpenter also revealed that Tolkien's Guinevere "is not the tragic heroine beloved by most Arthurian writers" (168) and thereby left little doubt in the minds of readers that *The Fall of Arthur* was an original and provocative work. Outside of Carpenter's biography, there were few references to the poem in primary sources. Tolkien mentioned it only once in his published papers, in a letter from 1955, written more than two decades after work on the poem had begun:

I write alliterative verse with pleasure, though I have published little beyond the fragments in *The Lord of the Rings*, except 'The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth' . . . I still hope to finish a long poem on *The Fall of Arthur* in the same measure. (*Letters* 218–19)

C. S. Lewis expressed the same hope when he alluded to the poem in his essay, "The Alliterative Metre." Recommending contemporary use of this medieval form, Lewis notes that W. H. Auden has already revived it and then writes: "Professor Tolkien will soon, I hope, be ready to publish an alliterative poem" (119). The name of the hoped-for poem is not given, but Walter Hooper, the biographer of Lewis and editor of his posthumous publications, reported that Tolkien told him that *The Fall of Arthur* was the work in question.¹

During Tolkien's lifetime, circulated drafts of the poem generated positive responses from members of his personal literary circle. Lewis

evidently admired the poem, and so did E. V. Gordon, according to Carpenter,² and R. W. Chambers, who wrote a warm letter to Tolkien on 9 December 1934, which registers the enthusiastic reaction that the poem elicited in him. The letter is unpublished, but Christopher Tolkien includes some excerpts from it in the foreword to his edition of *The Fall of Arthur*. Chambers relates that he read *Arthur* on a train from London to Cambridge, and on the return trip “took advantage of an empty compartment to declaim him as he deserves” (10). He proceeds to encourage his correspondent: “It is very great indeed . . . really heroic, quite apart from its value in showing how the *Beowulf* metre can be used in modern English . . . You simply *must* finish it” (10). Reviews of the poem since its publication have been generally positive, though less enthusiastic. Tom Shippey (“Tolkien’s King Arthur”) admires its fluid versification, judging it superior in its use of the alliterative line to the *Silmarillion* and Sigurd poems.³ Verlyn Flieger rates the poem favorably, writing that “as far as it goes it is a very good poem indeed,” while expressing some uncertainty as to whether others will share her opinion: “The tides of time will determine *The Fall of Arthur*’s ranking in the Tolkien canon” (225). Shaun F. D. Hughes takes a position similar to Flieger’s: he is uncertain about the communal reaction, but recommends the poem to Arthurian enthusiasts because “it takes a familiar and beloved story and filters it through Tolkien’s own considerable narrative skills, to give it a fresh and engaging interpretation” (135).⁴

Reviewers invariably regret that Tolkien did not finish *The Fall of Arthur*—“one of the most grievous of his many abandonments,” in Christopher’s view (122)—and that the work ends abruptly after 954 lines spread out over five cantos. Negative responses to the poem appear to reflect dissatisfaction with the fragmentary status of what remains. Christopher A. Snyder, for example, registers a more pessimistic reaction than the other reviewers:

So, after eighty years of waiting, do we have in *The Fall of Arthur* a major contribution to either the Arthurian or the Tolkien corpus? I would argue that, unfortunately, the poem falls just short in both regards. There are glimpses of great power and beauty, but they are not sustained. (136)

If *The Fall of Arthur* has failed to generate much critical discussion in either Arthurian or Tolkienian scholarship, the difficulty of developing coherent interpretations of an incomplete work of literature must bear part of the blame. A further difficulty attending this work is the uncertain nature of what Tolkien aimed to achieve in composing it.

The Fall of Arthur differs from the other posthumously published scholarly fictions in that it is not an asterisk-poem: while *Sellic Spell* is an attempt to reconstruct the folk tale underlying *Beowulf*, and the *Völ-sungakviða* and *Guðrúnarkviða* aim to fill a gap in the Poetic Edda, Tolkien's contribution to Arthurian legend reflects no attempt to recreate something that once existed. *The Fall of Arthur* differs from *The Lord of the Rings* and much of Tolkien's literary output because it is not an instance of "creation from philology," to use the phrase coined in the title of Shippey's seminal 1979 essay; it is, rather, an instance of what might be termed "creation from literary criticism."⁵ That is to say, the conception of the poem, and the innovations it contains, appear to stem from rumination not on linguistic problems, as was customary for Tolkien, but on literary problems. *The Fall of Arthur* can be understood as Tolkien's attempt to rid the Arthurian tradition of aesthetic defects, which, in his view, marred its central works. Accordingly, the present article examines Tolkien's critique of Arthurian literature, then reads the characterological innovations of *The Fall of Arthur* as creative responses to that critique.

II. TOLKIEN ON ARTHURIAN LITERATURE

Although the influence of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse literary tradition is far more pronounced in Tolkien's creative output, the enduring importance of Arthurian legend in his life and work should not be underestimated. As a child, Tolkien read Arthurian stories with pleasure and, as a professor, he went on to produce with E. V. Gordon a landmark edition of one of the greatest medieval Arthurian works, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1925), which he also translated, taught, and studied extensively, even making it the subject of a substantial W. P. Ker memorial lecture delivered at the University of Glasgow (*M&C* 72–108).⁶ Tolkien's seminal lecture to the British Academy on *Beowulf*, "The Monsters and the Critics" (*M&C* 5–48), is his most well known academic work, but it was the edition of *Gawain* that cemented his reputation as a philologist and probably earned him his professorship at Oxford.⁷ Lifelong engagement with Arthurian tradition is evident in the fact that Tolkien still hoped to finish *The Fall of Arthur* in 1955, more than two decades after he began the poem; it is also evident in the subtle, but pervasive, influence of Arthurian legend on elements of his legendarium, which several scholars have identified, ranging from the characterization of Gandalf to the conception of Tol Eressëa and Avallónë.⁸ References to Arthurian literature in his letters, discussed below, reveal that Tolkien had developed firm convictions concerning the aesthetic merits of these works. The enthusiasm of his

childhood waned over the course of his lifetime and he ultimately came to find Arthurian literature dissatisfying.

In a well-known letter to Milton Waldman of the Collins publishing firm, written in 1951, Tolkien expresses his intention to create a genuinely English mythology, a “body of more or less connected legend” that could be dedicated “to England; to my country” (*Letters* 144). He represents his work here as an attempt to fill a longstanding void. Tolkien acknowledges that Arthurian legend might be regarded as the mythology of England, but then explains why he regards it as an inadequate forerunner:

Of course there was and is all the Arthurian world, but powerful as it is, it is imperfectly naturalized, associated with the soil of Britain but not with the English; and does not replace what I felt to be missing. For one thing its ‘faerie’ is too lavish, and fantastical, incoherent and repetitive. For another and more important thing: it is involved in, and explicitly contains the Christian religion. For reasons I will not elaborate, that seems to me fatal. Myth and fairy-story must, as all art, reflect and contain in solution elements of moral and religious truth (or error), but not explicit, not in the known form of the primary ‘real’ world. (*Letters* 144)

This critique of Arthurian legend is informed by the rather elaborate literary theory Tolkien propounded in his essay “On Fairy Stories” (*M&C* 109–61). He maintains there that fantasy literature should involve the creation of a coherent imaginary universe, which he designates “the secondary world,” and this universe must be distinct from the regular world in which we live, which he designates “the primary world.” Successful fantasy literature features a secondary world that is credible on account of its internal consistency and its use of supernatural elements that are realistic according to the principles of this alternative universe. Fantasy literature fails, however, when it presents a secondary world that is incoherent, either because its supernatural elements lack internal justifications or because it is too freely mixed with elements of the primary world. For Tolkien, the problem with much Arthurian literature was evidently that the continuous tradition had absorbed too many disparate ingredients. As the stories of Arthur spread throughout Europe during the course of the Middle Ages, a tradition originating in Celtic mythology and sixth-century history blended with elements of French romance and Christian Apocrypha to produce an unwieldy conglomeration that was hard for authors to handle.⁹ Inheritors of this tradition could hardly avoid creating works

that contain some incoherence. Tolkien wanted to try to fix that, and it will be argued here that he succeeded in doing so in *The Fall of Arthur*.

Tolkien's judgment concerning the aesthetic flaws of Arthurian literature was not the product of a passing mood. It appears, rather, to have been a firmly held conviction, to judge from the casual allusions to this opinion found elsewhere in his writing. In a letter discussing *Farmer Giles of Ham*, a novella sporadically indebted to the medieval Arthurian tradition, Tolkien excuses its occasional anachronisms by reasoning that they are "not really worse than all the medieval treatments of Arthurian matter" (*Letters* 133). The notion that incoherence tends to mar Arthurian literature appears again in the critical evaluation of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* presented in Tolkien and Gordon's edition. The poem is praised there through comparison with the rest of the Arthurian tradition:

This is a story shaped with a sense of narrative unity not often found in Arthurian romance. Most of the Arthurian romances, even the greatest of them, such as the French *Perlesvaus*, or Malory's *Morte Darthur* (which is much better knit than its French originals), are rambling and incoherent. It is a weakness inherited from the older Celtic forms, as we may see in the Welsh *Mabinogion*, stories told with even greater magic of style and even less coherence than the French and English compilations. (x)

For Tolkien, the feature that made *Sir Gawain* an exceptional work was its author's uncharacteristic willingness to shed certain elements of the tradition and emphasize other elements in order to tell a compelling story with a clear, moral vision. While other authors, such as Malory, uncritically include irrelevant material in their works simply because it was in their sources, the *Gawain* poet judiciously *excluded* much inherited material from his narrative: "Instead of the usual multitude of adventures *Sir Gawain* has only two, and they are neatly linked by making the outcome of the beheading game dependent on the result of the temptation" (x). Tolkien's high opinion of the *Gawain* poet is revealing.¹⁰

The judgments registered in Tolkien's remarks concerning the aesthetic defects of Arthurian literature provide an important context for understanding the composition of *The Fall of Arthur*. This poem contains many striking departures from Arthurian tradition, which may appear at first glance to be superfluous innovations introduced at whim. The logic informing these innovations becomes apparent, however, when Tolkien's concern for coherence—and his condemnation

of the incoherence of much Arthurian literature—is borne in mind while reading the poem. The central problem facing authors handling Arthurian material, whether medieval or modern, is the need to make sense of an abundance of conflicting representations of each of the central characters: Arthur, Gawain, Mordred, Guinevere, and Lancelot. For example, Geoffrey of Monmouth's Gawain differs somewhat from the Gawain of Layamon's *Brut* or the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, but the heroic Gawain found in all three of these works in the chronicle tradition differs dramatically from the philandering Gawain depicted in French romances such as *Le Chevalier à l'épée*. Such divergent representations in the sources exist to varying degrees for each of the major figures in the Arthurian world. The question that Tolkien appears to have set before himself when composing *The Fall of Arthur* was the following: if an author makes a series of correct selections from the available materials, modifying all of them when necessary, would it be possible to harmonize the traditions and produce a coherent narrative? The treatment of each of the central characters in *The Fall of Arthur* is read here as part of Tolkien's attempt to elevate the coherence, and hence the credibility, of the Arthurian world.

III. KING ARTHUR

Representations of King Arthur exhibit extreme divergences in the numerous medieval works concerned with this pseudo-historical monarch and his court. In the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* (ca. 1400), the king is depicted as an aggressive imperialist, eager to defend his kingdom and acquire new territories. Yet in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, composed at roughly the same time, the king is a beardless youth, content to remain idle at court while his knight responds to challengers and goes on adventures. In Layamon's *Brut* (ca. 1200), Arthur is a fearless warrior and a merciless enforcer of justice; yet in a wide range of works focusing on the adulterous romance between Lancelot and Guinevere, the king is a cuckold variously portrayed as weak, passive, and sufficiently obtuse to be unaware of an affair known to everyone else at the court. Because the widespread dissemination of Arthurian literature led authors, such as Malory, to be familiar with both portraits of Arthur, the representational divergences came to generate the sort of incoherence that Tolkien critiqued. A choice presented itself to him as he composed *The Fall of Arthur*, and the first lines of the poem indicate which of the several Arthurs he found most credible:

Arthur eastward in arms purposed
his war to wage on the wild marches
over seas sailing to Saxon lands

from the Roman realm ruin defending.
Thus the tides of time to turn backward
And the heathen to humble, his hope urged him
that with harrying ships they should hunt no more
on the shining shores and shallow waters
of South Britain, booty seeking. (I, ll. 1–9)

The lines announce from the outset that this is a poem about the fighting king in his prime, not an idle youth or an exhausted old man. The scene is set in these lines in Roman Britain during the fifth or sixth century. Pagan Germanic tribes, conventionally identified as the Angles and the Saxons, were successfully invading Roman Britain and acquiring more and more territory until one king was able to stop them in their tracks: Arthur. Having repelled the Saxons from his kingdom, Arthur decides to launch a continental attack in the Saxon lands in order to weaken his adversaries and reverse the developments of the previous century. He is represented as an exceptionally heroic figure, who struggles not merely with human invaders, but with time itself: his campaign is intended “to turn backward . . . the tides of time.”

Naturally, with the poem set in this historical context, it would not have been very credible for the king to be represented as a weak or passive figure. The man who was able to halt the invading forces and provide his people with a period of peace so unexpected that it merited him a place in their mythological pantheon must have been an impressive leader, Tolkien appears to have reasoned.¹¹ A sense of Arthur's grandeur is registered in the following passage, which describes his return to Britain, after he is forced to end his continental expedition on account of Mordred's domestic treachery:

War was awakened and woe in Britain.
Thus came Arthur to his own kingdom
in power and majesty proud returning
in Romeril where running slowly
by the shore now weeps a shuddering water. (IV, ll. 163–67)

Mordred has betrayed his uncle's trust and allied himself with Arthur's Saxon and Scottish enemies, but Arthur does not respond to the news by grieving. He returns to his country in triumphant splendor, riding a wave of domestic and foreign victories, confident in his ability to obtain yet another victory by defeating Mordred's forces. When the news of Mordred's betrayal reaches Arthur, he responds stoically, interpreting the development impersonally as a turning of the wheel of fortune:

A while then Arthur white with anger
there sat in silence. Thus sudden fortune
had turned and betrayed him. In twenty battles
he had fought and conquered; his foes were scattered,
neath his hand were humbled heathen chieftains.
Now from hope's summit falling headlong
his heart foreboded that his house was doomed
the ancient world to its end falling,
and the tides of time turned against him. (I, ll. 171–79)

Tolkien invests his Arthur with an emotional depth and intelligence not always granted to the king. This Arthur is imbued with an element of Germanic heroism: just as Beowulf proceeds to fight the dragon, even though he knows in his heart that doom is imminent, Arthur continues to fight despite his foreboding sense that the world as he knows it is coming to an end. A judgment concerning the incoherence of the Arthurian tradition is registered in Tolkien's representation of the king: the Arthur of chronicle tradition (Geoffrey of Monmouth, Layamon's *Brut*, *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, etc.) is consonant with the historical setting of his life, while the Arthur of romance tradition (*Le Mort Artu*, *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, etc.) does not belong in the sixth-century world.¹² Tolkien takes the Arthur of the chronicle tradition and invests him with additional qualities appropriate to a sixth-century hero, like Beowulf, in order to present readers with a more convincing picture of the legendary king.

IV. GAWAIN

The chronicle and romance traditions also diverge widely in their treatment of Gawain. For Geoffrey of Monmouth and the authors drawing primarily from his wellsprings, Gawain is Arthur's loyal nephew, in contrast to Mordred, and he is a rather simple warrior figure, whose prominence derives from his status as Arthur's bravest and greatest knight, a position not yet occupied by Lancelot. In the French romance tradition, however, Gawain acquires an array of contradictory characteristics, which often result in a figure who bears little resemblance to the aggressive hero found in, say, the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*.¹³ In these French works, as well as in English works influenced by them, Gawain is associated with questions of courtly ethics and the treatment of ladies, emerging from his various trials as either a paragon of chastity or an unrepentant libertine. In the works comprising the French Vulgate cycle, moreover, Gawain is a proud and materialistic knight, whose flawed character is displayed in his failure to obtain the Grail and his excessive anger towards Lancelot; it is worth

noting that this is the tradition from which Alfred, Lord Tennyson, derived the Gawain he constructed in the *Idylls of the King*. Tolkien took a very different approach from that of his nineteenth-century forerunner. Once again, he peeled back the accumulated layers of tradition to return us to a figure that most closely resembles the Gawain of the chronicles:

Greatest was Gawain whose glory waxed
as times darkened, true and dauntless,
among knights peerless ever anew proven,
defence and fortress of a falling world.
As in last sortie from leaguered city
so Gawain led them. As a glad trumpet
his voice was ringing in the van of Arthur;
as a burning brand his blade wielded
before the foremost flashed as lightning. (I, ll. 52–60)

Tolkien's Gawain does not derive entirely from the chronicle tradition, however. The association with ethics developed in the romance tradition is maintained, but it is taken in a different direction. This Gawain is no mere warrior; as the "defence and fortress of a falling world," he is the embodiment of the heroic ideals that Arthur stands for, of loyalty and resistance against the tides of time.

The conception of Gawain as both prominent warrior and staunch philosopher of martial values is elaborated in a powerful speech that he delivers in order to inspire Arthur:

Here free unfaded is the flower of time
that men shall remember through the mist of years
as a golden summer in the grey winter.
And Gawain hast thou. May God keep us
in hope allied, heart united,
as the kindred blood in our bodies courseth,
Arthur and Gawain! Evil greater
hath fled aforetime that we faced together. (I, ll. 209–15)

This Gawain is no simple fighting man, but a prescient figure, who recognizes that memory of the deeds of Arthur's court will be preserved in history and legend. He shares this awareness with Arthur to encourage him to take heart and remain committed to a path that may prove fatal, presenting the immortality offered in legend as a consolation for the mortal consequences that may, and indeed do, result from fighting against tremendous odds with an understaffed (because lacking Lancelot) force. Just as Tolkien's Arthur appears somewhat indebted to medieval Germanic heroic poetry, his Gawain also appears

to have been refashioned in the light of that literature. The emphasis on posthumous reputation in the passage cited above recalls a speech from *Beowulf*, which the eponymous hero delivers to Hrothgar (ll. 1384–96), yet the clearest sign of Germanic influence is Gawain's use of a sword made by magical smiths, who adorned it with runes:

Now grim Galuth Gawain brandished
his sword renowned —smiths enchanted
ere Rome was built with runes marked it
and its steel tempered strong and deadly—
forth leapt he as fire a flame wielding. (IV, ll. 197–201)

The presence of such a weapon naturally associates Gawain with Beowulf and other Germanic heroes who wield special swords wrought by Weland. It is interesting that Tolkien should introduce this supernatural element into the narrative, considering his view that the *faërie* of the Arthurian world is “too lavish, and fantastical, incoherent and repetitive.”¹⁴ Perhaps he felt that the *faërie* of Germanic legend was more appropriate to a heroic poem about sixth-century combat than all of the *faërie* typically found in the Arthurian world. On the whole, *The Fall of Arthur* contains much less *faërie* than other Arthurian works, though there is one other important addition of a supernatural element, discussed below. The poem's Gawain is drawn from the chronicles, shorn of improbable features developed in romance, and elevated into an even more heroic and idealistic figure. This Gawain fits well with the poem's Arthur and contributes to a coherent realization of the Arthurian world.

V. MORDRED

The character of Mordred presented Tolkien with a different set of challenges. With the exception of certain Welsh works, medieval sources consistently represent Mordred as a malevolent and treacherous figure. The unusual stability concerning this basic feature of his character would have simplified Tolkien's work somewhat. Divergences in the sources arose, however, when medieval authors attempted to explain the psychological impulses behind Mordred's treachery. What could motivate a man to betray his uncle's trust and seize both his kingdom and his queen? Some authors, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, provided little in the way of explanation, while others attributed Mordred's actions to ambition, greed, or desire for Guinevere, which is reciprocated by the queen in some works and resisted in others. Yet other authors represent Mordred as a preternaturally evil figure,

the product of an incestuous union between Arthur and his sister; for adherents to this tradition, Mordred's betrayal of his uncle and incestuous relationship with his uncle's wife can be presented as cosmic punishment for the sin that Arthur inadvertently committed when Mordred was conceived.¹⁵ Tolkien evidently found the whole tradition insufficiently credible. He discards the element of incestuous birth, along with much else, and identifies lust as the driving force behind Mordred's treachery:

Mordred in secret mirthless watched them
Betwixt hate and envy, hope and torment.
Thus was bred the evil, and the black shadow
O'er the courts of Arthur as a cloud growing
Dimmed the daylight darkling slowly. (III, ll. 63–7)

Tolkien's Mordred is neither supernaturally nor inherently evil. It is lust for Guinevere, inflamed through clandestine observation of Lancelot and Guinevere's adulterous relationship, which generates the evil in Mordred. Tolkien's humane and psychologically plausible representation of Mordred reflects a judgment that the elements of *faërie* introduced to explain this character's actions are incoherent (why should Arthur commit incest?) and, more importantly, superfluous. Lust alone is a sufficiently powerful force to inspire his deeds. Tolkien describes its effects on Mordred's mind vividly: "there black phantoms/ of desire unsated and savage fury/ in his brain had brooded till bleak morning" (II, ll. 39–41). There is no need for supernatural evil when there are forces within man capable of generating it naturally.

In contrast to much medieval treatment of this character, Tolkien's Mordred is not a one-dimensional villain. His mind is rattled not only by lust, but also by delusions of grandeur; he sees himself as a heroic figure, whose bold actions stem from a perceptive apprehension of reality and the courage to act accordingly. When Guinevere resists his advances, Mordred endeavors to persuade her by explaining that the tides of time are on his side:

Now never again from northern wars
shall Arthur enter this island realm,
nor Lancelot du Lake love remembering
to thy tryst return! Time is changing;
the West waning, a wind rising
in the waxing East. The world falters.
New tides are running in the narrow waters.

False or faithful, only fearless man
shall ride the rapids from ruin snatching
power and glory. (II, ll. 144–53)

The speech indicates that Mordred thinks of himself as the “fearless man” who will succeed because his actions are in line with the progress of history. As we have seen in previous passages, an idea that pervades *The Fall of Arthur* is that the world, as the characters know it, is coming to an end. The West is falling and the East is rising. In more concrete terms, Roman Britain, a western outpost of Christianity and civilization, is slowly being taken over by pagan Germanic tribes from the European continent, east of Britain. Gawain and Arthur fight valiantly against the tide of history, whereas Mordred, like Saruman, thinks of himself as moving with the tide. Yet Mordred is not entirely the free man he thinks himself to be, for his ambition exists in the service of his lust for Guinevere, as the following passages makes clear:

He heard nor heeded: his heart returned
to its long thralldom lust-tormented,
to Guinever the golden with gleaming limbs,
as fair and fell as fay-woman
in the world walking for the woe of men
no tear shedding. Towers might he conquer,
and thrones o'erthrow yet the thought quench not.
(II, ll. 25–31)

Going a step further than the medieval sources, Tolkien indicates here that what drives Mordred to action is not the desire to possess a kingdom, but the desire to possess its queen. This is an innovative feature of *The Fall of Arthur*, since medieval authors did not distinguish between the two motives and were generally content to regard Mordred's actions as the straightforward manifestations of his inherent depravity. The subordination of one motive to the other is yet another case of Tolkien endeavoring to improve the coherence and credibility of Arthurian legend. His Mordred is not evil for no reason; he is driven to treachery because of his inability to constrain the effect that Guinevere has on him. Tolkien's Guinevere, of course, is not the harmless, sympathetic queen of Arthurian tradition. She is here said to be “fair and fell as fay woman/ in the world walking for the woe of man”—a description that recurs later on in the poem.

VI. GUINEVERE AND LANCELOT

Perhaps the most innovative feature of *The Fall of Arthur* is its representation of Guinevere as an enchantress, compared to a fay woman,

who is on the whole an unsympathetic character, exhibiting a mixture of capriciousness and selfishness. This is a rather stark departure from the medieval Arthurian tradition, where there is rarely a suggestion that Guinevere possesses malevolent supernatural powers, and where she also tends to be regarded positively, even though she betrays Arthur and enters into an adulterous relationship with Lancelot. Tennyson preceded Tolkien in condemning Guinevere as the character most responsible for the demise of the Round Table,¹⁶ but the implication that Guinevere has supernatural powers is an innovation limited to *The Fall of Arthur*.¹⁷ What led Tolkien to make this considerable departure from tradition? Some might interpret it as an arbitrary expression of misogynistic prejudice, but I would maintain that his treatment of Guinevere is not lightly motivated.¹⁸ It is, rather, the logical consequence of Tolkien's programmatic effort to improve the coherence of the Arthurian world. The affair between Lancelot and Guinevere introduced many inconsistencies into Arthurian literature, and Tolkien solved the problems it created by making Guinevere a fay woman, as she is called again in the following passage, which describes her power over the helpless Lancelot:

Dear she loved him
with love unyielding, lady ruthless,
fair as fay-woman and fell-minded
in the world walking for the woe of men.
Fate sent her forth. Fair she deemed him
beyond gold and silver to her grasping lying.
Silver and golden, as the sun at morning
her smile dazzled, and her sudden weeping
with tears softened, tender poison
steel well-tempered. Strong oaths they broke. (III, ll. 53–62)

The final sentence—"strong oaths they broke"—clarifies Tolkien's reasons for depicting Guinevere in this light. Lancelot, by all accounts, is a preeminently virtuous knight, who goes to outrageous lengths to keep his word and fight opponents at a disadvantage. Can we really believe that love alone is able to drive a knight with these characteristics to betray his king willingly? For twelfth-century authors who propagated the cult of courtly love, the story was evidently plausible and admirable: of course the queen should love the worthiest knight, even if he is not her husband, and it is only right for him to respond in kind; love is an ennobling phenomenon, even if it leads to betrayal, and its practitioners can be regarded favorably, even if their actions have disastrous consequences. Tolkien disagreed. In the heroic world of Arthurian narrative, loyalty must be the highest virtue: loyal characters,

like Gawain, are to be admired, whereas disloyal characters, like Mordred, are to be loathed. In his moral vision, it is not possible for Lancelot to betray Arthur willingly and remain a hero of the story. An element of *faërie* was needed to explain this inconsistency.¹⁹

Tolkien turns the story of Lancelot and Guinevere into a story of a man's corruption and redemption. Lancelot becomes a pawn of the fay woman; under her spell, he is even driven to kill many good knights, his former friends, in order to rescue Guinevere from the stake when their affair is discovered. He brings Guinevere back to his kingdom in Benwick, but he is gradually released from her spell, as the queen grows bored of her less-than-splendid life in exile. Lancelot comes to recognize the wrongs he committed and returns the queen to Arthur:

He mourned too late
in ruth for the rending of the Round Table.
His pride he repented, his prowess cursing
that friends had felled, faith had broken.
For the love longing of his lord Arthur
he would heal yet honour with his heart's anguish,
and the queen restore, by the king's mercy
her estate reestablish. (III, ll. 88–95)

Time is the source of tragedy here; redemption comes too late. When he rescued Guinevere, Lancelot slew several kinsmen of Gawain and earned his unwavering enmity, with the result that it is now impossible for amends to be made between Arthur and Lancelot. Internally, both men would like to be reconciled: Lancelot would like to be invited back to the Round Table, and Arthur would like to have Lancelot's help against Mordred and the Saxons. But what has been done cannot be undone. Yet something changes within Lancelot, and the passage of time brings an end to their impasse:

There Lancelot, low and softly
to himself singing, the sun greeted,
life from darkness lifted shining
in the dome of heaven by death exalted.
Ever times would change and tides alter,
and o'er hills of morning hope come striding
to awake the weary, while the world lasted. (III, ll. 214–20)

Tolkien here masterfully weaves the story of Lancelot's redemption together with the theme of the tides of time. The world is shifting and barbarians are on the rise, but the world is also changing for good within the heart of one man. Lancelot is increasingly feeling himself to be released from Guinevere's spell. His volition is returning and the

heroic perspective that earned him his honor and respect in the world is taking hold again in his mind; he resolves to come to Arthur's aid uninvited.²⁰ By introducing this heroic dimension into the story of Lancelot and Guinevere, which belongs entirely to the romance tradition, Tolkien manages to make it coherent with material drawn predominantly from the chronicle tradition. No longer does their tale involve the valorization of courtly love or the exculpation of adulterous romance; it is now of a piece with a heroic narrative about good and evil, loyalty and betrayal, and the opportunism and resistance displayed as a world comes to its end.

VII. CONCLUSION

The status of the group of posthumously published works that might be termed "Tolkien's scholarly fictions"—such as *Sellic Spell*, *The Story of Kullervo*, and *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*—within the canon of his creative works remains as uncertain now as it was when Flieger, Hughes, and Snyder registered this sentiment in their reviews of *The Fall of Arthur*. In these works, Tolkien engages creatively with the medieval literatures he taught routinely first at the University of Leeds and then at Oxford. It is therefore fair if contemporary readers hesitate before approaching Tolkien's scholarly fictions and ask themselves: are these the pedantic amusements of a quixotic professor or are these the serious literary creations of the genius behind *The Lord of the Rings*? What was he trying to achieve by writing them? Were they intended to produce a satisfying literary experience for the general reader, or were these creative displays of erudition designed for the mere entertainment of dons? The present article has aimed to address such questions by hypothesizing about what Tolkien intended to achieve when composing *The Fall of Arthur* and demonstrating the particular ways in which his intentions were realized. Tolkien lamented the incoherence of Arthurian literature, and his ambition was to harmonize tradition and produce a coherent rendering of the secondary world of Arthurian legend. This ambition, realized with dramatic success in his reinterpretation of the central characters, reflects a desire to make Arthurian legend accessible and credible to modern readers. The poem's radical departures from medieval tradition, sacrificing authority on the altar of aesthetics, suggest that it was written not for a purely academic audience, but for a general readership.

The Fall of Arthur is an archaizing poem, which situates its narrative more firmly in a sixth-century setting than much Arthurian literature, where this austere period tends to be freely conflated with the opulent culture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the same time, it is

fair to regard the poem as a modernization of Arthurian legend, following terms that Tolkien laid out in his interview with Henry Resnick:

You asked me what books move me; mostly mythology moves me and also upsets me because most mythology is distasteful to people. But it seems to me that we miss something by not having a mythology which we can bring up to our own grade of assessment. That's what I always wanted to do—mythological things like Greek or Norse myths; I tried to improve on them and modernize them—to modernize them is to make them credible. (40)

Implicit in the phrase “our own grade of assessment” is the notion that standards of credibility change over time. Stories that were sufficiently credible in the ancient and medieval world require alteration to remain credible at the present moment. The relationship Tolkien perceived between coherence and credibility, propounded at length in “On Fairy-stories,” indicated to him what must be done to the Arthurian story to give it power over twentieth-century readers. The mess of tradition had to be cleaned up. Motives needed to be clarified, characterization needed to be smoothed out, and moral lessons needed to be more clearly drawn. *The Fall of Arthur* is no mere academic exercise, but the promising beginning of an attempt to write an epic that would provide twentieth-century readers with a mythology they could believe in. That Tolkien should have eventually felt insufficiently motivated to finish the poem makes sense, since he must have realized in the years when the poem lay dormant that he could provide this mythology more effectively with works drawing on the legendarium of his own devising.

NOTES

1. See C.S. Lewis, *Selected Literary Essays*, ed. Walter Hooper (15, n. 2); for further context on the composition of alliterative poetry in Tolkien and Lewis's circles, see Phelpstead.
2. Carpenter writes that the poem was “read and approved by E. V. Gordon” (168), presumably deriving this knowledge from papers that are unavailable to the public. Scull and Hammond include a very brief account of the poem (*C&G* 1:152) and R. W. Chambers' letter concerning it (*C&G* 1:176).
3. The notion that Tolkien's skill in the composition of modern English alliterative poetry improved over time is articulated more

fully by Shippey in his essay on "Tolkien's Development as a Writer of Alliterative Poetry." For a closer look at the meter of *The Fall of Arthur* and its relation to Tolkien's other works of alliterative poetry, see Goering.

4. Dimitra Fimi, in her review, generally refrains from judging the poem's merits, though she refers to it as "Tolkien's powerful attempt to retell one of the most popular stories of Western culture in an unusual (for modern sensibilities) verse form" (82).
5. The promise of Shippey's "Creation from Philology" essay is realized in his monographs, *The Road to Middle-earth* and *J.R.R. Tolkien: Author of the Century*, where this approach is richly developed and extended. For an overview of Tolkien's philological scholarship, see Drout.
6. Tolkien's childhood experience with Arthurian legend is recalled in "On Fairy Stories": "I had very little desire to look for buried treasure or fight pirates, and *Treasure Island* left me cool. Red Indians were better: there were bows and arrows (I had and have a wholly unsatisfied desire to shoot well with a bow), and strange languages, and glimpses of an archaic mode of life, and, above all, forests in such stories. But the land of Merlin and Arthur was better than these, and best of all the nameless North of Sigurd of the Volsungs, and the prince of all dragons. Such lands were pre-eminently desirable" (*M&C* 134–35).
7. As Shippey writes: "One may well think that it was this edition which clinched Tolkien's election to the Chair of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford the year it was published. At that point, in 1925, Tolkien, rather than his former tutor Kenneth Sisam, appeared to be the up-and-coming young man of English philological studies" ("Tolkien as Editor," 42).
8. For penetrating overviews, see Flieger ("Tolkien and the Matter of Britain") and Scull and Hammond ("Arthur and the Matter of Britain," *C&G* 2:56–60). Other useful introductions include the encyclopedic entries of Flieger ("Arthurian Romance") and Seaman ("Arthurian Literature"). For individual studies of interest, see Doughan; Miller; and Pascual and Segura.
9. A passage from "On Fairy Stories" sheds some light on how Tolkien understood the development of Arthurian legend: "It seems fairly plain that Arthur, once historical (but perhaps as such not of great importance), was also put into the Pot. There he boiled for a long time, together with many other older figures and devices, of

mythology and Faërie, and even some other stray bones of history (such as Alfred's defence against the Danes), until he emerged as a King of Faërie" (*M&C* 126). It is significant that this summary of the making of Arthurian legend highlights the disparate nature of its constituent elements.

10. Tolkien, it should be noted, has not been alone in regarding works of Arthurian literature as defectively incoherent on account of their disparate elements and extensive transmission. Loomis, for instance, frequently explains problems in the work of twelfth and thirteenth-century Arthurian authors as the consequences of their misunderstanding of Welsh and Irish material that had been erroneously transmitted over time. On incoherence in the work of Chrétien de Troyes, Loomis writes: "The blame rests not on his shoulders, but on the inescapable confusions and misunderstandings which a tradition with such a history produced in the course of its long wanderings" (65). On the unevenness of Malory's work, and its derivation from his disparate sources, see Pearsall (89).
11. For the notion that Arthurian legend originates in the veneration of a historical hero, responsible for the cessation of Saxon incursions, and his subsequent elevation into the pantheon of Celtic deities, see, for example, Loomis (13–22). It is interesting to note that Tolkien is thanked at length in an important work arguing for the historicity of Arthur: see Collingwood and Myres, whose *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1936) was written at around the same time Tolkien was writing *The Fall of Arthur*. In his preface, Collingwood writes: "My colleague J.R.R. Tolkien has helped me untiringly with problems of Celtic philology" (vii). His volume concludes with the statement that of the propagators of Roman civilization, "Arthur was the last, and the story of Roman Britain ends with him" (324). I thank the outside reader for *Tolkien Studies* for bringing this reference to my attention.
12. For clear expositions of the distinction between the chronicle tradition and the romance tradition, see Benson (*King Arthur's Death*, xvi–xviii) and Armstrong.
13. On the French treatment of the Gawain figure, see Benson (*Art and Tradition*, 37–55, 95–109) and Putter.
14. For insight into Tolkien's conception of *faërie*, see Flieger (*A Question of Time*).
15. For a lucid analysis of the complex and conflicting treatment of Mordred in medieval sources, see Weiss.

16. On Tennyson's treatment of Guinevere, see Fries and Rosenberg; for alternative nineteenth-century reinterpretations of the queen, see Harrison.
17. There are some exceptions to this generalization. In the twelfth-century *De ortu Waluani nepotis Arturi*, Guinevere is described as a sorceress: "Queen Gwendoloena was indeed the most beautiful of all women, but she was initiated into sorcery, so that often from her divination she would read the future" (*Erat quidem Gwendoloena regina cunctarum feminarum pulcherrima, sed ueneficiis imbuta ut multociens ex suis sortilegiis communicaretur futura*); see Day (108–9). It should be noted, however, that her supernatural powers here have nothing to do with the seduction of Lancelot, who does not appear in this work at all, but instead figure into a short episode concerning the first meeting of Arthur and Gawain. The *De ortu Waluani*, accordingly, provides little in the way of precedent for Tolkien's representation of Guinevere. Of greater potential relevance is Hoffman's observation that Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* contains "elusive, faintly visible, traces of Guenevere's power to enchant" (32); these vague hints of magic are nevertheless part of a generally sympathetic portrayal of the queen. Furthermore, negative attitudes toward Guinevere are expressed in Layamon's *Brut* and the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* (see Ruud for examples), but their expression takes the form of brief condemnations, with the result that these works also provide little precedent for Tolkien's treatment of the queen. For an overview of representations of Guinevere in medieval literature, see Samples.
18. On the controverted representation of women in Tolkien's works, see Chance and Donovan.
19. It might be argued that phrases such as "fair and fell as fay-woman" are intended to give Guinevere the aura of an enchantress rather than indicate that she actually is one. Two passages mitigate against such an interpretation: first, the description of Guinevere's eyes as "grey," "glass-clear and chill" (II, ll. 118–19) suggest an otherworldly appearance; second, a speech from Ivor, the servant of Mordred, states in no uncertain terms that Guinevere is "the fay-woman!" whose father, Leodegrance, was a "lord enchanted" (IV, ll. 69, 71).
20. Draft materials pertaining to *The Fall of Arthur*, cited by Christopher Tolkien in his edition of the poem, include various sketches of its plot, which indicate how the story of Lancelot's redemption might have been developed, if the poem were completed. The

following summary was scribbled hastily on a piece of paper in Tolkien's box of papers connected with *The Fall of Arthur*: "Lancelot came too late hearing of Camlan, and meets Guinevere, but his lord loving all his love went to him. His love for Guinevere had no more power. In [??pain] they parted cold and griefless . . . Lancelot parts from Guinevere and sets sail for Benwick but turns west and follows after Arthur. And never returns from the sea. Whether he found him in Avalon and will return no one knows" (136–37).

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Visualizing the Word: Tolkien as Artist and Writer

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J.R.R. Tolkien was not only a writer but also a visual artist. Early assessments by Priscilla Tolkien and John Ellison outlined some of the distinctive features of Tolkien's artwork,¹ which has now been made more widely available to readers and viewers in three collections by Wayne Hammond and Christina Scull: *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist & Illustrator* provides an overview of his lifelong activities in drawing, painting, calligraphy, and design, and *The Art of The Hobbit* and *The Art of The Lord of the Rings* allow a glimpse into the drafting of both of those manuscripts. These volumes, largely descriptive and biographical, provide the groundwork for further studies of Tolkien's art and his influences. Michael Organ, for example, discusses Japonisme as a source for Tolkien's *Hobbit* dust jacket design and for the imagery of mountains, dragons, and waves in his writing. Mary Podles turns to fairy-tale illustrators and Art Nouveau style as sources of ideas for Tolkien's art and writing; and Jonathan Jones comments on the influence of Viking design, shared by modern artist Nicholas Roerich, Tolkien's "artistic cousin." Nancy-Lou Patterson is an early commentator who suggests, like many others after her, that William Morris was influential in Tolkien's artwork; in fact, we now have evidence that Tolkien owned Morris's *Some Hints on Pattern Designing* ("Book"). All of these critics make a strong case for the importance of Tolkien's "encounters with art and imagery" (Organ 117), but their focus is on the influence of other artists and artistic movements on Tolkien's art and writing. We propose to turn our attention to Tolkien's own practice and knowledge of visual art in order to examine how it is an integral part of his writing craft, his creativity, and his ideas. We look at four main ways in which the visual image and the written word merge in Tolkien's creative work. First, we examine how his visual practice aids in the drafting of his stories. Second, we look at how it influences him on a stylistic level in his descriptive prose choices—our focus is on landscapes in *The Lord of the Rings* for an analysis of these first two elements.² Third, and more generally, we find that Tolkien's visual imagination and skill combine with writing in inventive ways, as in his alphabets, his calligraphy, and his monogram. Fourth, we explore how Tolkien's artistic practice influences his theories about fantasy and illustration. We

contend that Tolkien's art and his visual imagination should be considered an essential part of his writing and thinking.

The first place to look for the importance of Tolkien's visual practice in his writing is in his composition process, as illustrated in drawings and texts in the Hammond and Scull books and in *The History of Middle-earth*. Here, we can see a recursive interplay between visual and verbal drafting, frequently used as a means of imagining the fictional territory into which Tolkien is moving his characters. In their chapter on *The Lord of the Rings in Artist & Illustrator*, Hammond and Scull discuss how drawings, diagrams, and maps play an important role in the conception and revision of numerous places in Middle-earth, such as the gate to Moria, Helm's Deep, Orthanc, Minas Tirith, and Cirith Ungol (*Artist* 153–85). For example, the approach to Shelob's Lair and then the way over the pass to the Tower of Cirith Ungol required several diagrams and sketches before Tolkien could clearly see his way to writing the final version of the story. Although Christopher Tolkien published various sketches and diagrams of the geography and architecture of this area (*WR* 108, 114, 201, 204, 225; *Sauron* 19), these and other drawings are much more clearly reproduced in Hammond and Scull (*Artist* figs. 171–74; *The Art of The Lord of the Rings* [henceforth *ALR*] figs. 92–101; figs. 139–40). Drawings such as “Shelob's Lair” (*Artist* fig. 171; *ALR* fig. 93) or “Untitled (Tower of Kirith Ungol)” (*Artist* fig. 174; *ALR* fig. 139), illustrate the importance of the visual in drafting the verbal text. As Curtis L. Carter points out, “Word and image are complementary devices in constructing the worlds of Tolkien” (11).

A good example of the integration of word and image can be found in the drawing of the Tower of Cirith Ungol (still spelled “Kirith” at this stage in the writing) in Marquette Tolkien MS 3/8/26:3a (*Artist* fig. 174; *ALR* fig. 139). On this page, Tolkien first wrote in pencil and then, as he often did, overwrote in pen—here with blue ink—so that the penciled text is almost entirely illegible. Although Hammond and Scull identified the draft as written in pencil and blue pencil in *Artist & Illustrator*, our examination of the manuscript page itself and a close-up of a digital scan convince us that the texture and flow of color in the writing on the page was made by ink. Our view corroborates Christopher Tolkien's description in *Sauron Defeated* that the page was overwritten in ink (18), and in their latest book, *The Art of The Lord of the Rings*, Hammond and Scull agree with Christopher Tolkien's description (*ALR* 177).

The pencil sketch of the Tower begins in the margins and intrudes almost half-way into the page. The placement of the drawing, with the writing around it, indicates that the writing came after the drawing. It is extremely unlikely that Tolkien would have written around such a

large, invisible margin with the thought of adding a picture later. It is far more likely that Tolkien stopped his writing if not at the top of the page, then at least about four lines from the top, where the picture begins to intrude from the margins. Even more likely is that the penciled text, which came first, stopped at approximately the same point or before; the drawing was then made; and afterwards the penciled text continued around the drawing. Parts of the penciled text are slightly visible underneath the inked text, but we could see no evidence that the penciled text might have originally covered the entire page and then was partially erased to make way for the drawing (which would have required a large invisible margin created through erasures just the right size to accommodate the sketch). Our conclusion, therefore, is that the original penciled text made way for the drawing, and then the inked text overwrote the penciled one. In other words, the verbal description paused while a visual description in the form of the sketch was worked out before the verbal description was taken up again.

It seems that Tolkien not only had to see this landscape in his mind's eye, he had to see it with his physical eye. Like writers who write to discover, Tolkien also draws to discover. Previous drawings of the Tower showed only its peak on the other side of the mountain pass. Now Tolkien has to work out what it is that Sam sees when he crosses the pass of Cirith Ungol. The draft states: "And in that dreadful light Sam stood aghast; for now he could see the Tower of Kirith Ungol in all its strength" (*Sauron* 18). We imagine that Sam's first view of the Tower is enabled by Tolkien's own first vision of it sketched out on paper. The textual draft presents Sam's sudden understanding of what he has come upon: "With a sudden shock of perception Sam realized that this stronghold had been built not to keep people out of Mordor, but to keep them in!" (*Sauron* 20). Perhaps this was also a realization that hit Tolkien once he had drawn the Tower, with its back against the mountain and its windows looking out on Mordor. The draft description of Sam making his way down a narrow, corkscrewing path (*Sauron* 20) aptly describes the winding appearance of the path beside the Tower in the sketch. The position of the door and path leading out of the Tower is further revised in an emendation of the sketch by being overwritten in blue ink, which suggests that even as Tolkien was rewriting the second, inked text, he was revising his visual image as he went along, likely nudging the door over a bit in his emended sketch to represent the developing written draft which positions the gate to the south-east of the Tower.

Further details on the manuscript page, previously cut off in reproductions such as those in *Artist and Illustrator* and *Sauron Defeated* but now included in Hammond and Scull's *Art of The Lord of the Rings*

(fig. 139), include Tolkien's calculations for the size of each tier of the Tower: at the bottom of the page he writes out in pencil two lines, each with a series of four numbers: 70— 60— 50— 40 and then 80— 70— 60— 40. In ink, he then writes 100 ft. 75 ft 80 ft (and possibly below that, 19 or 14?). It seems that throughout the writing and sketching process, Tolkien was continually figuring out the dimensions of the Tower and its tiers. Even in the inked text, he writes that the Tower has levels diminishing in size as they go up, and then he writes this bracketed note: “[The bottom one was probably projected some 50 yards from the cliff, the next 40, the next 30, the top 20—and on the top [*or tip*] of it was the turret-tower. Their heights were 50 ft., 40 ft., 30 ft., 20?” (*Sauron* 20); Christopher Tolkien records two further drafts that play with the specific dimensions of the tiers (*Sauron* 22, 26). Although these are precise calculations, in the final published text Tolkien settles on simply describing the lowest tier as being two hundred feet below Sam as he comes over the pass. At another point in the final text, Sam looks up to see if he can climb the walls rather than enter through the front gate, but he realizes that the stone rises thirty feet above him. It seems, therefore, that in the drafting process Tolkien was visualizing the possible dimensions of the Tower in the landscape, but once he had done that through his sketches and notes and he understood where his character was going, he only needed a few specific details to convey a sense of the scale of the place in his writing. The sketch serves as a kind of map for Tolkien's characters and what they will experience, both outside and inside the Tower. Sam passes through doors, runs up stairs, encounters Orcs, looks through windows—in other words, Tolkien imaginatively enters the Tower with his character. Guided by the sketch of the outside, he can infer what is inside. Even then, further alterations occur as the writing proceeds. For example, once Sam is near the top of the Tower, Tolkien revises its size and shape, with a quick sketch in the margin as a guide (*ALR* fig. 140).

Sketches such as the Tower of Kirith Ungol are visual aids for Tolkien in the process of composition, enabling him to imagine his characters in a particular place or landscape, and although these sketches can provide elements for his descriptions of these places, his characteristic prose choices derive from a different aspect of his artistic practice. Tolkien, like Ramer in *The Notion Club Papers*, is a “vivid visualizer” (*Sauron* 176); the difference between them, however, is that Tolkien is also skilled in finding words to describe what he sees in his visualizations, and *how* he sees is determined by his artistic eye and technical knowledge.

Brian Rosebury provides the starting point for our analysis of the visual influence in Tolkien's prose style when he states that “Tolkien

describes like a painter” (84). In his book *Tolkien: A Cultural Phenomenon*, Rosebury offers a detailed stylistic analysis of Tolkien’s major work, commenting on its “meticulously depicted expansiveness” (13) in pacing, sensory details, and linguistic variety. Rosebury does invaluable service by rejecting mainly older, unfounded opinions that Tolkien’s style is stilted and archaic by actually examining the text and providing full analyses of a number of passages. When he looks at a descriptive passage from *The Two Towers* in the “Journey to the Cross-Roads” chapter, he quite rightly, we think, states that, “The visual imagination is at its sharpest here” (83). For the purposes of analysis, we quote the entire passage that Rosebury comments on:

Light was fading fast when they came to the forest-end. There they sat under an old gnarled oak that sent its roots twisting like snakes down a steep crumbling bank. A deep dim valley lay before them. On its further side the woods gathered again, blue and grey under the sullen evening, and marched on southwards. To the right the Mountains of Gondor glowed, remote in the West, under a fire-flecked sky. To the left lay darkness: the towering walls of Mordor; and out of that darkness the long valley came, falling steeply in an ever-widening trough towards the Anduin. At its bottom ran a hurrying stream: Frodo could hear its stony voice coming up through the silence; and beside it on the hither side a road went winding down like a pale ribbon, down into chill grey mists that no gleam of sunset touched. There it seemed to Frodo that he descried far off, floating as it were on a shadowy sea, the high dim tops and broken pinnacles of old towers forlorn and dark. (*TT*, IV, vii, 306)

We agree with Rosebury’s assessment that Tolkien’s descriptive style here is painterly. However, Rosebury pulls back from this evaluation, stating that it is imperfect for two reasons: first, because the imagery in this passage appeals not just to the visual sense but also to hearing and to touch, and second, the picture seen by the reader is not static but full of verbs of movement. We would argue that that is precisely why this is a painterly description. Through words indicating movement and direction, Tolkien is leading the reader’s eye through the composition of a visual scene, while the appeal to other senses than the visual is the result of a painterly style that pulls the reader into an imagined landscape that then suggests other sensory experiences.

The problem is that Rosebury believes that a visual picture should be static; however, a well-designed visual image should suggest movement

by leading the eye to travel over the composition. As is so often the case in Tolkien's descriptions, the landscape itself is animated; as Steve Walker observes, "Middle-earth becomes completely kinetic" (46). In the above passage, the landscape seems to move on its own, which enables us to follow the composition of this verbal picture. The starting point is established by the "old gnarled oak"; one can imagine the lines of the great tree (ornamented with swirling lines of "gnarls") leading down to the resting place of the hobbits, who are situated "under" the tree. The line of the oak tree "sent" its roots "twisting like snakes down a . . . bank"; the snake image, while appropriate to the atmosphere of evil and dread, also works as a continuation of the gnarled lines of the oak. These lines draw the gaze to the ground and down the bank to the valley, which "lay" before the hobbits. Our gaze is thus directed to the deep dim valley "before" the hobbits and then to the woods "on the further side" which "gather" and "march" south, again indicating movement in one direction. As our eye is drawn forward into the scene, we are directed to the Mountains of Gondor on the right and then, in an orderly and natural fashion, to the dark walls of Mordor on the left. Our eye, having moved to the left, to Mordor, then follows the long valley that comes "falling" out of Mordor "towards" the Anduin. Here Frodo looks at a "hurrying" stream that "runs" and a "winding" path that leads into shadowy mists where broken towers can be dimly seen "floating." The words indicating direction and movement attributed to elements of the landscape suggest the experience of looking at a visual composition; as Rosebury states, "Tolkien evokes the human experience of perceiving a landscape" (84). Guided mainly by the verbs and prepositions indicating direction, location, and motion, our eye is pulled into the scene and travels around it in a controlled fashion.

This strong sense of visual composition that draws us imaginatively into the landscape of Middle-earth illustrates one aspect of what Steve Walker calls Tolkien's "invitational prose" (7). Once we allow Tolkien's words to pull us into the visual scene, we can experience it more fully with other senses too: in the above passage, for example, Tolkien suggests the sound of a stream and the feeling of cold mists. As Walker points out, the success of this style requires the reader's willingness to participate in Tolkien's suggestive "open invitation to imagination" (10). John D. Rateliff comes to a similar conclusion, stating that Tolkien's style is "deliberately crafted to spark reader participation" (4).

Tolkien's visual practice also influences his descriptive prose in his choice of colors and light terms. A 1981 study by Miriam Y. Miller views Tolkien as a visual artist but concludes that his writing palette is actually fairly limited. Miller points out that Tolkien describes Middle-

earth in the colors of red, yellow, blue, green; white and black, brown and grey, and the metals, silver and gold, although she does point out rare instances of the use of colors such as rose, russet, scarlet, crimson, and saffron (3–5), and we have found three instances of purple, also noted by Christopher Kreuzer in his list of colors used by Tolkien (179). Kreuzer further lists color combinations such as “black-grey, green-white, silver-white,” all of which are limited to the most common colors appearing in Tolkien’s work (183). As a painter, Tolkien would have known and could have used the colors labeling his pencils and paint tubes in his descriptive prose: colors like ultramarine blue, lemon yellow, chartreuse, or sienna. But instead he sticks with a fairly basic palette in his verbal art. In Miller’s view, Tolkien’s stylistic choices result in a Secondary World that is described with “colors medium in brilliance and highly-saturated, giving it a jewel-like glow” (5), thus avoiding “the subtleties and nuances which color the Primary World” (9). As valuable as Miller’s research is, we disagree with this conclusion. Instead, we find that even with only a few basic colors, Tolkien does manage to create subtle, nuanced pictures, and he does that through attention to the quality of light in his descriptive prose, a feature of Tolkien’s style also briefly mentioned by Kreuzer (183).

Unlike Miller, we find that Tolkien, like a visual artist, conveys in his writing not only colors, or hues, but also different values (brilliance) and chroma (intensity/saturation). These three categories in A. H. Munsell’s color theory,³ which Miller postulates that Tolkien might have known, can be used as a guideline for further examining Tolkien’s descriptive style (Miller 4). Miller points out that Tolkien frequently uses words for hue, such as red, blue, or green, without modifying them with values, such as “light” or “dark” as in “pale green, dark blue” (4). Although the hues may not be modified directly with values very often, the evocation of lightness or darkness (value) and intensity (chroma) exists in many of Tolkien’s landscape descriptions. One often finds words like “pale” or “dark,” “faded” or “shadowy,” “glimmering” and “glowing” in the same passages as the named colors (hues), with the effect of creating complex images in readers’ minds. Sometimes these images are dark and of low chroma, as in this description: “North-westward stalked the dark forest of Fangorn; still ten leagues away stood its shadowy eaves, and its further slopes faded into the distant blue” (*TT*, III, ii, 32). Here, “dark” and “shadowy” evoke the darker end of the values scale while “faded” suggests a low saturation of color. The landscape described here is far from “jewel-like.” Tolkien is also adept at creating an opposite effect, as in the description of Minas Tirith, a man-made landscape that interacts with the natural. It is characteristic of Tolkien to notice the effect of light on color as

he describes how the hue increases in lightness and intensity. As Pippin comes closer to the city, he sees walls that “passed from looming grey to white, blushing faintly in the dawn” and by the time the sun rises, the Tower of Ecthelion “shone out against the sky, glimmering like a spike of pearl and silver” (*RK*, V, I, 23). The white banners and silver trumpets further along in the scene help to keep the lightness value at a high level. Whether Tolkien knew the Munsell theory or not, he was clearly aware, as all painters have to be, of the effects of light on color and on our perceptions of a scene.

Sometimes Tolkien only names one color, but with the appropriate indicators of light and intensity, he enables us to imagine different shades of that color. In a description of Lothlórien, for example, he writes about a landscape with “green hillsides” on which are growing “palest green” flowers. The grass has a “rich hue” and the afternoon sun “cast long green shadows beneath the trees” (*FR*, II, vi, 365). This short passage allows an imaginative and willing reader to see many greens in a nuanced image, from the dark green shadows under the trees, to the saturated color of the grass in sunshine, to the lightest green of some of the flowers.

In addition to qualities of light modifying some basic colors, Tolkien often describes landscapes in *Lord of the Rings* as if he is actually seeing a painting, with impressionistic brush strokes and perspectives. The “Fog on the Barrow-Downs” chapter in *The Fellowship of the Ring* describes the land “in flats and swellings of grey and green and pale earth-colors, until it faded into a featureless and shadowy distance” (*FR*, I, viii, 147). When Tolkien writes about the “flats and swellings,” he is presumably writing about valleys and hills, but the actual words used describe the shapes of the colors in the description. The fact that the scene fades away in the distance suggests the creation of perspective in painting a horizon. We have Tolkien’s characteristic words throughout the passage describing the quality of the light: “shadowy,” “glimmer,” “pale” and then the blending of colors at the horizon: “a guess of blue and a remote white glimmer blending with the hem of the sky” (*FR*, I, viii, 147)—as if Tolkien is describing the blending of paint colors at the margins where two colors, white and blue, meet. In other words, he is describing the landscape as if he were painting it or seeing it with a painterly eye.

Compare this description to one of his actual watercolors, “King’s Norton from Bilberry Hill” (*Artist* 21, fig. 16). We are not suggesting that this painting is meant to be a picture of the Barrowdowns, just that its impressionistic visual technique is similar to that of Tolkien’s verbal picture. In the painting, the “flats and swellings” are suggested by broad brush strokes in different colors. The “hem” of land and sky

actually does look like a distant white color blending with an almost blue sky: it is a featureless distance in the visual art, just as it is in Tolkien's verbal art.

Interesting comparisons can certainly be made between Tolkien's painted landscapes and his written descriptions that are imagined in what we call his "painterly" style. However, it is important to note that his painterly text does not constitute what we usually expect from *ekphrasis*, which is the rhetorical term for a description in words of a visual work of art (whether real or fictional). In examples of *ekphrasis*, as in the famous instance of Homer's description of the Shield of Achilles, the text aims to describe a piece of art, giving it life and movement that goes beyond the artifact itself. Tolkien's descriptions, while demonstrating a vivid visual imagination, do not render visual works of art (whether actual or fictional) into words; instead, Tolkien describes the natural world with the sensitivity and awareness of a visual artist.

The consistent interplay of the verbal and the visual in Tolkien's creative process and the way in which his visual practice and imagination determine his descriptive prose style demonstrate how Tolkien's abilities as a writer and as an artist are closely integrated. The interplay of text and image merges even more tightly in other examples of Tolkien's creativity, such as his calligraphy, his invented writing systems, and even his monogram, where the visual and the verbal cohere to create meaning. Even though Tolkien represents invented languages or writing systems that require special knowledge to read, any viewer can appreciate the beauty and design of his calligraphy. The inscription on Balin's tomb (*ALR* fig. 54); the King's letter (*ALR* fig. 188), or the Ring inscription (*ALR* fig. 175) are all examples of how words can be presented as works of visual art. Hammond and Scull summarize the numerous alphabets and writing systems invented by Tolkien, from his earliest writing system found in a 1909 notebook, to Rûmilian script, the alphabet of Fëanor, the Cirth, and other variations, including a New English Alphabet that he used in a diary later in life (*C&G* 2:1126–30). The earliest 1909 invented writing system is described by Arden R. Smith and Patrick Wynne as containing "a sizable number of ideographic symbols" (quoted in *C&G* 2:1126), each one representing an entire word. Given Tolkien's interest in such pictographs, or pictorial language, it is not surprising to see him experimenting with a monogram to represent his full name in one visual symbol. As Michael Organ and others have pointed out, the monogram is written in the style of Japanese calligraphy. Although the monogram published in Tolkien's books has been standardized and trademarked, Organ points out an early experiment (112; *Artist* fig. 13), and we would add that the monogram in "Eeriness" (*Artist* fig. 40) also

demonstrates the distinctive brush strokes of a Japanese character. Other forms of the monogram in a similar style can be found in pictures such as “The Shores of Faery” (*Artist* fig. 44), “The Hill: Hobbiton-across-the Water” (*Artist* fig. 98), and in a manuscript page of doodles (Marquette Tolkien MSS-1/2/1, p. 1). Given Tolkien’s interest in Japonisme, it would not be surprising if he had even consulted a book such as Basil Hall Chamberlain’s *A Practical Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing*, held in the Bodleian Library, possibly for its introduction to Japanese language and syntax but also for its listing of characters.

Examining Tolkien’s monogram in the above examples reveals the artistic influence of Japanese calligraphy. But even beyond questions of style, surmises about further possible readings of the monogram as a Japanese (or Chinese) character with a meaning beyond the obvious “JRRT” have been posted by several people in various online forums. Doug Kane wonders whether Tolkien was using the character for “soku,” Kanji 422b, visible in the *WWWJDIC: Online Japanese Dictionary Service*, meaning “bundle; sheaf; ream; tie in bundles; govern; manage; control”; it can also be found on pages 124–25 in Chamberlain’s 1905 *A Practical Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing*. Attempts to connect this reading to Tolkien or his work usually focus on the meaning of controlling or binding in the One Ring inscription. However, Tolkien was experimenting with the monogram as early as 1912 (Organ 112) before his invention of the story of the Ring. On the *Minas Tirith* site, “Gabil-burk” suggests that the character is the same as the Chinese character meaning “center,” “land in the center,” “land in the middle of,” one of a couple of similar suggestions collected by the owner of the *Thoughts from the Antipodes* blog that can be more generally applied to Tolkien. We posit that Tolkien might have combined the Japanese characters for “tree” and “in the middle” to represent himself in this middle-earth, which, in Old Norse mythology, is one part of the universe surrounded by the great ocean and centered around the mythical tree Yggdrasil. (The small stroke at the bottom of the monogram to indicate the “J” could have been suggested by the character for “wood” or “water”—see Chamberlain 45, figs. 41 and 45.) At the very least, in its simplest form as Tolkien’s initials, the monogram is a visual image meant to be read as Tolkien’s name; one could say that it is both a verbal picture and a visual word like the other pictographs that Tolkien invented. The possibility that Tolkien could have layered even further meaning in the visual symbol he created by combining elements of Japanese characters to make a statement about his identity in this world further reinforces the propensity that we find throughout his career to experiment with ways in which language can

be expressed visually, yet another aspect of the integration of the verbal and visual in his work.

Clearly, Tolkien's visual imagination is well developed and is essential for understanding his creative process and his descriptive style. It is also an integral part of his theorizing about sub-creation and fantasy (MacLeod and Smol). In his essay "On Fairy-stories," Tolkien writes about the successful creation of a Secondary World using terms for a visual artist and a viewer of art: "Enchantment produces a Secondary World into which both designer and spectator can enter, to the satisfaction of their senses while they are inside . . ." (*OFS* 64). Tolkien writes not about writers and readers but about designers and spectators, envisioning a collaboration between the two as they together enter into the Secondary World. This collaborative process is what Tolkien demonstrates through his painterly style: he designs an image in words, but he leaves enough of it open for us as the spectators to enter into that world and experience it in our own ways—for example, to fill in the shades of green we might see in a landscape or to follow the composition of a scene. As Tolkien states, "[Enchantment] seeks shared enrichment, partners in making and delight . . ." (*OFS* 64). And in that collaboration, we enter into a Secondary World "to the satisfaction of [our] senses" (*OFS* 64)—perhaps it is the visual sense that draws us in, but other senses can be satisfied in this world as well, just as they are in the passage from *The Two Towers* analyzed above.

Not only does Tolkien use visual terms to describe the relationship between writer and reader in *OFS*, but he also uses color terms symbolically to represent the Primary World, which he sees as being created out of the primary colors red, blue, and yellow, with green a later, secondary invention. This color symbolism is even more extensive in the drafts of *OFS*, which are influenced by G.K. Chesterton's essay "New Things and the Vagabond," extensively quoted in the Introduction to Chesterton's *The Colored Lands* (*OFS* 193; 204–5). Echoing Chesterton, Tolkien writes in his initial draft, "Manuscript A," about the first stage of creation: "Gone are the days when red blue and yellow could be invented blindingly in a black and white world" (*OFS* 193) and then a second stage, "Gone also are the secondary days when from blue and yellow green was made, unique as a new color" (*OFS* 193). Like Chesterton, Tolkien believes that we are in a third stage: "the stage at which red and green are mixed and a russet hue produced" (*OFS* 193). Tolkien's draft suggests ambiguous feelings about these new combinations: while "some will call it drab or brown" others might find it "a subtle thing combining the richness of red and the coolness of green, in a unity as unique and new as green" (*OFS* 193). Even in this first draft, however, Tolkien decides that attempts to go any further in

the invention of new colors will end up “much like mud: a mere dead slime” (*OFS* 193)—also an accurate description of every novice painter’s palette where multiple attempts to add yet another hue to the mix in order to discover just the right blend have failed. This color symbolism, although somewhat pared down in the final version of the essay, indicates not only Tolkien’s knowledge of visual art and his preference for certain color choices in his descriptive passages but also his affinity for visual terms in theorizing about fantasy. The latter is an extension of the mythical framework of his legendarium in which we can find, as Verlyn Flieger has amply demonstrated, the pervasive image of light and its splintering into colors through the progress of time as a literal, metaphorical, and symbolic way of indicating continuing sub-creation.

Note E of *OFS* can be problematic, however, when considering Tolkien’s views on art and fantasy. As both Steve Walker and John D. Rateliff point out, Tolkien explains his narrative method in this Note, where he justifies his use of the general to evoke the particular. Contrasting visual presentations such as book illustrations with literature, Tolkien believes the written word, or literature, is “at once more universal and more poignantly particular. If it speaks of *bread* or *wine* or *stone* or *tree*, it appeals to the whole of these things, to their ideas; yet each hearer will give to them a peculiar personal embodiment in his imagination” (*OFS* 82). Note E explains what is essential in Tolkien’s “invitational”—or as we would term it, “painterly”—style: that the reader, the “spectator,” must willingly participate in completing the picture of the author or “designer” through his or her own “internal personalized visualization” (Rateliff 4). As Nils Ivar Agøy observes, “For this method of course presupposes that the readers are willing to invest something of their own” (63).

However, it is curious that an author with such a well-developed visual imagination and consistent lifelong artistic practice—including his own published illustrations—would then find illustrations too limiting. In Note E of *OFS*, Tolkien’s ideas on illustrations in fantasy literature, combined with his negative comments on surrealism, might give the impression that he had contempt for visual art, at least as it relates to fairy-stories. However, we posit a different view—Tolkien feared the ability of the visual image, which “imposes one visible form” (*OFS* 82), to supplant words because he understood very well the power of visual art to dominate the canvas of the mind’s eye. Tolkien prefers a balance of image and word; in his drafting of stories and in his invented signs and alphabets, word and image work in tandem. And just as his descriptive prose allows the reader (or “spectator”) to experience an imagined place as if he or she were looking at a visual image, so too

Tolkien's own stand-alone illustrations, such as those for *The Lord of the Rings* and those published in *The Hobbit*, depict mainly landscapes or interiors (such as Beorn's Hall and Smaug's Lair) in which his characters may be imagined. In other words, his illustrations suggest a background on which we have to see the characters and the action. When Tolkien does include a figure in his *Hobbit* illustrations, he usually paints Bilbo so small in the landscape as to be almost unnoticeable. We posit, then, that for Tolkien, illustrations *can* complement a Secondary World, but only if the power of the image can be restrained from overwhelming the word.

Perhaps it is this precarious balance that pleased him in Pauline Baynes's illustrations for his shorter works. Baynes's style is minimal and stylized, often decorative, with the influence of medieval manuscript illumination evident in much of her work. Baynes reports that Tolkien at one time had the idea that she might illustrate *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion*; in conversation with Hammond and Scull, she recalls that "Tolkien had in mind a series of pictures in the margins" (*Artist* 184, n. 9), which suggests the idea of manuscript illuminations that co-exist alongside the text. Tolkien also liked the work of Cor Blok, whose *Lord of the Rings* paintings feature minimal representations of figures and actions along with the strong use of color to create atmosphere (Blok 22–23). Ruth Lacon points out that neither Baynes nor Blok depict overly defined characters, which might have been a reason Tolkien liked their work. Compare their visual interpretations with the overpowering film images of the Peter Jackson movies, where close-ups especially reveal precise, realistic details in figures, costumes, and setting. Such imposing images make it difficult to attain a personal visualization prompted by the careful choice of words. As Tolkien stated in one of his letters to Pauline Baynes, "The inwardly seen picture is to me the most important" (*Letters* 319).

Tolkien's special talent, in so many facets of his creative life, was the ability to combine the written word with the observational skills of a visual artist. Although he is renowned as a philologist and creative writer, his artistic practice and visual imagination, we contend, should be seen as more than just a life-long hobby or a secondary skill. While his artwork is beginning to gain some critical attention on its own, our study suggests that the literature-art connections made by earlier critics such as Brian Rosebury and Miriam Y. Miller can be significantly expanded. Our examination of Tolkien's composition process, his descriptive prose style, his monogram and other forms of calligraphy, and his theories about fairy-stories and illustration demonstrate the interplay of the visual with the verbal throughout his work. We believe that Tolkien's artistic vision and skill should be acknowledged as an

integral and crucial part of understanding his imagination, writing, and ideas.

NOTES

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1. Before the Hammond and Scull volumes were published, and based on earlier published illustrations and exhibits of some of Tolkien's art, John Ellison outlined the development of Tolkien's artistic techniques and styles throughout his career. Ellison observes that in some of Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* artwork, Tolkien seems to be using "a kind of visual 'shorthand'" (26) in order to get a clear image in his mind of what he is about to describe, an insight that we explore more fully in this essay. Priscilla Tolkien reported on her father's lifelong interest in art and defined the main characteristics of his style.
2. Our analysis of Tolkien's style focuses on his descriptions of landscapes in *The Lord of the Rings*, mainly because that text, Tolkien's best known work, affords the most extensive examples of descriptions of places. We believe, however, that our analysis could be extended to character descriptions and to other works by Tolkien.
3. A.H. Munsell developed a three-dimensional notation system to define colors and their relationships according to their hue, value, and chroma. He explained and illustrated his system in several books, the first being *A Color Notation* published in 1905. As Miller points out, the Munsell theory became popular in the twentieth century, and it is still widely used today. Although the Bodleian Library holds a copy of *A Color Notation*, we have no direct evidence that Tolkien read it; nevertheless, we find it a convenient system for describing Tolkien's style, which demonstrates a painterly awareness of the interactions of color with light and intensity.

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“Akin to my own Inspiration”: Mary Fairburn and the Art of Middle-earth

PAUL TANKARD

I. TOLKIEN AND THE ILLUSTRATORS

From soon after *The Lord of the Rings* was published, J.R.R. Tolkien started receiving in the mail pictures, music, play-scripts, even movie treatments, from talented admirers, both professional and amateur.¹ Indeed, one of the many remarkable characteristics of the book is its almost unique power to inspire readers with creative enthusiasm and, for those with the artistic skills, to augment and contribute to its vision. In April 1956, Tolkien wrote to his publisher that he was being “honoured/or pestered by would-be illustrators” (*C&G* 1:490). Despite the tetchiness of his tone in the letter—which was mainly due to the sheer volume of such requests and the attention he felt obliged to give them—he was clearly gratified and moved that other minds and imaginations should appreciate the power and seriousness of his “sub-creation,” and that the years he had spent imagining and writing about it were not (in worldly terms) merely a whimsical self-indulgence. But more importantly, this type and level of interest confirmed his own sense that he was not so much writing stories as assembling and investigating a body of mythology.² Even before *The Lord of the Rings* was published, he envisaged his work as “a majestic whole, [which would nevertheless] leave scope for other minds and hands, wielding paint and music and drama” (*Letters* 145).

But Tolkien was very much in two minds about having illustrations in *The Lord of the Rings*. On the one hand, he had a very visual imagination: he imagined his world of Middle-earth in immense detail. Indeed, imagining it could be said to have been the main work of his life; writing a long novel set in this imagined world was in some ways a side-line. Tolkien was himself quite an adept amateur artist. He made illustrations for *The Hobbit* (1937), which—despite his own demurrals—his publishers in Britain and the U.S. thought were good enough to use in the book. And when he painted and drew for his own amusement, more often than not his pictures were connected with his imaginary world—so much so that since his death a number of books of and about them have been published.³

So, naturally, Tolkien was very interested in other people’s depictions of his imagined world and its stories. As long as people did these

sorts of things for their own imaginative satisfaction, Tolkien was happy to encourage them. However, if they were professional artists, musicians, film-makers, etc., who proposed to make some new work adapted from his stories for performance or publication (and profit), he was much more careful. He thought that his own published texts should be followed, as regards plotting, characterisation, and accuracy of detail. Also, it is clear that he thought that the world of his books, Middle-earth, had an aesthetic character for which he as author was responsible and which should be respected by any artist whose work supplemented or purported to retell the story.

Usually, a publisher or literary agent would deal with enquiries like this, but Tolkien insisted on seeing the scripts of dramatizations, samples of translations, proposed cover illustrations, and so on. He gave a great deal of attention to them—at least early on—and was frequently infuriated by people's carelessness and lapses in sympathy or understanding. Proposed illustrations for covers of foreign-language editions caused him particular trouble. A proposed cover for the Polish translation of *The Return of the King* he thought of "Mordor hideousness" (*C&G* 1:611); he said he was horrified by the cover proposed for the Italian translation (718). The covers of the U.S. Ballantine paperback edition of *The Hobbit* (1965) he thought "ugly" (*Letters* 362), and Clyde Kilby reported that "The Portuguese illustrations he regarded as 'horrible'" (Kilby 23). He would write detailed responses and commentary—often unsent—and so distract himself from actually writing or organising more of the mythology.⁴

But he was not—he said—interested in *The Lord of the Rings* itself being illustrated. It was already an expensive book and illustrations would have made it more expensive still. More importantly, in his famous 1939 lecture (published in 1947), "On Fairy-stories," Tolkien had argued at some length against illustrations in stories of the fantasy or fairy-tale kind:

In human art Fantasy is best left to words, to true literature. In painting, for instance, the visible presentation of the fantastic image is technically too easy; the hand tends to outrun the mind, even to overthrow it. . . . However good in themselves, illustrations do little good to fairy-stories. The radical distinction between all art (including drama) that offers a *visible* presentation and true literature is that it imposes one visible form. Literature works from mind to mind and is thus more progenitive. It is at once more universal and more poignantly particular. (*OFS* 61, 82)

He continues:

Drama is naturally hostile to Fantasy. Fantasy, even of the simplest kind, hardly ever succeeds in Drama, when that is presented as it should be, visibly and audibly acted. Fantastic forms are not to be counterfeited. Men dressed up as talking animals may achieve buffoonery or mimicry, but they do not achieve Fantasy. (*OFS* 61)

It is worth keeping this in mind when you hear—as you will very often—about a film *bringing* some book or other *to life*. It is the human mind and imagination that brings a story to life. Too much of other media doing our imagining for us makes us imaginatively lazy, and greatly diminishes the depth to which we can engage in and receive pleasure from story-telling in a book. This, I suppose, is why people often talk about a book changing their life, but seldom a film. In his doubts about the “visual presentation” of fantasy, Tolkien did not make an exception of his own work, writing on 14 March 1967 to his publisher, “I myself am not at all anxious for *The Lord of the Rings* to be illustrated by anybody whether a genius or not” (*C&G* 1:692).

But over the years, through his publishers (British and overseas) or on the initiative of the artists themselves, he saw and considered depictions of his land and stories by a great number of illustrators. After the war, the German-born artist Milein Cosman (b. 1921) was living and working in London as a freelance book illustrator. In 1948, she was suggested to Tolkien by the publishers Allen and Unwin as a possible illustrator for his story *Farmer Giles of Ham* (*Letters* 130), but he “did not like her style and technique” and complained of “her pictures’ ‘lack of resemblance to the text’” (*C&G* 2:422, quoting letter to Robert Eames, 5 August 1948).

The commission for illustrating *Farmer Giles of Ham* (1949) was given to Pauline Baynes (1922–2008). An acclaimed children’s book illustrator, she is now best known for her work in the seven Chronicles of Narnia (1950–56) by Tolkien’s friend C. S. Lewis, from which her pictures are almost inseparable. She was recommended to Lewis by Tolkien, for whom she also illustrated *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (1962) and *Smith of Wootton Major* (1967). But the claim that Tolkien “wanted her to illustrate *The Lord of the Rings*” (*C&G* 2:76) is an exaggeration, and does not accord with what he said explicitly about her work in correspondence that has only recently come to light, with artist Mary Fairburn. To consider and contextualize this correspondence is the purpose of this essay.

Tolkien certainly liked Baynes’ work for *Farmer Giles of Ham*. In 1949, when he thought the publisher Collins was about to accept for

publication both *The Lord of the Rings* and the (still unfinished) Silmarillion, he wrote to Pauline Baynes telling her—though in slightly guarded terms—of “two (large) books of mythical, legendary, or elvish kind that should in 1950 actually becoming [*sic*] production problems; and I very much hope that some illustration or decorations will be part of the programme. In which case I hope we shall meet” (*C&G* 1:354). This seems to be the last time he mentioned the subject of her illustrating the book. In fact, Pauline Baynes later recalled, in conversation with Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, that, rather than full-scale illustration, “Tolkien had in mind a series of pictures in the margins” (*Artist* 184 n.9). In 1961 she did the wrap-around cover for the Puffin paperback edition of *The Hobbit*, which Tolkien liked very much (*C&G* 1:571), and when in 1968 *The Lord of the Rings* was published in the much-reprinted one-volume paperback, she provided the evocative vistas for the cover.⁵ She also prepared the poster maps for both books, about which Tolkien was consulted,⁶ and the poster (1974) on which the poem *Bilbo’s Last Song* was first published (in the U.K.). But he did not ask her to illustrate *The Lord of the Rings*.

A major body of Tolkien-inspired work that has until recently been overlooked in the English-speaking world are the 140 or so highly stylized images that were made in 1958–60 by Dutch art professor Cor Blok (b. 1934). Tolkien was shown five of them by his publisher in May 1961, and in February 1962 he made an offer to purchase two of them, and Blok gave him a third as a gift (*C&G* 1:575, 587, 591). Three were used in 1965, with Tolkien’s approval, on the covers of the paperback editions of the Dutch translation of *The Lord of the Rings* (*C&G* 1:646). Two selections were featured in official *Tolkien Calendars* (2011, 2012), and a book of 125 of them, *A Tolkien Tapestry*, was published in 2011. The editor of that collection, Pieter Collier, claimed that, “In December 1962, when asked about a six-volume deluxe edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, J.R.R. Tolkien suggested Cor Blok or Pauline Baynes as the possible artist” (Blok 9). But in fact, this suggestion was made not by Tolkien but to Tolkien, in a letter of 20 Dec. 1962 from Rayner Unwin (*C&G* 1:602).

These were not the only illustrations seen by Tolkien that were (after his death) used for the book by his publishers. In October 1970, Tolkien was sent some illustrations by an accomplished amateur artist, the Crown Princess, now Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II, of Denmark (*C&G* 1:751).⁷ Her pictures were used from 1977 in the Danish translation of *The Lord of the Rings*, with the illustrator’s name given as “Ingahild Grathmer”; from 1977 they were also used in the editions in English published by the Folio Society (this was the first illustrated edition in English).⁸

Despite these and other approaches,⁹ the only version of *The Lord of the Rings* published (at least in part) in Tolkien’s lifetime to have in-

ternal illustrations—other than the three by the author (the Ring inscription, Moria Gate, and Balin’s tomb) that are in every edition—was the Japanese translation (published 1972–75), with illustrations by Ryūichi Terashima. Tolkien very much liked Terashima’s illustrations for *The Hobbit*, as he said when he showed them to Clyde Kilby in the summer of 1966 (Kilby 23).

Since Tolkien’s death in 1973, the book or scenes from it have been illustrated by many artists, some of whom have quasi-official status, having been commissioned by Tolkien’s own publishers. John Howe, Roger Garland, Ted Nasmith and others have illustrated Tolkien calendars, published by Allen and Unwin and (their successors) HarperCollins. In 1992, for the hundredth anniversary of Tolkien’s birth, an edition of the book was published with 50 full-page color illustrations by Alan Lee. Lee and Howe were also engaged as conceptual designers for Peter Jackson’s trilogy of films of *The Lord of the Rings*, and some version of their aesthetic vision, and that of Jackson and his design team, has been stamped on the story, at least for some readers (and certainly for non-readers). Of course, the work of none of these people was seen or approved of by the author.

II. 1968: THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARY FAIRBURN AND TOLKIEN¹⁰

In May 1968, Tolkien received in the mail, forwarded from his publisher, a package of pictures from an unknown artist, Mary Fairburn, writing from Winchester. Like many artists, Fairburn had been intermittently and precariously employed, and led a peripatetic life.¹¹ With qualifications in art from the Winchester School of Art and the University of London, she had worked in the 1950s as an art teacher in England and Iran, where she taught the children of Americans working for an oil company. In the 1960s she tested a religious vocation with a Catholic order in Belgium, painted a number of murals in Winchester, taught English in Italy, and hitch-hiked around Africa—working in embassies, teaching music, and painting all the way. She held a couple of exhibitions on her return to Winchester, but regular work was hard to find, and in 1967 she left England again, to drive across Europe and Asia to Australia. Bureaucratic difficulties prevented her getting further than Lahore, at the Pakistani border with India. Turning back, she wintered in Teheran at the home of a friend, Robin Allan, who worked there with the British Council. He was an early fan of *The Lord of the Rings*, and Fairburn read one of his copies and immediately started sketching scenes from the book. When she was back in England, she worked up some the sketches into paintings. In May 1968 she was 34.

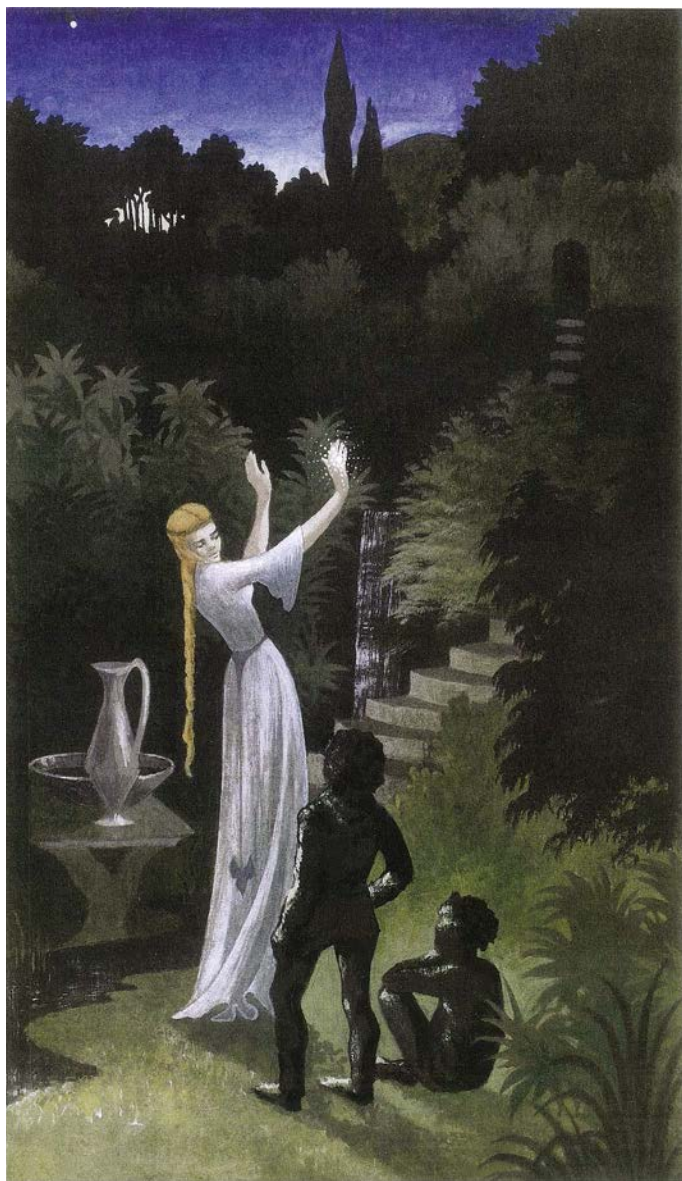


1. "Gandalf on the Tower of Orthanc" (1968, reworked 2014) Black India ink.
In the artist's collection

Tolkien was at the time in the midst of many difficulties, which were only to get worse: he later described 1968 as an "appalling year" (*C&G* 1:737). But his first response to Fairburn was a typewritten letter in which he told her that he thought the pictures that she had sent were "splendid. They are better pictures in themselves and also show far more attention to the text than any that have yet been submitted to me" (Corresp. 2: JRRT to MF, 24 May 1968).¹² She had sent at least three pictures, including a pen-and-ink illustration of Gandalf on the tower of Orthanc, and what she described as "a little sketch of Gollum" (Corresp. 1, MF to JRRT, undated [before 24 May 1968]). In his reply, Tolkien told her, "My publishers and I decided long ago not to have *The Lord of the Rings* illustrated, largely for the reasons which I myself dealt with in my lecture 'On Fairy Stories,' now included in *Tree and Leaf*." But, he continued, "After seeing your specimens I am beginning to change my mind, and I think that an illustrated edition might be a good thing." This is particularly significant. He did not simply like Mary Fairburn's pictures: he liked them as illustrations of the book.

By contrast, when in 1961 Tolkien first saw five of Cor Blok's pictures, he said they were "most attractive, though four are bad as illustrations" (*C&G* 1:575). The distinction between art and illustration was obviously important to him; he had said years before, in a letter to Stanley Unwin, on seeing Milein Cosman's sample illustrations for *Farmer Giles of Ham*, that he thought her "an artist of merit, though he doubts that she is an illustrator" (*C&G* 1:311). In her first letter to Tolkien, Fairburn had described herself as "a painter rather than an illustrator," and remarked that "most of your other books have been illustrated by Pauline Baines [*sic*] & I wondered why she had not done these also" (Corresp. 1). In his reply, Tolkien said, "I should not think of employing Pauline Baines [*sic*] because she, though she can be quite good at certain points, cannot rise to anything more noble or awe-inspiring. See, for instance, her ridiculous picture of the dragon." He told Fairburn that he would be "very pleased indeed" to see her other pictures when they were finished.

About three weeks after this very encouraging first contact, Fairburn sent Tolkien three more paintings or sketches, including the Mirror of Galadriel and the Inn at Bree.¹³ Unfortunately, soon after they arrived Tolkien's life and affairs were thrown into chaos. On 17 June he badly injured his leg while running down the stairs at home; he was in the hospital for a month, and was incapacitated in a foot-to-waist plaster until 8 September, when he returned to the hospital for orthopedic treatment until 20 September (*C&G* 1:727, 732). This accident could not have happened at a worse time, as the Tolkiens were planning



2. "Galadriel at the Well in Lórien" (1968, reworked 2014) Coloured inks.
In the artist's collection

(as he had mentioned in his first letter to Fairburn) to move house. He was 76, and had retired in 1959, but was as busy as ever; and his wife in particular was anxious to leave the distractions of Oxford for a quieter life by the sea.

As Tolkien was hospitalized, his books and papers were packed up by removalists without his guidance or supervision, and in early July were moved to the bungalow near Bournemouth the Tolkiens had bought (although the address was Poole, Dorset, the location was effectively a suburb of Bournemouth, where the Tolkiens had taken their holidays for some years). Tolkien later wrote rather poignantly to his son Michael: “My bedroom-study at 76 [i.e., 76 Sandfield Road, Headington, Oxford] was full of papers and half-written works—which I knew where to lay my hand on”; after the accident, he continues, “[I] never went back again—never saw my room, or my house, again” (*Letters* 395). Edith Tolkien moved into the new home at the end of July, but Tolkien, who was still unable even to write, was not fit enough to join his wife there until mid-August.

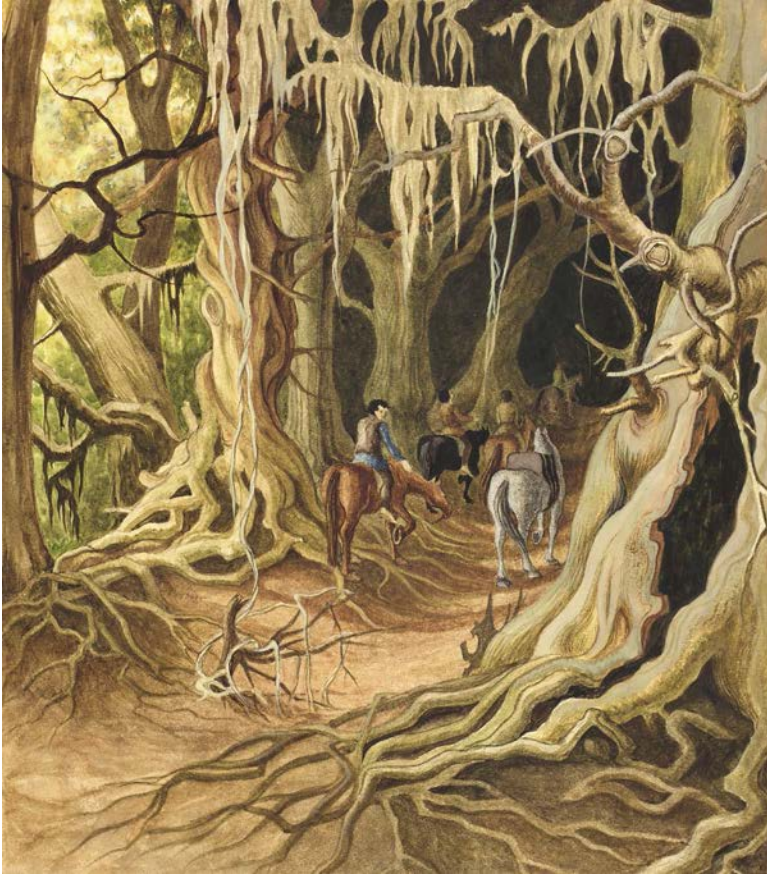
Mary Fairburn, meanwhile, was in something of a panic, having now sent six or more pictures to Tolkien, and heard nothing in reply for two months. She sent another letter to him, perhaps with more pictures, expressing her “anxiety” (to use Tolkien’s term). This letter is lost, but Tolkien referred to it in a letter sent from Bournemouth on 7 August to his secretary in Oxford, answering a number of enquiries, in which he wrote:

As for poor Miss Fairburn: her letters to me are amongst many so far undiscoverable things. If you could let me have her address, I will write at once to her. In the meanwhile, could you tell her that her three further drawings were safely received just before my . . . fall and placed carefully with the others? Though I cannot find them, they must be in one of the piled ‘tea chests’ (still immoveable) containing the large-sized books, maps, and facsimiles, which were in special shelves, where they could lie flat. I was greatly interested in her drawings—especially since they caught in style and colouring something of my own feelings. But for the unfortunate [. . .] of having arrived in a time of major upheaval, and a severe personal accident, I should long ago have returned them with comments. I will do what I can to compensate her for her anxiety and delay. It might be possible for her to come and see me (at my expense) as soon as the drawings are recovered.¹⁴

In his eventual reply of 4 September to Fairburn, he wrote as if she already knew of his accident, so it seems likely that his secretary had written to her in the meantime, as he requested. Above the Oxford address in the printed letterhead, Tolkien wrote his new address and telephone number, of which information he was otherwise being very protective (*C&G* 2:284). Tolkien apologized for Fairburn's "anxiety, caused by my unfortunate accident." He described how his "library and papers were piled up like flood-damage" and reported that "in almost the last case examined, your three envelopes with pictures were found, quite unharmed" (Corresp. 3: JRRT to MF, 4 Sept. 1968). He apologized for the delay, explaining that he was "exhausted after the labours of what was supposed to be mainly a 'convalescence,'" and noted that, "In any case, Mr Rayner Unwin is abroad at the moment." He probably had also realized that the tone of his previous letters had given Fairburn unrealistic hopes of a major commission as an illustrator. He said guardedly and certainly not finally, "I make no comments at present," but warned her, "the prospect of an illustrated edition is not promising." Nevertheless, he added, "I like the pictures—certainly some of them—enough to make you a private offer of purchase," and invited her to suggest a price. Four days later Tolkien returned to the hospital in Oxford to have his plaster removed and callipers fitted, and for other treatments, and remained there until 20 September.

When Fairburn wrote back, she told him about her straitened circumstances, that she had been "put out of my home . . . & I have been quite unable to find accommodation since, & am at present sleeping on the floor of a condemned basement, & at any moment will have to get out" (Corresp. 4: MF to JRRT, undated). As well as being in a rather desperate situation financially, she was clearly very disappointed that her pictures were not about to become illustrations for the book any time soon, having—not for the first or last time in her career—rather incautiously imagined that her ship was about to come in. His first letter, she wrote, was "so glowing & full of enthusiasm—it unfortunately gave me a false hope of success." In replying, Tolkien was very sympathetic, saying he was "much distressed" at her news, but that in his opinion, "your ill fortune (in the matter of the illustrations) . . . is mainly due to the present situation in the book world. Allen and Unwin have found that 'The Lord of the Rings' in any form is now so expensive that any attempt to produce it in a special or more sumptuous form is [bound to be] a failure" (Corresp. 5: JRRT to MF, 10 Oct. 1968).

On the other hand Fairburn had in her letter declined Tolkien's offer of purchase, and asked for the immediate return of the pictures, explaining that she had promised the original paintings to a friend in part payment of a "large debt." Tolkien wrote back that he was "reluc-



3. “The Old Forest (the departure from Bombadil’s house)” (1968) Coloured inks. In private hands

tantly sending back to you the pictures I have received,” by registered mail (Corresp. 5). However, in a postscript to her letter, Fairburn had further intrigued him by mentioning three pictures that he had not yet seen, including depictions (which she described) of the Old Forest, which “took me over a week to do” and was based on drawings of the “ancient yew trees” on “the Old Canterbury Pilgrim’s Way” near Winchester, and of the Dead Marshes, for which she used mountain scenery painted in the Tibesti Range in the Sahara. Tolkien was still

very curious about her work, and said “I would beg you to let me see them . . . they sound most interesting, especially *The Old Forest*.”

Before he could conclude this letter, Tolkien was telephoned by Rayner Unwin, and in resuming the letter (as he noted) at 11 a.m., he told her that he had mentioned her and her illustrations to Unwin. Rayner Unwin, he reported, “was not so decisive as I had expected, & was evidently ready to ‘consider’ an illustrated edition.” However, Tolkien continued, he also emphasized that black-and-white illustrations would be “much more likely to prove publishable.” Tolkien warned her that she should not expect a prompt decision: “My experience is that the process of ‘considering’ (estimating, costing, and all that) takes time and you would not get a ‘yea’ (or a ‘nay’) for some months,” adding that he realized that this was not a hopeful position for someone in her desperate situation.

Tolkien then went on to explain that despite the unexpected and belated success of *The Lord of the Rings*, taxation had reduced his profits by two thirds, and he faced the prospect of “exorbitant death duties” and had thus been “obliged to divest myself, in various ways of the greater part of my profits.” Nevertheless, he said,

it seems to me the first duty of ‘success’ to assist “unsuccess”—both being largely a matter of ‘luck’, quite irrespective of actual merit! But I cannot now do anything like as much as I should wish in this line.

He concluded the letter by saying that he was enclosing to her fifty pounds, “As a *gift*”; he was anxious that she should not refer to this in her reply. Fifty pounds was a substantial sum in 1968—worth about £1250 compared with average earnings in the 2010s. He concluded with a P.S.: “I can only hope that the ancient proverb (attributed to King Alfred): *when the bale is at the highest, then the boot (Sc. betterment) is ever nighest*: may prove in your case true.”¹⁵

Fairburn, perhaps rather disconcerted to have received all of her pictures back so promptly, and for such a hopeful and major enterprise to have seemingly come suddenly to a conclusion, wrote back swiftly, in a letter dated 18 October. She began by apologizing for the tone of her previous letter, saying that she now understood that “if these things ever do come off, they evidently take much more time than I had realized” (Corresp. 6: MF to JRRT, 18 Oct. 1968). She now proposed that she send all of the pictures back to Tolkien, and put the money he sent her towards paying off her debts, and hoped that this might leave open the possibility of her pictures being used for their original purpose, as illustrations for an edition of the book.

In his reply of 4 November—the last surviving letter of the

correspondence—Tolkien explained that he did not have the wall space for all the pictures, but asked if he might have the “picture of *Galadriel* at the Well in Lórien” which, he said, “attracts me because it so very nearly corresponds to my own mental vision of the scene,” and which he would like to keep (Corresp. 7: JRRT to MF, 4 Nov. 1968). He added that it would be a good sample of her work to show to Rayner Unwin, whom he hoped would soon come to visit him. He was clearly moved by her plight, and perhaps felt partly responsible for her having unrealistic expectations. Although in his letter of 4 September he had talked of making “a private offer of purchase,” in this letter he repeated his request that the arrangement between them be regarded not as payment for work, but as “a free gift on either side!” He was presumably worried that the purchase of a picture or pictures may have had complicating and potentially undesirable tax consequences for him and his estate,¹⁶ while a gift to an individual in a situation of hardship would not.¹⁷ In a P.S. he says that he would “of course allow the picture to be included in any collection or exhibition of your work, or used for reproduction in an illustrated edition, as long as the original is ultimately returned to me.”

Fairburn cannot recall responding to this letter, but it seems that the relationship between the writer and the artist did not quite end at that point. When Tolkien returned her sketches, he wrote comments on the back and in the margins; she recalls his comments on the picture of a scene in the Inn at Bree, that the lanterns should be on the beams, not between them, and that the figures of the Black Riders should cast longer shadows on the wall. Fairburn was happy to accommodate his preferences; as Tolkien had stressed how closely her pictures represented his own vision, it seemed to her important to try to get them exactly “right.”

Her initial plan was to produce one per chapter of the book. Fairburn says that after the letter of 10 October, she made black-and-white versions of a number of her illustrations, and that by the time the whole project was abandoned she had illustrated the chapters of *The Lord of the Rings* up to and including “Treebeard”—that is, 26 images. According to her account, she did each of these both as a color painting and as black-and-white illustrations in pen and ink. These recollections are, as she admits, not borne out by other evidence.¹⁸ But in her many moves, and in leaving belongings with friends for long periods, whole caches of her papers and books seem to have been lost. The only image she retains of the Tolkien illustrations is a copy she made years later of the black-and-white depiction of “Gandalf on the Tower of Orthanc,” which she based on a photograph of the original. However, she certainly complied with Tolkien’s request that he might have her

painting of Galadriel at the Well in Lórien, as the painting is still in the possession of the Tolkien family.¹⁹

The rest of Fairburn's Middle-earth paintings have been for forty years on the walls of the home of friends of hers in Derbyshire, to whom they were given after her hopes for a major commission as a book illustrator had been disappointed. There are nine of her paintings, depicting the following scenes: The Old Forest (the departure from Bombadil's house); The Inn at Bree, The Pass on Mount Caradhras (black and white); The Bridge at Khazad-dûm; Galadriel at the Well in Lórien (she apparently made a copy of this image); The Great River; Treebeard with Pippin and Merry; Gandalf on the Tower of Orthanc (black and white); and Sam and Frodo in Mordor with a Nazgûl (the picture also described as the Dead Marshes). This accounts for all the images mentioned in the surviving correspondence, with the exception of the sketch of Gollum. Of these, the evidence suggests that Tolkien saw Gandalf on Orthanc, the Gollum sketch (now lost), Galadriel, and the Inn at Bree. The surviving letters do not indicate him having seen the Old Forest or the Dead Marshes, despite having asked for them. On each of the first two of the three occasions Fairburn sent her work to Tolkien she certainly sent more than two pieces, so it may well be—as Fairburn believes—that he saw all of them.²⁰

III. ART AND ILLUSTRATION

These nine images by Fairburn are a particularly significant response to *The Lord of the Rings*, and the artist's correspondence with Tolkien makes them uniquely interesting and valuable. It may be argued that Tolkien was—irrespective of his actual feelings—usually polite to admirers who sent him their creative tributes to his work. In 1962, for instance, when the Scottish composer Thea Musgrave proposed doing a musical drama based on the novel, Tolkien “told Musgrave that he would await further developments with interest”; however, in writing to Rayner Unwin, he said more frankly that “he is not excited about the project” (*C&G* 1:592). But Tolkien's comments to Fairburn about her work went far beyond polite interest. As we have seen, he told a third party, his secretary, that he “was greatly interested in her drawings,” and when he complimented Fairburn on her “attention to the text,” and told her that her paintings conformed to his own “mental vision” and were causing him to reconsider his view that the book should not be illustrated, this was more than gratuitous flattery. And his reiterated request to see more of her paintings, and in particular his “private offer of purchase” and “gift” of £50, were far more than mild encouragement. He may by the end of their correspondence have

"Akin to my own Inspiration"



4. "The Pass on Mount Caradhras" (1968) Black India ink. In private hands

felt that he should not—and certainly not without his publisher’s approval—have so encouraged someone who was at the time in such a difficult position as Fairburn was in 1968; but even in the last sentence of his surviving letters to her, Tolkien was still holding out some hope of there one day being an edition of his book with her illustrations.

It is clear that Tolkien regarded all representations of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* in other media as to be necessarily subordinate to his own text. While appreciating that arts other than the literary have their own canons and conventions, he thought that music, films, plays and pictures should—so far as was possible—represent the given visual and narrative details of the story as well as the mood or atmosphere. The distinction we have noted between “art” and “illustration” was critical to his response to derivative works, and occurs in a great many of his comments about illustrations. When his publisher recommended Milein Cosman’s sample illustrations for *Farmer Giles of Ham*, Tolkien responded explicitly to the terms of the recommendation, “I am not much interested in the fashionableness of these drawings, or in their resemblance to Topolski or Ardizzone.²¹ I find their lack of resemblance to the text more marked.” He then goes into detail: “The dragon is absurd. Ridiculously coy, and quite incapable of performing any of the tasks laid on him by the author. . . .²² The Farmer, a large blusterer, bigger than his fellows, is made to look like little Joad at the end of a third degree by railway officials.²³ He would hardly have used as a cowshed the shambling hut at which the miller and the parson are knocking. He was a prosperous yeoman or franklin.” It was not quite fair for him to expect anyone to know as much as he did about the characters and sociological background to the tale, but his dissatisfaction was not simply a matter of getting the details right: he concluded that the illustrations are “wholly out of keeping with the style or manner of the text” (*Letters* 130–31).

With regard to Pauline Baynes’ illustrations to *Smith of Wootton Major*, Tolkien had “problems with two of the illustrations (as illustrations of his text, not as art),” and after the jacket design was rearranged to his satisfaction, he said it was “both a good illustration and attractively striking” (*C&G* 1:705): that is, both attractive as a cover design, and accurately representative of the text. About the Ballantine *Hobbit*, although he thought “the cover ugly, . . . [with] horrible colours and foul lettering,” he admitted that tastes can differ—and he supposed (rather acerbically) that the publishers were “better judges of what is attractive in the USA than I am”; but he felt he “must ask . . . : what has it got to do with the story? Where is this place? Why a lion and emu? And what is the thing in the foreground with pink bulbs?” (*Letters* 362; he

was no happier when it was explained that the pink bulbs were “meant to suggest a Christmas Tree”). So, what annoyed him, aside from its aesthetic failure or success, was its unfaithfulness to the book. Indeed, he was later told to his incredulity that the artist “hadn’t TIME to read the book!” (*Letters* 363). When the composer Carey Blyton wrote to ask for permission to compose a *Hobbit Overture* (completed 1967), Tolkien expressed a hope that he would find the work “intelligible to me, or feel it was akin to my own inspiration—as much as are, say, some (but not all) of Pauline Baynes’ illustrations . . .” (*Letters* 350: 16 Aug. 1964).

Tolkien clearly admired Pauline Baynes’ work, in certain ways and for certain purposes: for illustrations to his slighter and non-Middle-earthly tales, for vistas and for maps—but not for inside and alongside of the narrative of *The Lord of the Rings*. When he mentioned that work to her, it was—as we have seen—in terms of “illustration or decorations” (my emphasis), and “a series of pictures in the margins,” rather than illustrations. In attempting to pin down the qualities he was looking for in visual representations, we should notice his regretting the absence (in Baynes’ work) of the “noble or awe-inspiring” and that he lamented the same absence in Cor Blok’s pictures, saying in 1961, “I suppose it is impossible to hope, nowadays, that one might come across an artist of talent who could, or would even try to depict the noble and the heroic” (*C&G* 2:422). These were the qualities he sought to produce in his own narrative. The noble, awe-inspiring and heroic were sought for (and achieved) at every level: by the character of the names and his invented languages; by strong contrasts between the homely and more epic passages of narrative; in the quest adventures of the protagonists; by the distancing effects of the occasional use of archaic diction; by the scale of the setting; by the luxurious extent and scope and length of the story. Modern Western styles in the visual arts are grounded in an ideological suspicion of grand effects, and this is manifest in the sketchy, naturalistic and casual qualities of Ardizzone, Topolski or Cosman, which were not compatible with a story such as *The Lord of the Rings*—a work which many bien-pensant critics still regard as an aesthetic throwback, out of keeping with the literature of the twentieth century.

It is these qualities of heroism and grandeur which, furthermore, distinguish Tolkien’s major works—in ways which he struggled to articulate himself—from ‘fairy-stories’ in the fey, conventional sense. Mostly, of course, he was engaged—in both theory and practice—in a defence of fairy-story: he described himself as writing “things that might be classified as fairy-stories” (*Letters* 297), and he saw the success of *The Lord of the Rings* as a delightful justification of his belief “that

the 'fairy-story' is really an adult genre" (*Letters* 209). But he strongly objected to understandings of 'fairy-story' less nuanced than his own: he complained that the 'storyline' he was sent in 1957 for a proposed film version of the book represented "a pull-back towards more conventional 'fairy-stories'" (*Letters* 261), and that the writer would "reduce and lower the tone towards that of a more childish fairy-tale" (272); he added emphatically, "We are not in 'fairy-land'"; the realm of Tom Bombadil is "real river-lands in autumn" (272). Later in the same letter, he said, "I dislike strongly any pulling of my tale towards the style and feature of 'contes des fées,' or French fairy-stories" (274). Attempting to put his aesthetic preferences in positive terms, he wrote of his "passion" for "myth (not allegory!) and for fairy-story, and *above all* for heroic legend on the brink of fairy-tale and history, of which there is far too little in the world (accessible to me) for my appetite" (144; my emphasis). It was this distinction that Fairburn seemed to him to appreciate. Tolkien would have approved of her basing many of her scenes (as she told him) on real-world landscapes, such as the Tibesti Ranges in the Sahara, and the old Pilgrims' Way in Canterbury (Corresp. 4).

From when in 1949, Tolkien told Pauline Baynes about his two large books that might require "illustration or decorations" (or, as she remembered, "a series of pictures in the margins") to 1968, when he told Fairburn that he "should not think of employing Pauline Baines" to illustrate *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien had, over decades, not only imagined and re-imagined his vision of Middle-earth; he had also tested and clarified his ideas about fantasy and fairy-tale, about literature and the visual arts, about art and truth. And in the meantime, *The Lord of the Rings*, unillustrated, had not only found a readership but become immensely popular. Not only had he long ago made up his mind that (in theory) illustrations did not suit fantasy tales, but also he saw that illustrations were (in practical terms and in the case of his own great work) unnecessary, and that in fact any particular visual interpretation would risk alienating some readers (including himself).

But despite such considerations, he remained irrepressibly curious about readers' visualisations of his land and stories, and was either upset and irritated when it appeared that he not had successfully communicated his own vision, or excited and grateful when it seemed that he had. Fairburn's illustrations were among those works that were "akin to my own inspiration": that were, as he told her in 1968, "better pictures in themselves and also show far more attention to the text than any that have yet been submitted to me."

CONCLUSION

There remain some gaps and uncertainties in this history. But the surviving correspondence of 1968 between J.R.R. Tolkien and Mary Fairburn reveals not only new details of Tolkien’s day-to-day doings and preoccupations, unknown to biographers and chroniclers, but provides new insights into and clarification of his visual aesthetic preferences and influences. His doubts and hesitations about the art submitted to him help us to appreciate what, for Tolkien himself, were vital characteristics of *The Lord of the Rings*: its depiction of the world-shaping power of noble action, and its exemplification and vindication of the unique power and necessity of story to inspire the human imagination.

NOTES

This essay began as two talks at the Dunedin Public Library (12 Dec. 2012) and the Art+Book Symposium (Dunedin, 18 Oct. 2014), which were based on my research for two essays, in the *Times Literary Supplement* (14 Sept. 2012) and *Tolkien: The Official Calendar, 2015*, illustrated by Mary Fairburn.

I am grateful for the assistance and advice of Janet and the late Robin Allan, Douglas A. Anderson, Cathleen Blackburn (for the Tolkien Estate), Matthew Blessing, Pieter Collier, Daryl Coulthard, Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, Joshua Meadows, Paul Sorrell, Genis Wylde, and in particular, Mary Fairburn.

1. Within weeks of the publication of the third and final volume in late 1955, the BBC Third Programme commenced broadcasting a radio adaptation of the book, which continued into 1956. In 1957, Tolkien was approached by American sci-fi impresario Forrest J. Ackerman, who wanted to make an animated film of the book, and submitted a storyline, which Tolkien read carefully, and hated. See *Letters* (266–67, 270–77).
2. There are many expressions of such feelings in his *Letters*: “always I had the sense of recording what was already ‘there’, somewhere: not of ‘inventing’” (145); “it seems to have grown out of hand, so that parts seem (to me) rather revealed through me than by me” (189).
3. *Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. Christopher Tolkien; Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist and Illustrator*; *The Art of The Hobbit by J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. Wayne G. Hammond and

Christina Scull; and *The Art of The Lord of the Rings* by J.R.R. Tolkien, ed. Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull.

4. See Carpenter (*Bio* 240): “A lot of his time was spent simply in answering letters . . . With these and similar matters occupying him more and more, he spent little time working on *The Silmarillion*.” Tolkien himself wrote (23 Feb. 1966), “I am constantly interrupted” in preparing *The Silmarillion* by “pother about ‘me’ and my history” (*C&G* 1:657), and in Aug. 1967, “dealing piecemeal with guesses and interpretations [sent by readers] only postpones and interferes with this work . . .” (*Letters* 381).
5. These were two-thirds of the triptych used earlier on the slip-case for the first three-volume deluxe edition (1964). Tolkien liked these scenes so much he asked if he might have the originals (*C&G* 1:620).
6. *A Map of Middle-earth* (1970), *There and Back Again: A Map of Bilbo’s Journey through Eriador and Rhovanion* (1971).
7. There seems no record of what Tolkien actually thought of them.
8. For the Folio Society edition, the pictures were “drawn by” British artist Eric Fraser.
9. For instance, the illustrations apparently sent to Tolkien in 1956 by Doris Elizabeth Sykes of Bayswater, about which information has come to light only since her letters from Tolkien were sold at auction in late 2014. See *C&G* (1:484), also (online) the Scull and Hammond “Addenda” for pages 485, 485, 492, 493 (28 Jan. and early July 2015).
10. Mary Fairburn’s correspondence with J.R.R. Tolkien, as now extant, consists of seven letters: three from her to Tolkien (nos. 1, 4, 6), and four letters from Tolkien to her (nos. 2, 3, 5, 7). They will be referred to below by “Corresp.” and number, and dates when present.
11. I have told Mary Fairburn’s own story briefly in two essays, “A Vision of Middle-earth: Mary Fairburn—Tolkien Illustrator,” the *Times Literary Supplement*, no. 5711 (14 Sept. 2012), 1, 14–15; and *Tolkien: The Official Calendar 2015*, illustrated by Mary Fairburn, text by Paul Tankard.
12. I am grateful to Mary Fairburn for enabling me to use her letters from Tolkien, and to the Tolkien Estate for permission to quote extracts from them, and other unpublished material, in this essay.

Quotations from the letters of J.R.R. Tolkien © The J R R Tolkien Copyright Trust 2012.

13. The existence and content of this package and the next letter of Mary Fairburn to Tolkien are inferred on the basis of subsequent references.
14. Letter of 7 August; text kindly provided by the Tolkien Estate, and used with permission. The ellipses in square brackets represent words missing due to damage to the original letter.
15. This proverb is attributed to King Alfred in the medieval poem (c. 1250) *The Owl and the Nightingale* (ll. 685–88); see the edition by Tolkien’s student and later his successor as Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, Eric Stanley (69).
16. Mary Fairburn says that Tolkien—presumably in a later lost letter from their correspondence—told her that although many British authors had gone to live abroad because of the punitive British taxes, he would not, as he “did not want to leave the Shire.”
17. In a list that Tolkien made around this time, headed “Charitable Gifts,” there is the following note: “*Miss M. Fairburn* (address was unknown to me) was an artist in v poor circumstances. She did some illustrations to *The Lord of the Rings*. (She sent me one as a gift).” (information courtesy of the Tolkien Estate.)
18. Miss Fairburn recalls going to London to meet Rayner Unwin’s secretary. It remains her strong impression that Sir Stanley Unwin was in favor of using her work in an illustrated edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, but that Rayner was not, and that the project was abandoned after Sir Stanley’s death in October 1968. But I have found no corroboration for this, and Sir Stanley had by this stage retired from active day-to-day operations of the business.
19. I am indebted to the Tolkien Estate for this information.
20. A more detailed account of Mary Fairburn’s life and career, with an examination of her and Tolkien’s visual aesthetic and shared artistic influences, is forthcoming as “Tolkien and the Illustrators: The Case of Mary Fairburn,” in the *Journal of Illustration*.
21. Polish-born expressionist artist and illustrator Feliks Topolski (1907–89) moved to London in 1935 and was an official British war artist during World War 2. Edward Ardizzone (1900–1979) was a prolific English illustrator of children’s books, best known for the

11 books of the “Tim” series, published by Oxford University Press, which he both wrote and illustrated.

22. He is of course known to have had particularly strong feelings about dragons!
23. This allusion, unglossed in the *Letters*, is to the popular philosopher and broadcaster C.E.M. Joad, whose career and reputation were irretrievably damaged by his conviction in 1948 for fare-dodging on the railways.

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Notes and Documents

A Note on the Sindarin Translation of the Name *Daisy*

J. M. SILK

*An eye in a blue face
Saw an eye in a green face.
“That eye is like to this eye”
Said the first eye,
“But in low place
Not in high place.”* (*H*, v, 122).

The answer to this riddle from *The Hobbit* is “sun on the daisies.” The “eye in a blue face” refers to the sun in the blue sky, while the “eye in a green face” is a flower in a field. But although Gollum’s answer seems obvious, in retrospect the choice of “daisy” out of all the possible flowers in the world reveals surprising insights about Tolkien’s thought processes and inspirations.

The riddle, as Yvette Kisor points out, depends on the etymology of the word “daisy” (Kisor, 569–70), which, as Douglas Anderson notes (*H*, v, 122, n. 16), is derived from Old English “*dæges ēage*, ‘day’s eye’; so named from its covering the yellow disk in the evening and disclosing it in the morning” (Onions 242).¹ The word “daisy”² is thus a particularly fitting choice for the riddle’s solution, considering that it connotes two parallel images: the image of a bright object against a monochromatic background, and the metaphorical interpretations of an eye in a face. One of the odd things about this riddle is that it refers to the *eye in a green face* as singular, but the answer is *sun on the daisies*—plural. Readers who try to figure out the answer before reading Gollum’s solution (very difficult to do, as the answer is located only a few lines down the page) would seem to be more likely to guess “sun on a flower” than “sun on a particular species of flower.”³ Even if they did manage to guess “daisy,” it seems unlikely they would pluralize the answer, considering the fact that the riddle presents “an eye” as singular.⁴ There is more significance to this detail than there might appear to be.

Bilbo’s riddle appears to be Tolkien’s earliest published reference to a daisy; perhaps his last appears in *Sauron Defeated*, volume IX of *The History of Middle-earth*. In this volume, Christopher Tolkien prints drafts of an epilogue for *The Lord of the Rings* that his father wrote and rejected in 1950 or 1951.⁵ This short text, which tells of Sam’s life in

the Shire after Frodo's departure from Middle-earth, includes the "King's Letter," an invitation to Sam Gamgee and his family to meet Aragorn and Arwen by the shores of Lake Evendim. Tolkien wrote two copies of the letter: one in English and the other in Sindarin, and the names of Sam's children appear in both texts, so we can match these names in English with their translations in Sindarin. Most interesting, for our purposes, is the Sindarin name of Sam's fourth daughter: *Arien*. In English her name is given as Daisy (*Sauron* 117, 441). This translation may be surprising to readers who are familiar with *The Silmarillion*, in which Arien is the name of the Maia who guides the vessel of the sun through the sky and tends "the golden flowers in the gardens of Vána . . ." (S99). Her name is closely associated with the sun. Indeed, the name *Arien* means "Maiden of the Sun" in Sindarin and is derived, Tolkien says, from the same root as the Quenya word *áre*, which means *sunlight*.⁶ According to the *Etymologies* found in *The Lost Road and Other Writings*, Quenya words *are* 'day' and *arin* 'morning,' as well as Noldorin *ar-*, are all derived from the root AR-, meaning 'day' (*Lost Road* 349).

The name *Arien* is not a direct translation of *Daisy*, however, as the Epilogue might lead us to believe: rather, the Sindarin name is related to *daisy's* metaphorical meaning. *Daisy* refers directly to a flower, etymologically to the "day's eye," and, at the level of secondary metaphor, to the sun. *Arien* refers to a particular character related to the sun in the *Silmarillion* mythos. It may be that Tolkien thought of the word *arien* as the Sindarin word for the daisy flower, but, if so, he never recorded the connection. In addition, the English given name *Daisy* comes directly from the flower, whose name comes etymologically and metaphorically from the sun; but in Sindarin, the name of the flower (if the flower's name is *arien*) must have come from the name of Arien the Maia, whose existence and, presumably, her name, precedes the physical sun in Tolkien's mythology. In other words, the difference between the English and the Sindarin is that the English proper name came from the flower name, but the Sindarin flower name must have come from the proper name. Furthermore, Tolkien could have translated "Daisy" with a word built on *anor-* or *galad-* and thus avoided the apparent mythological connection, or, had he wished to import into Sindarin the English etymology of the flower name as "day's eye," he could have calqued those two words.⁷ The fact that he chose not to may indicate that he intended the personification of the flower's name. To translate *daisy* as *day's eye* in a literal sense would have been to take away the personification of Daisy and her name.

To summarize the connection between Arien and Daisy: *Arien* is a proper feminine name in Sindarin; it means *maiden of the sun*;⁸ it could

be connected to the Silmarils, considering that both the sun and the Silmarils were made from the light of the Two Trees (although this connection is somewhat tenuous); and, presumably, it also refers to a plant, if we are correct in inferring that *arien* is the Sindarin name for the daisy flower. Here we find that we have a single word linked to multiple ideas. The word *daisy* is connected to the concept of the sun, a jewel, a flower, and an eye. For convenience, let us call the connection between one or multiple words and multiple ideas an *idea group*. Note that the *daisy* idea group also applies to the word *arien*. Indeed, it may be logical to imagine that both Men and Elves would have arrived at the same idea group from two different languages, because in our real world, this particular idea group stretches between many real-world languages.

In “Sigelwara Land,” Tolkien shows that the idea group of *daisy* and *arien* is found in one of the real-world languages he knew best: Old English. In the essay, Tolkien discusses the various possible meanings of the word *sigelwara* and its derivatives (literally *sun-dwellers*: from *sigel*, sun, and *wara*, dweller), which is used in Anglo-Saxon texts to refer to Ethiopians. *Sigel* can refer to the sun; it also means *jewel*; it is related to *eyes*; and is also related to a plant name.⁹ And Old English is not the only language to exhibit the influence of the idea group. The Spanish word for the *daisy* flower (and for the given name *Daisy*) is *margarita*. The Italian and French forms of this word also mean *daisy*, while the Latin, Greek, Gothic, and West Germanic (Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German, and Middle High German) cognates all mean *pearl*. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the semantic association of the word *margarita* with pearls probably comes from “some oriental” language, and the eastern cognates, which refer to a “cluster of flowers,” were Greek in origin (the OED’s argument is inconclusive, but the point remains that although the precise etymology is unknown, *margarita* means both *daisy* and *pearl*). The words *margarita*, *arien*, *sigel*, and *daisy* thus participate in an idea group: the association of a pearl¹⁰ or jewel, a flower or plant, the sun, and an eye.¹¹

All the elements of this idea group share the characteristic of being something round and bright or beautiful in the midst of a bland or monochromatic background. Flowers grow in green fields, eyes stare out of faces, pearls are extracted from dull oyster shells, and the sun shines from the blue sky. It is difficult to believe that all these words were lumped into the same idea group across different languages and historical periods purely by chance.¹² Almost everyone, to some extent or another, believes the sun looks like a flower, an eye, or a jewel,¹³ and literary evidence suggests that this semantic association has existed for centuries, most likely because it is part of

human nature (or human cognitive processing) to identify abstract similarities (like those between the sun, a flower, and a jewel) and, perhaps, to create stories, as Tolkien did, in order to explain these groupings.

A brief passage in R.G. Collingwood's and J.N.L. Myres's *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* shows that Tolkien was thinking about this idea group when he wrote Bilbo's riddle.¹⁴ Collingwood, in a footnote to his discussion of the evidence for local gods being worshiped in Roman Britain, writes, "Sulis, the goddess of the hot springs at Bath, is traditionally called Sul; but Professor Tolkien points out to me that the Celtic nominative can only be Sulis, and our authority for believing that even the Romans made a nominative on Sul on the analogy of their own word *sol*—perhaps meaning the same—is not good. The Celtic *sulis* may mean 'the eye', and this again may mean the sun" (264, n. 1). Collingwood, "Professor of Metaphysical Philosophy, Fellow of Magdalen College and Sometime Fellow of Pembroke College," would have had the opportunity to speak informally with Tolkien, as his use of the present tense suggests.¹⁵ *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* was published in 1937, so the two professors would have to have communicated before this date (and given the pace of academic publishing, a year or more before the date is not an unreasonable surmise), which is evidence that Tolkien would have encountered this specific idea group around the same time he wrote the riddle in *The Hobbit*.

We know from Collingwood's note that Tolkien had the word *sulis* and the sun / eye idea group on his mind as he wrote *The Hobbit*. And we know that, about 15 years later, Tolkien was revising *The Tale of the Sun and Moon* around the same time that he was writing the discarded Epilogue to *The Lord of the Rings*. We also know from the foreword to his translation of *Pearl* that Tolkien had considered the link between the name Margaret (the Anglicized version of *margarita*) and pearls. All of this evidence, plus the discussion given above, strongly supports the conclusion that Tolkien recognized the flower, jewel, and sun idea group and thus incorporated it, intentionally or subconsciously, into his work.¹⁶ Indeed, the translation of Daisy Gamgee's name as *Arien* appears to be deliberate and calculated on Tolkien's part.¹⁷ *Why* he made this choice is perhaps impossible to determine, but the evidence presented here does shed some light on the great riddle of *how* Tolkien came up with his remarkable ideas.

NOTES

1. The phenomenon of certain flowers closing up at night is called *nyctinasty* (Palermo).

2. The daisy flower comes from the family *Asteraceae*, a family which also includes sunflowers and asters; all of these flower names are closely correlated with the sun or stars (Brenzel).
3. One might argue, however, that readers ought to select the daisy, or a visually similar flower, as the answer to this riddle, based on the fact that the daisy's petals surround the yellow center of the flower just as the sun radiates rays of light. However, the daisy is not the only flower to have petals that radiate outward from the center; there are many others, such as sunflowers, primroses, sweet briar roses, dog roses, and celandine, all of which are mentioned by Tolkien (for further information, see Hazel).
4. Perhaps a pre-existing cliché of "sun on the daisies" explains the plural form. E. S. Brooks, author of *The Land of Nod*, uses the phrase in his 1889 children's drama *Lord Malapert of Moonshine Castle*.
5. A letter to Milton Waldman reveals that Tolkien was writing the Epilogue around 1950 or 1951. The portion of the letter discussing the Epilogue was omitted from the published text (see *Letters* 160 for the place in which the excision was made) but is printed by Christopher Tolkien in *Sauron Defeated* (129–32).
6. Quenya *aurë* and Sindarin *aur*, both meaning 'day', have the same root, *ur*, 'heat' (*S*, Appendix, "Elements in Quenya and Sindarin Names," *ariën*) (*RK*, Appendix E, i, "The Names of Letters"). It seems that the Sindarin word *Ariën* was at least somewhat influenced by Quenya because the sound shifts in Sindarin would have produced a word with intervocalic *h*. The intervocalic *r* in *Ariën* would be produced by the sound shifts *s>z>r* from the root AS- to Early Quenya *áze* to Third Age Quenya *áre*. (I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer from *Tolkien Studies* for bringing this detail to my attention.) *The Silmarillion* is not the only place that contains information on *The Tale of the Sun and the Moon*; see also *The Book of Lost Tales* concerning Tolkien's earlier drafts of the tale. Christopher Tolkien writes that "Urwen ('Sun-Maiden') was the forebear of Ariën, Maia of the Sun; . . ." (*LT I*, 92). The name *Urwen* appears, in the published *Silmarillion*, as the given name of Lalaith, Túrin Turambar's first sister, but it does not seem that Urwen, Ariën, and Daisy have anything (of consequence) in common with one another beyond their related names. *Urwen* is in fact derived from the root *ur*, which is related to *Úrin*, a "by-name of Anar" (*Parma Eldalamberon* 17, 148).
7. Tolkien had a fondness for the literal interpretations of metaphors. These literal interpretations (which one might even call

equivocations, although not in the sense of a logical fallacy) are present throughout *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. For example, in the first chapter of *The Hobbit*, Tolkien explores various meanings of the phrase *good morning*: “‘What do you mean?’ [Gandalf] said. ‘Do you wish me a good morning, or mean that it is a good morning whether I want it or not; or that you feel good this morning; or that it is a morning to be good on?’” (32). See also Frodo and Gandalf’s discussion of Bilbo’s sparing Gollum in “The Shadow of the Past,” in which Frodo says “. . . What a pity that Bilbo did not stab that vile creature, when he had a chance!” and Gandalf ignores the idiom and interprets “pity” literally: “‘Pity? It was Pity that stayed his hand’” (*FR*, I, ii, 68). Perhaps most illustrative is Gandalf’s reply to Bilbo when the older hobbit asks him to “keep an eye on Frodo,” and Gandalf similarly interprets the idiom literally: “Yes, I will—two eyes, as often as I can spare them” (*FR*, I, i, 41).

The majority of these literal interpretations are found in Gandalf’s dialogue, but there are a few examples that are not spoken by Gandalf: for example, the narrator says that Bilbo “gave away presents to all and sundry—the latter were those who went out again by a back way and came in again by the gate” (*FR*, I, i, 35).

8. In *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*, Tolkien refers to Brynhild as “sun-maiden” and describes Gudrún as “golden-lovely, as flower unfolded fair at morning” (117).
9. The glossaries which Tolkien cites suggest that the plant name, *sigelthweorfa* (literally, *turn toward the sun*), referred to the heliotrope flower. While one could argue that this does not coincide with *daisy*’s idea group because it includes the heliotrope rather than the daisy, the fact still remains that the *sigel* idea group is very closely associated with the *daisy* idea group; it shares the same *ideas*, which are the essence of the idea group.
10. It should be noted that in the introduction to his translation of the poem *Pearl*, Tolkien appears to accept the idea that the name of the narrator’s dead, two-year-old daughter was *Margaret* or one of its derivatives (*Pearl*, Introduction, 11).
11. There is an additional connection in Tolkien’s work between the connotations of *sigel* and *arien* that *daisy* and *margarita* do not share: the concept of being burned (possibly by the sun) until one’s skin turns black. The Ethiopians are called *sigelwara* because they are sun-dwellers, meaning that they dwell in a land so near the sun that

they are burned black by it. This notion seems similar to two images in Tolkien's work, the first of Morgoth's hands burned black by the Silmarils (*S* 80) and the second a detail from *Morgoth's Ring* in which Morgoth is burned black by Arien's fire: "But even as [Arien] foretold, Melkor was burned and his brightness darkened, and he gave no more light, but light pained him exceedingly and he hated it" (*Morgoth* 379–81). Note that in the first example, the burning comes from jewels that themselves are linked—through the light of the Two Trees of Valinor and the fruit of Laurelin—to the sun.

12. Verlyn Flieger's book *Splintered Light: Logos and Language in Tolkien's World* explores in detail how Tolkien's writing was affected by Owen Barfield's principles of the development and 'fragmentation' of language (33–44).
13. It would appear that the comparison of a sun to an eye has a long literary tradition, an instantiation of which may be seen in Shakespeare's Sonnet 18: "Sometimes too hot the eye of heaven shines." Milton also writes, in *Comus*, ". . . day never shuts his eye, up in the broad fields of the sky . . ."
14. Although published as one volume, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* is actually two separate books joined together. Collingwood wrote the first and Myres the second; they do not appear to have collaborated on either part.
15. These are the titles given on the frontispiece of *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*. Collingwood was a fellow at Pembroke College, Oxford, until 1935. Tolkien was also a fellow at Pembroke during that time, which supports the conjecture that he and Collingwood were in close association prior to the writing of *The Hobbit*. Franco Manni lays out all the circumstantial evidence for Tolkien and Collingwood being acquainted in "An Eulogy of Finitude" (25–26 n. 50 and 51).
16. Tom Shippey has argued for seeing philological problems and literary cruces as important sources for Tolkien's ideas (286–316). I suggest that Tolkien's thinking about idea groups also contributed to his creativity.
17. Note that until both the Epilogue and *The Silmarillion* had been published, it would have been impossible for a reader to draw the connection between Sam's daughter Daisy and Arien from *The Silmarillion*.

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Notes and Documents
Stolen Pears, Unripe Apples: The Misuse
of Fruits as a Symbol of Original Sin
in Tolkien's "The New Shadow" and Augustine
of Hippo's *Confessions*

GIOVANNI COSTABILE

"The New Shadow," a brief text by J.R.R. Tolkien (*Peoples* 409–21), was meant as the beginning of a sequel to his masterpiece *The Lord of the Rings*. Even though it is only a fragment of the story he had in mind, just a few pages long, it surprisingly received more than one revision before being finally abandoned. About the text, Tolkien said:

I did begin a story placed about 100 years after the Down-fall, but it proved both sinister and depressing. Since we are dealing with Men, it is inevitable that we should be concerned with the most regrettable feature of their nature: their quick satiety with good. So that the people of Gondor in times of peace, justice and prosperity, would become discontented and restless—while the dynasts descended from Aragorn would become just kings and governors—like Denethor or worse. I found that even so early there was an outcrop of revolutionary plots, about a centre of secret Satanistic religion; while Gondorian boys were playing at being Orcs and going around doing damage. I could have written a "thriller" about the plot and its discovery and overthrow—but it would have been just that. Not worth doing. (*Letters* 344)

The fact that the text was revised, notwithstanding its shortness and such considerations as those just cited above, suggests that it was important to Tolkien, especially theoretically, as it was clearly provided with an intrinsic symbolic value.

In the story, a young man, Saelon, discusses an episode of his childhood with an older man, Borlas, who rebukes him for having stolen unripe apples from his orchard. The discussion leads to some consideration of the nature of Orcs and Men and then rumors about a mysterious Dark Tree and the call of an equally mysterious character named Herumor. Saelon invites Borlas to a meeting in the night and

then leaves him. Borlas enters his house and feels the presence of Evil, the cause of which we are left wondering about, since the tale breaks off here.

A key to the episode is the consideration of the theft of the unripe apples, which the two characters look upon from divergent angles, never to be reconciled. According to Borlas, the theft of the unripe apples is a crime far worse than it seems, for a number of reasons. First, it is wrong to steal. Secondly, and worse, the theft was not committed out of hunger and need for those fruits to any purpose, but just to play with them. The triviality of this act must not shadow its gravity; on the contrary, it reveals to us a carelessness and a corruption which are better clarified by the third, and even heavier, reason. That is the unripeness of the apples itself, which should require even a thief to wait for their right time to be taken from the tree. Seizing an unripe apple means depriving the world of the ripe fruit; it is a perverted act, since it prevents the realization and fulfilling of the true aim of a being, which would be to manifest itself in the fullness of its potentialities. That was the way of the Orcs.

The third reason is the most important, since it concerns the very nature of Evil. In Saint Augustine's thought, Evil consists in the deprivation of Good, and, as Tom Shippey points out (128), Tolkien agreed, although sometimes he also seemed to consider Evil as an independent substance. In "The New Shadow," I think it is quite clear that Tolkien echoes Augustine of Hippo's ideas, and also one of his themes, the theft of fruits.¹ In fact, in the *Confessions*, Saint Augustine reports his theft of a few pears when he was sixteen, and he also points out that, despite the apparent triviality of the act, it was a very vile deed. He acknowledges that the theft was not committed out of need, hunger, desire to taste the fruits, appreciation of their beauty, revenge on their owner, or any other reason apart from the abstract satisfaction of doing the wrong thing, which we can consider as equivalent to playing with the unripe apples.

And let us not forget there is a social dimension of Evil as well: Augustine stole the pears in the company of friends who took delight in that act, and the sharing of that sin reinforced their social bonding in the most perverted of ways. As David Grumett writes: "the solace of friends was a source of repair and restoration for Augustine in his early dissolute life and—that is the key point—a substitute for God" (Grumett 158). Saelon mentions his friends too, when he says he thought of gathering them to go and cut Borlas' trees out of a desire for revenge for having been called an Orc. The impression we get is that the boy had grown dangerously insensitive to what is right and wrong, to Good and Evil, in the company of his friends, that among them he nour-

ished perverted thoughts to receive their approval and admiration for being such a brave, careless, defiant person.²

One could well think that Saelon's corruption is never textually stated, or that his deeds were merely those of a rebel youth, and his words just a boyish reaction to what he perceives as the nonsensical rules of the adult world. His behavior could have been just a phase and so he could nonetheless still be a good person. But such a view overlooks the clear signs that the story provides us with, like the fact that, up to the point where the story is interrupted, Borlas' is the narrative point of view, or the comments Tolkien himself left us about the "satanic religion," of which Saelon seems to be an acolyte—at least he is clearly fascinated by it.

If Tolkien's "The New Shadow" had been completed, there is no doubt it would have told the story of the corruption of Men, who grow tired of Good very soon and are unable to enjoy the ripe fruits of the liberation from Evil consequent to the destruction of the One Ring and the virtuous kingship of Elessar, who restored Gondor to its former splendour. Only 105 years have passed and already Men rejoice in evil deeds; already they are willing to put the realm's prosperity at stake. This is what the theft of the unripe apples symbolizes.

Augustine's *Confessions* does not share this political point of view, but the theology and the morals are the same. Augustine's work shares the concern for the good behavior of young people, who should strive to act well instead of straying from the right path, an error which sometimes leads to the downfall of the heart and the refusal of any chance of redemption.

But let us return to the theft. Lyell Asher states:

The major break in the case comes when Augustine at last finds something for the theft to be dependent on, a precedent in the face of which the illusion of the crime's autonomy crumbles. He suggests that divine omnipotence is the theft's proximate model. What the thieves wanted was the kind of freedom and inscrutability that God alone possesses. In trying to free themselves from God, they had only confirmed their dependence on his example. In struggling for emancipation, he says, they had "perversely imitated" (*perverse imitatus*) God, creating little more than a "shadowy simulation of omnipotence" (*tenebrosa omnipotentiae similitudine*). (Asher 238–39)

In Tolkien's story, Borlas mentions the Great Theme of Ilúvatar and the corruption of Melkor, which consisted precisely in a "shadowy simulation of omnipotence," although not coming from a common boy

but from the most powerful and splendid among the Valar, as Lucifer was the brightest among the angels. The theft of the fruits can be compared to the downfall of Lucifer because it echoes the most important violation of all times: the Original Sin of Adam and Eve, who ate the fruits from the Tree of Knowledge, which God had forbidden them to eat. In *Genesis* it is stated that, after the snake had spoken to Eve, after he had told her that if she ate the fruit she would become equal to God, the fruit seemed beautiful and desirable to her.

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat. (Genesis 3:6)

But let us not think that Eve committed her sin because of hunger, a desire for beauty, or craving knowledge. She did it (and Adam as well) because she wanted to be equal to God. And Saelon as well, denying the wisdom of Borlas, acts out a rebellion against the rightful social order and the mature adult world, an act which can be interpreted as a rebellion against God. He mocks Borlas because he talks about the theme of Ilúvatar. Saelon is therefore putting himself above the old man and equal to God Himself, as Morgoth and Sauron had done before. The sin is exactly the same, although in miniature.

Hannah Arendt wrote about the banality of Evil, taking into account its individual, social and political dimension. She spoke of a society where the banality of *homo homini lupus* is realized, as a warning against the risks of our times.

And that, I think, was a risk that both Tolkien and Saint Augustine were aware of, and which shaped their reflections and their writings.

NOTES

1. A connection between Augustine's thought and Tolkien's works had already been studied in Houghton, considering the influence of *De Genesi* on the *Ainulindalë*.
2. In the chapter devoted to Friendship in *The Four Loves*, C. S. Lewis says:

Friendship, I have said, is born at the moment when one man says to another: "What! You too? I thought that no one but myself . . ." But the common taste or vision or point of view which is thus discovered need not always be a nice one. From such a moment art, or philosophy, or an advance in religion

or morals might well take their rise; but why not also torture, cannibalism, or human sacrifice? Surely most of us have experienced the ambivalent nature of such moments in our own youth? It was wonderful when we first met someone who cared for our favourite poet. What we had hardly understood before now took clear shape. What we had been half ashamed of we now freely acknowledged. But it was no less delightful when we first met someone who shared with us a secret evil. This too became far more palpable and explicit; of this too, we ceased to be ashamed. Even now, at whatever age, we all know the perilous charm of a shared hatred or grievance (Lewis 113).

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Book Reviews

A Secret Vice: Tolkien on Invented Languages, by J.R.R. Tolkien, edited by Dimitra Fimi and Andrew Higgins. London: HarperCollins, 2016. lxxv, 157 pp. £16.99 (hardcover). ISBN 978-0-00-813139-5.

As revealed by Dimitra Fimi and Andrew Higgins, J.R.R. Tolkien presented the essay entitled “A Secret Vice” to the Johnson Society at Pembroke College, Oxford, at 9 p.m. on 29 November 1931 (xxxv). The time, date, and audience of the talk are among the various new details, previously unknown to Tolkien scholarship, that Fimi and Higgins have discovered in the course of researching this new, expanded edition of Tolkien’s important essay on the “secret vice” of language invention.

Entitled “A Hobby for the Home” in the original manuscript, the essay first appeared in print in 1983, edited by Christopher Tolkien and published in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*. Those who have read Christopher Tolkien’s edition (and I would hope that all readers of *Tolkien Studies* fall into this category) may wonder how an essay that filled 26 printed pages, editorial notes included, could possibly warrant publication as a full-length book. Needless to say, this new volume contains more than “A Secret Vice” alone, and there is material here that will be new to even the most seasoned Tolkien scholar, not only in the extensive editorial commentary and the newly published manuscripts related to the essay, but in the text of the essay itself.

Tolkien’s texts in the volume are divided into three main sections: Part I: “A Secret Vice,” Part II: “Essay on Phonetic Symbolism,” and Part III: “The Manuscripts.” Each of these sections ends with numerous editorial notes. A brief Foreword and a detailed Introduction precede the three main Parts, and a Coda on “The Reception and Legacy of Tolkien’s Invented Languages” and Appendices, consisting of Chronology, Abbreviations, and Bibliography, complete the volume. I will treat each of these sections separately, in the order in which they appear in the book, though at times the discussion may naturally encompass related material appearing in other sections.

FOREWORD (vii–x)

In the Foreword, the editors briefly describe the contents of the volume, stating that it “makes available for the first time all the drafts of, and attendant notes for, ‘A Secret Vice’ currently deposited in the Bodleian Library as part of their holdings labelled MS Tolkien 24”

(vii). Here they outline the importance of “A Secret Vice” and summarize what is new in this expanded edition. They round out the Foreword with a statement of their editorial conventions and a good number of acknowledgements.

The editors write that they “have tried to be faithful to the text while making it as readable as possible, with minimal editorial intrusion” (viii). In doing this, they have retained Tolkien’s underlines as underlines, rather than italicizing the underlined words, and have included Tolkien’s deletions with strikethroughs. We have seen this editorial style in some of the more recent publications of Tolkien’s works (e.g., *Beowulf and the Critics*, *Tolkien on Fairy-stories*, *The Story of Kullervo*), and it naturally has both positive and negative aspects. Although it does give the reader a clearer idea of the appearance of the original manuscript, it can look rather unattractive on the printed page, especially if the manuscript in question contains numerous deletions. Fortunately, the manuscripts of “A Secret Vice” and the “Essay on Phonetic Symbolism” are rather clean, with few deleted words and passages, and even the notes and drafts presented in Part III (with a couple of exceptions) are largely free of deletions.

INTRODUCTION (XI–LXV)

The far more extensive Introduction summarizes “A Secret Vice,” but it is primarily concerned with placing the essay in context, or, to be more precise, in several contexts. The Introduction consists of five separate sections, but the last two especially have a fairly broad scope.

“Myth-making and Language Invention” (xi–xiv) discusses Tolkien’s view of these as “coeval and co-dependent creative acts” (xi), reinforcing Tolkien’s statements from “A Secret Vice” with evidence from his other works and letters. The next section, “Theorizing Language Invention” (xiv–xvi), on the other hand, is essentially just a synopsis of “A Secret Vice.”

The third section, “The Languages of Middle-earth” (xvi–xxx), presents a detailed history of the most famous of Tolkien’s linguistic creations, with a focus on the two Elvish languages that appear in “A Secret Vice”: Qenya, later rendered as Quenya, and Noldorin, which Tolkien would develop into the Sindarin of *The Lord of the Rings*. Fimi and Higgins have done their homework here, referencing several of the linguistic texts that have been published in *Parma Eldalamberon* and *Vinyar Tengwar*.¹ They also discuss how these languages relate to Tolkien’s “four key characteristics that imaginary languages should demonstrate” (xxi): aesthetically pleasing word forms; fitness between word

form and meaning; elaborate grammars; and the intertwining of myth and language.

One minor quibble: the linguistic terminology used in this section is a bit off in a couple of instances. The text refers to Tolkien's invention of "base roots by which related Qenya words could be constructed" (xvii). The terms *base* and *root* vary somewhat in usage in different areas of linguistics and even in the writings of different linguists, but in historical linguistics the two are generally interchangeable.² A proper discussion of the distinction between *base* and *root* would fall outside the scope of this review, but one will not find the collocation *base root* used in linguistic scholarship. The statement that "many of the words in the Qenya poem tend to end in open vowels" (xxi) is likewise an over-specification. To say that Qenya words tend to end in *vowels*, or in *open syllables*, would be a correct assessment, but in linguistic jargon, an *open vowel* (also called a *low vowel*) is a vowel that is pronounced with the tongue as far as possible from the roof of the mouth. To say that Qenya words tend to end in open vowels is tantamount to saying that Qenya words tend to end specifically with the vowel *a*.

"'A Secret Vice' and its Immediate Context" (xxx–xl) begins with some of the most interesting new information that the editors have discovered in the course of their research. After noting some clues to the date of "A Secret Vice" contained within the essay and its associated manuscript materials, they not only reveal the precise date, time, and circumstances of the essay's delivery, but also publish the minutes of the Johnson Society for 29 November 1931. The minutes call the essay "one of the most ingenious papers that the Society has ever heard" (xxxii) and provide us with an invaluable contemporary account of its reception. The editors go on to expand the "Immediate Context," explaining what else Tolkien was doing during this period: his scholarly publications, academic endeavors, social connections, and creative writing.

The final section of the Introduction, "'A Secret Vice' and the Larger Context" (xli–lxv), starts with a brief discussion of the history of invented languages. This begins with the languages in early modern "traveller's tales" and early works of science fiction, followed by attempts to create (or re-create) an ideal language, such as the "philosophical languages" of the 17th and 18th centuries, leading to the international auxiliary languages of the 19th and 20th. Among the languages of this last type, L. L. Zamenhof's *Esperanto* receives a particularly lengthy treatment, being Tolkien's springboard for his discussion of invented languages in "A Secret Vice." This section gives a thorough account of Tolkien's relationship with Esperanto, citing the

research that has been done in this area since the essay's publication in 1983. Otto Jespersen's *Novial*, which Tolkien criticized for being "hideous" and "made of spare parts" (xliv–l), also receives appropriate coverage.

The next area of "larger context" is that of sound symbolism, "the idea that there is a direct relationship between the sounds making up a word and its meaning" (li). A brief overview of the scholarly history of this idea ranges from Plato and Socrates to Leibniz, Locke, and Humboldt, followed by a more in-depth examination of the views of major 20th-century linguists: Ferdinand de Saussure, Leonard Bloomfield, Otto Jespersen, and Edward Sapir. The editors note that Tolkien was aware of this scholarly debate, citing his critique of Bloomfield from *The Year's Work in English Studies* (lvi). This leads into the discussion of other contemporaries of Tolkien, beginning with Tolkien's fellow Inkling, Owen Barfield, whose *Poetic Diction* greatly influenced Tolkien's own views on language, particularly on the relationship between sound and meaning and that between language and myth. The argument continues with an examination of the experimental use of language by Modernist writers, specifically Gertrude Stein and James Joyce, both of whom were mentioned in the conversation that followed the original delivery of "A Secret Vice," according to the minutes of the Johnson Society (xxxiii).

PART I: "A SECRET VICE" (1–59)

The essay itself is of course the cornerstone of this new volume, and a significant work in its own right. As the editors explain, "'A Secret Vice' is . . . a key text, from a key period, that not only brings together Tolkien's *academic* and *creative* work on language, but is probably the first occasion at which Tolkien spoke publicly, if a little cryptically, about his entirely private mythology and secondary world" (xl).

Tolkien approaches his subject in this essay with stealth and some trepidation, beginning with a mention of Esperanto and gradually moving on to what he calls an art: "the construction of imaginary languages in full or outline for amusement" (11). He gives examples of certain languages of this sort, such as the Animalic and Nevbosh created by his cousins (unnamed in the essay), and as he discusses his aforementioned desiderata for invented languages, he introduces specimens of his own linguistic creations, beginning with Naffarin and culminating with poetry in Qenya and Noldorin.

On the first page of the essay one can readily see how the new edition differs from the 1983 version. The opening paragraph is presented as a two-column table (4–5), with the main text in the left

column, while the right column presents “an alternative opening for the essay, written in pencil and contemporary with its first delivery” (38), much of the material in which is very similar to passages in the left and thus not particularly worthy of mention. Christopher Tolkien’s version of the text (*M&C* 198) is essentially that of the new edition’s left column, although with significantly more editorial polishing: syntactical infelicities have been smoothed out and much more punctuation has been supplied, though the editors state that they too have regularized some punctuation (ix). Where Tolkien has replaced “America” with “non-Europe” without deleting the former, his son only includes the latter in his edition. Christopher Tolkien does not mention the right column material that essentially repeats what is said in the left column, though in his note 1 (*M&C* 219), he does present two passages that do add something significant. The most notable difference between the two versions of this opening paragraph, however, is the second sentence, in which Tolkien states that he was invited to the Esperanto Congress in Oxford “by a certain Mr McCallum or Macallumo to see a performance of La Onklino de Charlie”³ (5), which was omitted entirely from the 1983 edition, even though Tolkien did not mark it for deletion in the manuscript.

The differences between the two editions are generally not as drastic as in that opening paragraph, though the new edition retains Tolkien’s relatively few deletions, marked with strikethroughs, which were omitted from the 1983 publication. Most of these deletions do not add anything substantial to our knowledge, being primarily minor revisions of wording. Sometimes these minor revisions can be interesting, however, as in the case of the very significant sentence that the 1983 edition gives as “As one suggestion, I might fling out the view that for perfect construction of an art-language it is found necessary to construct at least in outline a mythology concomitant” (*M&C* 210); the new edition reveals that Tolkien originally wrote “view” as “fact” (23). A couple of the deletions are more substantial, such as the deleted sentence in which Tolkien states that he might have called the paper a plea for a New Art or a New Game “with the disgusting arrogance not justified by the possible advertisement value of such a title” (6, strike-through removed). In the case of “orcs snuffling” in the translation of the Noldorin poem (*M&C* 217), the new edition shows that Christopher Tolkien retained a deletion rather than its replacement: “~~orcs snuffling (illeg)~~ foul creatures scented snuffling goblins smelt out footsteps” (32).

There are, however, further passages in the manuscript that were, like the “Mr McCallum” sentence, never deleted by Tolkien but omitted from the 1983 edition. One of these is a paragraph in which Tolkien

explains that he gives no names, because the people whose secrets he is divulging are still alive, with the exception of one (8); I will return to this paragraph shortly, since I believe that it may contain a clue to the elucidation of other new material in the book. Another omission is the sentence, “It is difficult to get evidence of higher stages” (18; compare *M&C* 207). The sentence in which Tolkien discusses the Naffarin word *vrú* ‘ever’ is a jumble in the manuscript, and Christopher Tolkien’s version retains the portion that his father struck out, while it omits the rather confusing explanation that “ever is certainly part of vrú and cedo, cesso [Latin for ‘go, proceed’ and ‘delay, cease,’ respectively] of cutár” (20; *M&C* 209).

The most substantial section that was omitted from the 1983 edition and has now been rediscovered and restored by Fimi and Higgins, however, is the material, written in pencil on two sides of a single sheet and inserted into the examination book containing the surrounding text, concerning what Tolkien describes as “the Fonwegian language spoken apparently in the island of Fonway” (20–21). Christopher Tolkien may have excluded this on the grounds that it appears to have been a later insertion, but the minutes of the Johnson Society clearly show that this section was present when Tolkien gave his talk on 29 November 1931 (xxxii–xxxiii, 4).

Tolkien prefaces this discussion of Fonwegian by saying, “Here I will interpose some material—which will save this paper from being too autobiographical. I recently became possessed by accident of some secret documents—a grammar and glossary and some sentences in the Fonwegian language” (20). The editors claim that “Tolkien is here using the ‘found manuscript’ topos that works such as Percy Greg’s *Across the Zodiac* used to introduce invented languages” (50). Higgins elaborates this in his article, “Tolkien’s A Secret Vice and ‘the language that is spoken in the Island of Fonway,’” stating that Tolkien’s inclusion of the Fonwegian material in the essay served several purposes:

First, it was Tolkien’s attempt to suggest elements of an invented language that, while based on real world phonemes, showed evidence of being entirely individual. Secondly, it was Tolkien’s way of paying homage to past language inventors. Finally, it was Tolkien’s interesting and slightly ludic way to present an example of an invented language which suggested several key characteristics that Tolkien felt were important to the make-up of an art-language. (2)

Higgins suggests that Fonwegian is Tolkien’s own invention, and that Tolkien denied having any part in its making merely in order to break up the monotony of a series of languages that he himself had created,

either in whole or in part: “After taking this autobiographical approach with *Animalic*, *Nevbosh* and *Naffarin* perhaps Tolkien felt he needed to use the ‘found manuscript’ idea to introduce . . . his listeners to the next example of his language invention?” (5).

Tolkien declines to give the names of the other language inventors, whose works he uses as examples in the essay. As a reason for this, he states, “One of the persons whose secrets (not in all cases divulged wholly) [*sic*] is dead, but the others are alive” (8). Who is the one dead person? Neither Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) nor L. L. Zamenhof (1859–1917), the inventor of Esperanto, fits the bill, since Tolkien is not revealing any of their secrets. The “little man” who decided to “express the accusative case by a prefix” was not known to be dead, though Tolkien mused, “Probably he was blown to bits in the very moment of deciding upon some ravishing method of indicating the subjunctive” (8). Tolkien’s cousins, Marjorie and Mary Incledon, though unnamed in the essay, are known to be responsible for *Animalic* and *Nevbosh*, but both of them were still alive in 1931. Finally, Tolkien claims the specimens of *Naffarin*, *Qenya*, and *Noldorin* as his own, so that leaves the inventor of *Fonwegian* as the only candidate.

Who then could be the inventor? Tolkien notes, “I use as evidence merely some of the material that sheer chance has brought my way” (8), but as we have seen, “sheer chance” has barely reached beyond the circle of Tolkien’s own family. One of Tolkien’s previously unpublished manuscripts, which the present book provides for us (91), may hold the key. In what appear to be rough notes for points that Tolkien wished to cover in the essay, we have at the top of the list:

own corpus

[space]

Fonway

aipei

Regarding this brief scribble, Higgins theorizes, “Could this be Tolkien making a list of his examples of his own corpus of language invention: *Fonway* and ‘*aipei*’ representing a word from his *Gautisk*/*Gothic*-inspired language which he worked on in c. 1910–1911 shortly before changing to his early *Qenya* Elvish language?” (6). As Fimi and Higgins note (110), *aipei* is the Gothic word for mother, but why would Tolkien choose this particular word to refer to his *Gautisk* language?⁴ I propose instead that Tolkien may have written “*Fonway*” and “*aipei*” not as examples of his “own corpus” but as something *separate* from it, hence the space, and that (perhaps) “*Fonway*” and “*aipei*” *go together*. Could *Fonwegian* have been the creation of Mabel Tolkien (née Suffield), J.R.R. Tolkien’s mother? I suggest this merely as a possibility.

Although Higgins proposes that Fonwegian is Tolkien's own invention, he nonetheless admits that the sample words "clearly do not reflect or look like any other words from Tolkien's pre and Elvish language invention" (10). John Garth, in his *New Statesman* review of *A Secret Vice*, even goes so far as to say, "The most surprising thing about [Fonwegian], coming from Tolkien, is its ugliness." I agree with both of these assessments. Even when Tolkien's invented languages were intended to sound rough (Khuzdul) or evil (Black Speech), they possess a certain elegance, which the awkward vocabulary of Fonwegian lacks. If Tolkien did in fact invent such an atrocity as *ponb* 'girl' (22), he must have been very young indeed, with an extremely immature linguistic aesthetic, or else he has perpetrated a truly masterful fraud, imbuing this language with a very Swiftian and decidedly *un*-Tolkienian quality.

The text is supplied with a wealth of editorial notes, explaining and providing additional information on various points in the essay. Given how extensive these annotations are, I was surprised that they did not include a note that Tolkien's statement that "the making of language and mythology are related functions . . . not related as disease to health" (24) refers to Max Müller's famous theory that mythology is "a disease of language" (see Flieger 68–69), but this could of course be due to limitations of space, imposed by the publisher.

PART II: "ESSAY ON PHONETIC SYMBOLISM" (61–80)

Fimi and Higgins propose that the previously unpublished "Essay on Phonetic Symbolism" was either Tolkien's first idea for a paper for the Johnson Society, rejected in favor of "A Secret Vice," or else a tangentially related paper, inspired by points raised during the writing of "A Secret Vice" (63). The two essays share a number of ideas, which the editors cross-reference in their notes.

For the purposes of his essay, Tolkien defines phonetic symbolism as "the idea or belief or fact that certain combinations of sounds are more fitted to express certain notions than to express others: that certain groups of notions tend to be expressed (in all languages, or widely among languages) by words sound groups having certain phonetic elements" (64–65). Tolkien discusses the various difficulties inherent in this view, focusing especially on the effects of linguistic change on whatever phonetic symbolism may have been present at the birth of language, but ultimately states his belief that "there is such a thing as 'phonetic symbolism' as defined—though it becomes vague and less susceptible of analysis or demonstration the more general . . . you try to make it" (68).

The manuscript was not brought to the same level of “polish” as that of “A Secret Vice,” and many points are presented only in outline or as keywords. Several of his linguistic examples are presented without explanation, or even any indication of their source languages. The editors do a fine job of clarifying these points in their notes.

Tolkien has raised some of these points elsewhere, such as the “štærks/scratch” example that is more clearly presented in “A Secret Vice” (71, cf. 19), but the “Essay on Phonetic Symbolism” still provides us with plenty of new insights into Tolkien’s ideas about language and language invention. One that I found particularly interesting is: “L? It gives me pleasure. Any language I invent would abound in l. But some languages haven’t got it” (70). Indeed, *l* is present not only in the intentionally beautiful Elvish languages, but also in the deliberately unlovely Black Speech and Orkish (*FR*, II, ii, 267; *TT*, III, iii, 48). Even in the tongue of the Dunlendings, which sounded to Éomer like “the scream of birds and the bellowing of beasts,” the only attested word, *Forgoil* ‘Strawheads’, contains this sound (*TT*, III, vii, 142; *RK*, Appendix F, I, 408).⁵

PART III: THE MANUSCRIPTS (81–117)

This section of the volume consists of a variety of manuscript material, which, like the two essays, is part of the file labeled MS Tolkien 24 in the Bodleian Library. Most of these manuscripts are previously unpublished notes on various topics covered in the two essays. Others are drafts or alternate versions of Elvish poems, mainly those appearing in “A Secret Vice,” and English translations thereof. The documents have not been sequenced according to subject matter, but numerically by the Bodleian’s foliation, with folios 8, 25, 37, 43–46, and 48–52 represented.

Some of the notes are clearly associated with one essay or the other, such as folio 8 (83–85), which consists of hasty notes for the “Essay on Phonetic Symbolism,” itself on folios 3–7 and 9. Others are more tangentially related, such as the notes on invented words and names in *Gulliver’s Travels* on folio 25 (85–86). The tables of consonants in various Elvish dialects on the versos of folios 44 and 45 (93–94) owe their inclusion in this collection to the simple fact that Tolkien used them as scratch paper, writing notes for “A Secret Vice” on the other side.

Although much of this draft material made its way into the two essays, with fuller expression, there are still some Tolkienian gems to be found in the notes that are absent from the essays. The miscellaneous notes on folios 48 and 49 are a particularly rich mine for these, such as: “Paradox. An artificial language could be richer, more beautiful

than a natural, but world poorer by its acceptance. Let's have lots of beautiful artificial languages—garden flowers go wild" (97), and "Tell me a man's language (in any sense) and I will tell you much else" (99). Tolkien gives *Lostwithiel* as an example of "a beautiful name bereft of association" (99, cf. *cellar door* in "English and Welsh," *M&C* 190–91); the editors note that it is the name of a small town in Cornwall (114), yet it would not be surprising if Tolkien had used it in his *legendarium* as the name of an Elven-maid.

The elliptical nature of many of these notes provides us with a number of mysteries. What is the meaning of "ā>p" (85)? Did Tolkien intend to use it as an example of an unlikely phonetic development? Or is "p" a misreading of "q"? Does "ah seh vowel" (87) refer to some dialectal monophthongization of the vowels in "I say"? What is the meaning of "Aishite-sh" (89) on the "Oilima Markirya" manuscript? It cannot possibly be Qenya, which has no *sh*, but *aishite* does exist as a form of the Japanese verb *aisuru* 'love'. Finally, in the label "M.a.Ilk." on one dialectal development of Elvish consonants (93), "Ilk." is certainly "Ilkorin," but what is "M.a."? The editors suggest that "it may be that M.e. was intended, perhaps for Middle-earth" (112), but since all Ilkorin dialects are of Middle-earth, I am not convinced.

Three of the four Elvish poems in "A Secret Vice" are represented by drafts or variant versions in the Manuscripts section: "Oilima Markirya" on folios 43 (88–90) and 52r (102–4); "Nieninqe" on folio 51r (102); and the untitled Noldorin poem on folio 50r (101). A version of the Qenya poem "Narqelion," which does not appear in "A Secret Vice," appears on folio 46r (95–96). These versions have for the most part not seen publication before, though the version of "Oilima Markirya" and its English translation on folio 43 were published in an appendix to Christopher Tolkien's 1983 edition (*M&C* 220–21). Variant readings from the drafts of "Nieninqe" and "Oilima Markirya" on folios 51r and 52r, though not the full texts, were published in *Parma Eldalamberon* 16 (81, 95) in 2006.

CODA: THE RECEPTION AND LEGACY OF TOLKIEN'S INVENTED LANGUAGES (118–33)

The students of Tolkien's languages who hungrily devoured the bits and pieces of Elvish in "A Secret Vice" when it was published in 1983, myself included, had no clue what a wealth of material was yet to be published in the pages of *The History of Middle-earth*, *Parma Eldalamberon*, and *Vinyar Tengwar*. And when J.R.R. Tolkien delivered "A Secret Vice" in 1931, he was equally ignorant of what a demand there would be for the documents of his "mad hobby" in the decades to

come, and even into the next millennium. When he wrote, “The beautiful phonologies, thrown away or mouldering in drawers, arduous if pleasant in construction . . . will not interest you” (26), this may have been true of his 1931 audience, but today there are plenty of scholars who clamor for the publication of such manuscripts. We’ve come a long way.

In the first part of their Coda, “The Reception of Tolkien’s Invented Languages” (118–29), Fimi and Higgins retrace our steps along that way, telling the story of the gradual publication of more and more specimens of the Elvish languages. Intertwined with this is the story of the growth of “Tolkienian Linguistics,” the study of these languages, and the publications, in a variety of media, produced by scholars in this field. The editors present a balanced, impartial view of the occasionally acrimonious debates that have arisen in the course of this history.

The second part of the Coda, “Imaginary Languages for Fiction: Tolkien’s Legacy” (129–33), tells of the labors of other language creators of the post-Tolkienian era. Some of them, such as Ursula K. Le Guin, have incorporated linguistic invention into the creation of their own fictional worlds. Other language inventors have used their creations to enrich the universes of numerous fantasy and science fiction films and television series. Tolkien writes in “A Secret Vice” of the “obviously unremunerative character of the hobby” (17); he could not even imagine a world where conlangers (as practitioners of the hobby of language construction are now known) are actually *paid* to create such things as Klingon and Dothraki for popular consumption.

The editors also discuss how these post-Tolkienian languages “follow and build upon the four key elements that Tolkien thought were important characteristics of invented languages” (132–33), as mentioned above: aesthetically pleasing word forms; fitness between word form and meaning; elaborate grammars; and the intertwining of myth and language. Tolkien also believed that a “hypothetical historical background” is “a necessary thing . . . both for the satisfactory construction of the word-form, and for the giving of an illusion of coherence and unity to the whole” (23). I recently attended a talk by David J. Peterson and Nick Farmer, who have created languages for various television series, and both of them noted the importance of this element in their own creations.⁶

APPENDICES (135–57)

The Appendices require little comment. The first appendix is a “Chronology” (137–40), presenting in tabular form Tolkien’s publications,

works in progress, and related events from the years 1925 through 1933, summarizing information given in the Introduction. The second appendix is a list of “Abbreviations” (141–43), specifically bibliographical abbreviations of the titles of Tolkien’s works, key works about Tolkien, and journals containing works by Tolkien. The final appendix is the “Bibliography” (144–57), an extensive listing of works cited by the editors, divided into four categories: Tolkien’s published works, listed chronologically; materials from archives; dictionaries consulted; and other works cited.

ERRATA

Where the language of the text is English, errors are few: “bird of pray” (52) should be “bird of prey”; “Laurence J. Kreig” (126) should be “Laurence J. Krieg”; “steps of Essos” (132) should be “steppes of Essos”; “Language Construction Society” (132 and 133) should be “Language Creation Society”; and “*Hali Meidhad*” (138) should be “*Hali Meidhad*” (Middle English counts as English). In the translation of the draft version of “Nieninqe,” we find “come” and “felt” (102), which should certainly be “came” and “feet,” as in the version in “A Secret Vice” (30). The 1983 edition has “as close as an oyster” (*M&C* 199), whereas the new edition has “as closed as an oyster” (7); I suspect that the former is what Tolkien actually wrote. Here we may also note “Brobdingrag” (86) for Brobdingnag, known from English literature as the name of one of the fictional countries in Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*.

Moving to non-English languages, the festschrift title *Germanica: Eduard Sievers zum 75* (lv) should be *Germanica: Eduard Sievers zum 75. Geburtstag*; the period marks the numeral as an ordinal, as is common practice in German. “Lallwörten” (70) and “lall-worten” (84) are ungrammatical and presumably mistranscribed (see also the associated notes on 76–77 and 107). The correct plural form of German *Lallwort* ‘babble word’ is *Lallwörter*, with *Lallwörtern* in the dative case.⁷ If these are Tolkien’s errors, they should be noted as such. The Gothic word transcribed as *peivō* (66) should be *peihvō*, where *hv* is the *hv* digraph normally used to transliterate the Gothic letter *hwair* (*hair*). Tolkien’s Esperanto name in the “Book of the Foxrook” is given as “LUTTRO” (41), but it should be “LUTRO.”

It is in the transcription of words and names in Tolkien’s invented Elvish languages, however, that this new volume reveals its greatest flaw. Given the immense importance of these languages in “A Secret Vice,” it is truly unfortunate that this new edition cannot be relied upon to present the samples of these languages accurately. To begin

with, several minor errors appear in Elvish words and names cited from previously published sources. “*Sulimo*” (xix) should be emended to “*Súlimo*”; “*Koivieneni*” (xxix) to “*Koivienéni*” (xxix); “*Namarië*” (46) to “*Namárië*”; “*Kemenumë*” (109) to “*Kemenūme*”; “*Lambengolmar*” (127) to “*Lambengolmor*”; “*sila lumenn*” and “*lasse*” (121) to “*sila lūmenn*” and “*lassi*” respectively; and “*Nieninque*” (139) to “*Nieninqe*” (this being the published title, using Tolkien’s earlier spelling conventions). Tolkien’s occasionally dreadful handwriting cannot be blamed for these.

The transcriptions here of the Elvish poems in “A Secret Vice” also differ at several points from those published by Christopher Tolkien in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*:

súni (27)	súru (<i>M&C</i> 213)
sildaránar (27)	silda-ránar (<i>M&C</i> 213)
yari (30)	yar i (<i>M&C</i> 215)
silqelasseën (30)	silqelosseën (<i>M&C</i> 216)
falastanére (89)	falastanéro (<i>M&C</i> 220)
lólefalmarínen (89)	lótefalmarínen (<i>M&C</i> 220)
taurelasselindan (89)	taurelasselindon (<i>M&C</i> 220)
tellumen (89)	telumen (<i>M&C</i> 221)
laiqu’andoisen (89)	laiqu’ondoisen (<i>M&C</i> 221)
kamevaite (89)	karnevaite (<i>M&C</i> 221)

If they were corrections of previously faulty transcriptions, these new readings would be fine, but comparison with variant texts and translations of these poems, combined with some knowledge of Qenya vocabulary and grammar, will show that Christopher Tolkien’s 1983 transcriptions are the correct ones. Only in the case of “sildaránar” could the new edition be more faithful to the manuscript, since “silda-ránar” could easily have normalized hyphenation, based on the hyphenation of similar words in the following lines. Be that as it may, the draft version of “Oilima Markirya” from Bodleian Tolkien MS. 24 fol. 52r also has hyphenated “silda-ránar” (103, cf. *Parma Eldalamberon* 16:81).

Comparison of the present book’s notation of emendations to this same draft version of “Oilima Markirya” and the draft of “Nieninque” from Bodleian Tolkien MS. 24 fol. 51r (102) with the editions by Christopher Gilson, Bill Welden, and Carl F. Hostetter in *Parma Eldalamberon* 16 shows the following differences:

yari i	yan i (with “r” written above “n”) (<i>Parma</i> 16:95)
vilisen	vilyen (<i>Parma</i> 16:95)
’N· oromandin in	’N·oromandin (<i>Parma</i> 16:95)

qant'i lic
valka ne

qant' i lie (*Parma* 16:95)
valkane (*Parma* 16:81)

Even without the *Parma Eldalamberon* material for comparison, “qant'i lic” is an obvious error, since words cannot end in *c* in either early Qe-nya or later Quenya.

We have no previously published information on the draft of the Noldorin poem from Bodleian Tolkien MS. 24 fol. 50r (101), but “hui” and “melhail” should presumably be “hin” and “methail” as in the main text of the essay (32; *M&C* 217). I would not rule out the possibility that “hui” may be the correct reading in both the draft and the essay, however.

The transcription here of the version of “Narqelion” from Bodleian Tolkien MS. 24 fol. 46r (95–96), likewise previously unpublished, is rather more difficult to evaluate without access to the manuscript. There is no alternate version in the text of “A Secret Vice” to which it can be compared, and the other known version, published in facsimile in *Vinyar Tengwar* 40 with an annotated edition by Christopher Gilson, differs from it at several points, mainly in word endings, so it is not a foolproof guide to the correct reading of the Bodleian version. Several words in the transcription, however, look rather suspect, and this is especially true in those portions of the text transcribed from penciled deletions.⁸ To name the two most apparent errors, “Popláqe-lesta” is certainly a misreading of *Paptaqelesta*, a synonym of *Lasselanta* and *Narqelion* ‘Fall, Autumn’ (see *Parma Eldalamberon* 12:51, 72), and “gantar” should unquestionably be “qantar” (plural of *qanta* ‘full’; cf. Gilson 19–20), since *g* cannot appear at the beginning of a Q(u)enya word.⁹

Finally, there is the inscription in the Elvish *tengwar* script on the dust jacket. This may have been created by some graphic designer employed by HarperCollins and have nothing to do with the book’s editors, but it too is riddled with flaws. I will not take up space with a full list of errors and explanations, but to give one example, the *k* in *kiryá* and *kiryasse* is represented by the letter *calma* in the inscription, but the *k* in *kilúva* has instead been represented by the letter *quesse*. Meanwhile, the *q* of *ninqe* and *ninqerúvisse* has also been represented by the letter *calma*. In writing Q(u)enya, the normal usage is *calma* for *k* and *quesse* for *q*, and *calma* never has the value *q* in any mode of the *tengwar*. Similarly, *yanta* with a vowel diacritic (*tehta*) above it represents both “vowel+*i*-glide” and “*y*+vowel” in the inscription. The former is more usual in Q(u)enya, though the latter is also possible, but both usages can never occur in the same text, since the same *tengwa*+*tehta* combination could be read, for example, as either *ai* or *ya*.

CONCLUSION

A Secret Vice is a welcome addition to the family of expanded editions of Tolkien's shorter works. The previously unpublished manuscript materials, combined with the extensive editorial annotations, add significantly to our knowledge and understanding of Tolkien's important 1931 essay. I hope, however, that we can see a revised edition, with the various infelicities corrected, in the near future.

ARDEN R. SMITH
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NOTES

1. I should note that Fimi and Higgins (and others) use "Elvish Linguistic Fellowship" as synonymous with what has elsewhere been dubbed as the "Editorial Team," i.e., the five editors responsible for preparing Tolkien's linguistic papers for publication in these two journals (e.g., 125). This usage is not accurate. The Elvish Linguistic Fellowship consists (or was intended to consist) of everyone who subscribes to *Vinyar Tengwar* or *Parma Eldalamberon*; see especially *Vinyar Tengwar* 1:1–3.
2. Note that Tolkien defines *Qenya sundo* as "base, root, root-word" (*Lost Road* 388, s.v. SUD).
3. An editorial footnote identifies Tolkien's fellow Inkling, Ronald Buchanan McCallum, explaining that the form *Macallumo* seems to be an Esperanto rendering of the name, "-o being the standard masculine ending in Esperanto" (36–37), though it would be more accurate to say that *-o* is the standard Esperanto *noun* ending. A further note against *La Onklino de Charlie* cites an announcement of performances of an Esperanto translation of Brandon (mis-rendered as "Brendan") Thomas' 1892 farce *Charley's Aunt*.
4. Why, for that matter, does the word *aipei* also appear in the margin of a page containing five tables of Elvish consonants (94)?
5. This is one feature of Fonwegian that is in fact truly Tolkienian: it certainly abounds in *l*.
6. "The Art of Language Invention" at the Bay Area Book Festival, Berkeley, California, 5 June 2016.
7. German *Wort* 'word' actually has two distinct plural forms: *Wörter* (dative *Wörtern*), used of words as individual lexical items, and *Worte* (dative *Worten*), used of words in connected discourse. The

latter is inappropriate in the contexts in which Tolkien uses *Lallwort* in these manuscripts.

8. In the interest of full disclosure, I should note that I have been able to compare Fimi and Higgins's reading with an unpublished transcription of the manuscript made by Patrick H. Wynne in August 1992, and the two versions indeed differ at various points.
9. Humphrey Carpenter made a similar error in transcribing *qanta* as *ganta* (*Bio* 76).

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The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun, by J.R.R. Tolkien, edited by Verlyn Flieger. London: HarperCollins, 2016. xxi, 106 pp. £16.99 (hardcover) ISBN 978-0-00-820213-2.

The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun, by J.R.R. Tolkien, edited by Aleksandar Mikić, with the assistance of Elizabeth Currie. Novi Sad, Serbia: Abraka Dabra, 2015. 287 pp. €20 (hardcover, available from Snovidjenja Publishing House, snovidjenja.publishing.house@gmail.com). ISBN 978-86-918845-0-5.

Writing about *The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun* in 2011, Carl Phelpstead observed: "The poem has never been reprinted, making it now one of Tolkien's least easily obtainable published writings" (89). In that he was right—and wrong. *The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun* was originally pub-

lished in *The Welsh Review* in 1945, a Welsh periodical edited by Tolkien's friend Professor Gwyn Jones. It did not become *widely* available to Tolkien readers and scholars until Verlyn Flieger's official 2016 edition. But it *had* been reprinted once before Phelpstead wrote: in a little-known bilingual Serbian-English edition published in 2002, revised and expanded in a second edition in 2015. This review will address both reprints, focusing on the second Serbian-English edition and Verlyn Flieger's official one from HarperCollins.

The Serbian-English edition was prepared by Aleksandar Mikić, who also translated *The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun* into Serbian. The first edition included the poem in English and Serbian translation, but the accompanying essay was given only in Serbian. This second edition is bilingual throughout, with facing Serbian-English versions of the entire book (Serbian on the left, English on the right), including all introductory and commentary material. The volume begins with a reprint of the *Lay* as it appeared in *The Welsh Review*, with facing Serbian translation, which, I am afraid, I am not in a position to evaluate—though it is commended by Professor Zoran Paunovic of the University of Belgrade (see 277). The *Lay* itself is then followed by an extensive essay titled “Lay of Man and the Supernatural,” subdivided into twelve shorter parts. The essay is a mixed bag of background information that may assist the reader in understanding and appreciating the poem, and a critical evaluation of the poem. Mikić has, consequently, veered beyond the stricter definition of an editor and into that of a literary critic. There is nothing wrong with that, in principle, but it may have been better to separate the two roles for clarity.

The essay itself is of mixed quality. “Tolkien and Christianity” (123–33) gives a brief (and, consequently, rather simplified) introduction to Tolkien's faith and its reflection in his literature, mainly drawing examples from *The Lord of the Rings*. It is a missed opportunity not to link this discussion directly with the *Lay* itself, which does present a particular Christian worldview. “The Celtic Cosmos” (135–45) is rather problematic: although the author begins by dismissing the romanticized ideas of Celticity in popular culture, he goes on to provide a rather old-fashioned account of the “Celts” as a homogenous people, in which evidence from classical authors and Iron Age archaeology are linked in a linear way with medieval Irish and Welsh literature, all the way to 19th and 20th century folklore. This is followed by “Tolkien and the Celts” (147–57) which rehearses Tolkien's dislike for Irish and love of Welsh, as well as Tolkien's use of “Celtic” material in his invented languages and literary works. No references are made here to important previous research on this subject (e.g., Burns; Fimi “Mad

Elves” and “Celtic”; Flieger *Interrupted Music* and *Green Suns and Faërie*; Phelpstead). “Little Britain” (159–69) provides background information on Brittany and the Breton language, as well as the genre of the “Breton lay” in French and Middle English from Marie de France to *Sir Orfeo*. This part could have offered really useful context for understanding Tolkien’s interchangeable use of “Britain” and “Brittany” in the poem, though, again, the research here seems to be coming from rather dated sources; Carl Phelpstead’s very useful discussion (89–104) is not referenced. “Where and when” (171–79) attempts to pin down the location that forms the setting of the *Lay*. “The Source” (181–91) builds on Jessica Yates’s excellent work, which argued convincingly that the source of the *Lay* was “Aotrou Nann hag ar Gorrigan,” recorded in Villemarqué’s 19th-century collection of Breton popular songs *Barzaz Breiz*, perhaps via its cognate, “Clerk Colvill,” in Child’s *Ballads*. This part reproduces the Breton text from Villemarqué without translation (in Serbian or English), as well as the tune to which it was sung. “The Cognates” (193–210) presents a selection of cognate texts, such as the aforementioned “Clerk Colvill” and the French “Le Rois Renaud.” This is followed by “The Briton Harper” (213–21), an attempt to put forward hypotheses on when Tolkien may have encountered the Breton poem and embarked on the process of composing his own adaptation. This section is largely based on speculation (and has now been completely superseded by the new information from Tolkien’s manuscripts presented in Flieger’s edition—see below), but a number of interesting points are made, among others, that the *Lay* shares metrical similarities and motifs with “The Lay of Leithian.” However, the final claim, that the *Lay* was composed first and possibly was the “missing link” (219) between “The Lay of the Children of Húrin” and “The Lay of Leithian,” has not been confirmed by the official edition. “The Corrigan” (223–27) presents an overview of the folkloric background of the fairy being Tolkien employs in the *Lay*, while “Aotrou” (229–33) and “Itroun” (235–39) are character analyses, followed by “The Message” (241–45) which attempts a summative analysis of the main moral “point” the *Lay* is making.

The bibliography that follows (248–54) appears in English only. As noted above, important scholarship on Tolkien’s engagement with “Celtic” literature generally, and Breton texts in particular, is not mentioned here. Curiously, the seminal article by Jessica Yates, which was clearly an important part of the research for the book, and is mentioned in the essay, does not appear in the bibliography. A more general criticism is that the essay does not use in-text citations or footnotes to acknowledge sources, not even for direct quotations, which means that it is very difficult to evaluate clearly which sources referenced in

the bibliography were used to research any given part of the essay. The book acknowledges the “assistance” of Elizabeth Currie (aka Ruth Lacon, aka Ruth Lewis) but it is not clear exactly how active her role was in terms of research, writing, or editing.

The book ends with eight full-color plates, including some stunning illustrations of the *Lay*: one by the editor/author himself (who has also provided the striking cover of the volume), and four by well-known Tolkien artists Anke Eissmann (one illustration) and Ted Nasmith (three illustrations). There are also two illustrations by Ruth Lacon, but they both depict scenes from Welsh folklore, without a clear rationale for including them. Overall, it is clear that this is a lovingly produced volume, the product of hard work and research, but it does not always hit the spot in terms of balance between edition and analysis, or in reliability of research. Its importance (for a non-Serbian readership) pre-2016 would have mostly rested on the reproduction of the text of the *Lay* and the beautiful illustrations, but the official edition by Flieger has mostly neutralized that advantage.

Coming to Flieger’s edition, this is a new “official” volume that sits well alongside other posthumous publications of Tolkien’s retellings, adaptations, or translations of primary world myths and legends, such as *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún* (2009), *The Fall of Arthur* (2013), Tolkien’s translation of *Beowulf* together with accompanying texts (2014), and *The Story of Kullervo* (2015), the last also edited by Flieger. The book is structured in a familiar way, consistent with previous volumes: the finished text by Tolkien, as published or finalized, is presented after an introduction, followed by notes and commentary; then any earlier drafts are included, also accompanied by notes and commentary.

This particular volume opens with a “Note on the Text” by Christopher Tolkien (xi–iii), which outlines the different stages of composition of the *Lay*, together with an attempt at dating the phases of this process. As Christopher Tolkien explains, the *Lay* exists in three texts: 1) a good but incomplete manuscript, 2) a “fine fair copy,” dated 23 September 1930, and 3) a typescript which was later heavily emended, leading to the final text as it appeared in *The Welsh Review*. Earlier than any of these three texts are the two “Corrigan” poems, published for the first time in this volume. This edition includes all of these texts and versions. Christopher Tolkien shows that “*Aotrou and Itrou*n interrupted the composition of Canto X of *The Lay of Leithian*” (xi) and argues that it is unlikely that the “Corrigan” poems are much earlier, a view with which Flieger concurs (xviii). Flieger’s “Introduction” (xv–ix), which follows, places the *Lay* within the context of Tolkien’s interest in the motif of human-fay encounters, identifies Villemarqué’s

Barzaz Breiz as the source of all poems in the volume, and offers useful background on Villemarqué as part of the 19th-century Romantic Nationalism movement, making the important link with Tolkien's imaginative desire for a similar project for England.

The three main parts of the volume present the *Lay* as it was published in the *Welsh Review*, the "Corrigan Poems," and then various draft versions of the *Lay* at different stages of its development. The *Lay* as published is an accomplished piece of poetry that repays close reading. Flieger rightly points out that it comes "from the darker side of J.R.R. Tolkien's imagination" (xv). Aotrou, the childless lord who resorts to the potion of a "witch" to secure his blood line, and deceives his wife with words of seeming Christian piety ("for virtue is in hope and prayer," line 135), seems to be the diametric opposite of Aragorn. While the latter is "fair" despite looking "foul," Aotrou's words are "grave" but "*seeming-fair*" (line 136, my emphasis). The transformation of the "witch" or "fay" or "Corrigan" (Tolkien uses the terms interchangeably), from croaking crone when she gives Aotrou the potion to beautiful, golden-haired maiden when she demands that he become her lover, is striking and effective. Tolkien's description of setting and landscape goes beyond pathetic fallacy to capture something of the folkloric resonances of his source. As Aotrou crosses the invisible threshold in the legendary forest of Broceliande, which transports him from the human world to the perilous faërie realm of this poem: "The sun was lost, all green was grey/ There twinkled the fountain of the fay," (lines 283–84). The subtle alliteration of "green" and "grey" has the effect of a swift change of color palette which enhances the dimming of the sunlight, against which the fountain of the Corrigan glistens. It is a haunting and eerie transition, achieved in just two lines. The poem's conclusion, with its emphasis on faith/hope and the warning against despair, presents a theme Tolkien readers will be familiar with from *The Lord of the Rings*.

The "Corrigan Poems" that follow are a revelation. Here we see Tolkien clearly re-writing two Breton "songs," and staying very close to his respective sources, which he has clearly identified for both poems: "'Aotrou Nann Hag ar Gorrigan' a lay of Leon" and "'Ar Bugel Laec'hiet' a lay of Cornuoaille," both found in Villemarqué. "Corrigan I" is the story of a changeling told from the viewpoint of the mother of the abducted child, and concluding with the eucatastrophe of its return. As per the international folklore motif of using a strange cooking method (often cooking a meal in an eggshell) to trick the changeling into revealing its age, the fairy child here exclaims: "I saw the first egg before the white hen,/ And the acorn before the oak in

den—” (lines 50–51). This idea of fairy beings being present at the very beginning of the world, perhaps even before human time begun, chimes with Tolkien’s mythology and the Elves as the “firstborn” beings. This idea also appears in the *Lay*, in relation to the primeval existence of the fay/Corrigan: “He [i.e., Aotrou] heard her voice, and it was cold/ as echo from *the world of old,*/ ere fire was found or iron hewn,/ when young was mountain under moon” (lines 297–300, my emphasis).

“Corrigan II” is a tragic folkloric tale of a lord who falls into the trap of a beautiful fay and is punished for remaining faithful to his wife, who has just borne his children. This lord is the victim of bad luck, rather than culpable of despair, and the eventual deaths of him and his wife seem unfair and rather pathetic. This second poem is, of course, much closer to the plotline of the *Lay*, though Tolkien has given Aotrou agency—despite the fact that it is for evil, rather than for good. Flieger calls these two “Corrigan” poems a “diptych,” a pair of “adjoining” poems “hinged by a shared title” (29), while Christopher Tolkien refers to them as a single “composite” poem (xii). This latter characterization does not quite ring true: the two poems have a little in common (apart from the agency of a fay/Corrigan) and much that divides them (among others, a happy versus a tragic ending; a mother-child versus a husband-wife relationship; dialogue versus third-person narration)—“diptych” sounds like a more appropriate term.

The third part of the volume gives the stages in between the “Corrigan” poems and the finished *Lay*. First a “fragment” of 29 lines which clearly builds on “Corrigan II” but introduces the childlessness of the lord; then a description and some extracts from what Christopher Tolkien calls “a good but incomplete manuscript”; followed by the complete texts of the “fair manuscript”; and finally by a description of the typescript, together with its first page in facsimile, which shows the degree of Tolkien’s revision of the poem at that stage (he apparently extended the *Lay* by 16 lines). The evolution of metrical and rhyming choices from draft to draft is also intriguing. The “Corrigan” poems are in 4-line stanzas: “Corrigan I” is in rhymed tercets with a shorter rhyming fourth line; and “Corrigan II” features three rhyming lines (a a a), followed by a b-line rhyming with the b-line of the next stanza. By contrast, the “fragment” is in alliterative, unrhymed lines in iambic pentameter; while from the manuscripts and on we have consistently rhyming couplets in stanzas of varying length. Overall, Flieger’s edition gives the reader a comprehensive understanding of Tolkien’s creative process, from retelling to adaptation, and, as she aptly notes, “from folktale to tragedy” (87).

A fourth part, titled “Comparative Verses,” presents the opening and closing stanzas of the Breton “Aotrou Nann Hag ar Gorrigan” (Tolkien’s declared source), Villemarqué’s French translation, two 19th-century English translations (Thomas Keightley and Tom Taylor) and Tolkien’s *Lay*. The editor claims that these comparative materials are here to give “a taste” of Tolkien’s idea that language and mythology are inextricably linked, expecting that “even without a familiarity with any of the languages shown, it is possible to recognize on the page and feel in the mouth differences in shape and sound and delivery” (95) and expecting the excerpted verses to “speak for themselves” (96). Interestingly, this rationale is very similar to the Serbian-English edition’s justification for giving the entire text of the Breton original without translation: “some of the readers . . . may be pleased solely by looking at the verses and imagining how they could sound when retold by some native and ancient Breton singer” (185), claiming that this may replicate the pleasure Tolkien described feeling when first encountering Welsh. The editors of both volumes, therefore, seem to take at face value Tolkien’s (rather romantic) idea that language (even if unfamiliar/un-translated) conveys a sort of “essence” that links it to mythology and culture. This is a central Tolkienian notion, harkening back to Herder’s ideas of the interrelationship between landscape, language and myth, but I am not quite sure it has a place in a critical edition or scholarly analysis.

Flieger provides an introduction and notes for the main three parts of the book. Her commentary is restrained and to the point, providing useful context and explanatory remarks. I would only take issue with its use of the term “Celtic” as a generic adjective for folklore and literary tropes that recent scholarship does not view any more as homogenous, or as linking in a linear way the scant information we have about the ancient “Celts” (even the term itself has also been questioned) with, for example, Breton folklore collected in the 19th century. The cover of the volume is evocative and works well: it features Tolkien’s ink and watercolor drawing “Cove near the Lizard,” done in Cornwall in 1914, which chimes with the *Lay*’s description of the “stony shores” of Brittany and the “roaring seas” upon them. The drawing was reproduced in black and white in Hammond and Scull’s *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist & Illustrator* (25) but here it appears in all its glory in full color.

Flieger’s edition is, for the reasons outlined above, the better of the two reviewed here, naturally so, because of its access to Tolkien’s earlier manuscripts and drafts. But both volumes rightly acknowledge the brilliant research by Jessica Yates, published many years before the re-

cent resurfacing of interest in the *Lay*, and with far less reliable information to go on.

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The Feanorian Alphabet, Part 1; Quenya Verb Structure, by J.R.R. Tolkien, edited by Christopher Gilson and Arden R. Smith. Mountain View, CA: Parma Eldalamberon, 2015. 170 pp. \$40 (oversize paperback) [no ISBN]. *Parma Eldalamberon* 22.

The latest volume of *Parma Eldalamberon* focuses largely on linguistic materials produced by Tolkien during the enormously creative decade-and-a-half span of c. 1936–1951, the same period which saw significant elaboration of the ‘Quenta Silmarillion’ (*Lost Road* 199–338), the writing of *The Lord of the Rings*, and an energetic return to the matter of the Elder Days (*WJ*vii). Many of the documents published in *Parma* since volume 18 make it clear that Tolkien’s creative linguistics somewhat paralleled his literary work on the Silmarillion (in its broad

sense), with the periods both just before and just after *The Lord of the Rings* being particularly fruitful (though language invention, evidently to a greater degree than the *Silmarillion*, seems never to have been set wholly aside). The materials edited in these last several issues of *Parma* have generally covered a roughly similar span of years, being distinguished less by period than by topic: volume 18 dealt with the most archaic and essential features of Elvish root structure and basic morphological operations, 19 with the phonology of Quenya, and 21 with nouns (volume 20 was devoted wholly to writing systems). The present volume contains documents on two topics: spelling (both in Elvish and Roman letters), and the verb; the editors tell us that future volumes will cover further writings from this same period on personal pronouns, and demonstrative, relative, and correlative stems.

The first text edited here is “The Feanorian Alphabet, Part 1,” described by the editor, Arden R. Smith, as dating from “sometime in the late 1930s” (see below for more on the date). This is both the longest document in the volume, and probably of the most general interest to readers of Tolkien. In one sense, this text can be regarded as a continuation of Smith’s formidable presentation of the history of Tolkien’s invented scripts, which have formed part or all of many previous volumes of *Parma*. The current text is, however, of a very different nature from most of its forebears: where the “Pre-Fëanorian Alphabets” or “The Qenya Alphabet” (issues 16, 18, and 20) mostly presented curt notes, scattered charts, and samples of the scripts put to various modern or whimsical uses, “The Feanorian Alphabet” is a coherent and eloquent essay, systematically outlining the history and development of various modes of Elvish writing within Middle-earth.

This subject matter is strongly reminiscent of Appendix E of *The Lord of the Rings*, outlining the structural principles of the writing system, its adaption for the writing of different languages, and the various sound-values and names of the individual letters. “The Feanorian Alphabet” is, however, rather longer, and differs in numerous details from Tolkien’s later conceptions. After a “general or phonetic” mode of the Tengwar, held to be invented by Feanor (so here spelt), is outlined, Tolkien describes four different language-specific applications: for Lindarin, the Parmaqesta variety of Quenya, Old Noldorin, and the Beleriandic or Exilic usage. The uses of these terms reflect Tolkien’s older view of Elvish linguistic history, particularly as outlined in the roughly contemporary “Lhammas” (*Lost Road* 167–98). In this view, Quenya was originally the language only of the First Clan (called the Lindar at this stage, later renamed Vanyar), fixed in an early “classical” form, the Parmaqesta or “book language,” recognized by all Elves as a high-status auxiliary language (functionally similar to Latin in

medieval Europe). The distinction between normal Lindarin and classical Quenya is concretely demonstrated by Tolkien's invention of separate "modes" of writing for Lindarin and for Parmaqesta. The latter is apparently of far more interest to Tolkien: "The Lindarin Use" is sketched in under three edited pages, while the section on "Parmaqestarin Use" extends for nearly nine. For the latter, Tolkien describes changes in convention over time, variant ways of representing vowels, the short names and order for reciting the letters as an alphabet (one thinks of Elvish schoolchildren learning their *pā*, *fā*, *vā*'s), and 'full names' where each letter can be referred to by an example word (so the letter recited as *pā*, representing the sound [p], also has the name *parma* [book]—this principle, and indeed many of the specific names, will be familiar from Appendix E).

The following section on Old Noldorin illustrates just how detailed and apparently firm Tolkien's earlier conception of Noldorin linguistic history was. At this time, he still held to his original view that his 'Celtic-type' language was the native language of the Noldor, descended from their already-distinctive dialect in Valinor (though not taking on its full, familiar form until after their Flight and Exile). Various Old Noldorin forms are cited as historical exempla in other linguistic writings, but this portion of "The Feanorian Alphabet" stands out for strongly anchoring Old Noldorin forms and writing conventions in time and place. This mode of writing was, despite Tolkien's detailed elaboration of it here, destined to become a victim of the great upheavals to the linguistic history that occurred when Tolkien decided that 'Noldorin' was actually 'Sindarin,' a language wholly developed in Middle-earth and only adopted by the Noldor after their return from Valinor: the Old Noldorin script became wholly obsolete, since under the new conception 'Old Sindarin' naturally could not have ever been written using the Feanorian letters.

On the other hand, Tolkien's second Noldorin mode, "The Exilic or Beleriandic Usage," is the close forerunner of the style of 'full writing' seen on the Moria Gate inscription. This section, even longer than the description of the Parmaqestarin mode, is closely rooted in the early history of the Noldor in Beleriand. Tolkien traces changed uses based on linguistic changes, often noting variations found at different places or different times. He at one point contrasts the more archaic Gondolic with "late Exilic (after Y[ear of the] S[un] 307)." The significance of this very specific date is made clear by the earlier dating in "The Later Annals of Beleriand," where the Year of the Sun 307 was the date of the fall of Gondolin (*Lost Road* 142), an event which prompted the formation of 'late Exilic' as refugees speaking various types of Noldorin converged and mingled at the mouths of Sirion.

This reference to “Y. S. 307” (and to other dates consistent with this being the year of Gondolin’s fall) can probably also help us date this first version of “The Feanorian Alphabet” more precisely. In the course of working on the “Quenta Silmarillion,” Tolkien extended the chronology of the Siege of Angband by two centuries, so that the fall of Gondolin was changed to take place in the year 507 (*Lost Road* 257f). This provides us a probable *terminus ante quem* for “The Feanorian Alphabet” of 15 November 1937, when Tolkien gave the “Quenta Silmarillion” to Stanley Unwin (*C&G* 1:205). As a *terminus post quem*, Smith in his introduction notes that the use of *Númenórea* in an example of Parmaqesterin use (19) places the composition of this text after the genesis of the Númenor myth (8). If John Garth’s recent dating of the first appearance of Númenor to 4–8 December 1936 is correct, this would give us a range of less than a year for the composition of this version of “The Feanorian Alphabet,” and probably not at the very end of this span, since Christopher Tolkien observes that the extension of the chronology took place “at an early stage” of work on the ‘Quenta’ (*Lost Road* 258).

Other small but interesting historical details abound, such as a brief biographical note concerning the central but shadowy loremaster Pengoloð (the last consonant is spelled variously by Tolkien), a key figure in Tolkien’s conceptions of how Elvish lore was preserved and transmitted to later days. A paper included in the Old Noldorin section has the note that “*Pengoloð* was of mixed Telerin (Doriath) and Noldorin ancestry, though living in Gondolin.” Given that his earlier history is never presented to us in narrative terms, and is barely mentioned anywhere else, it is remarkable to see very nearly the same origin (allowing for the somewhat changed conception of the Elves of Beleriand) appear some two decades later in Tolkien’s masterful late essay “Quendi and Eldar,” where Pengoloð is “an Elf of mixed Sindarin and Noldorin ancestry, born in Nevrast, who lived in Gondolin from its foundation” (*WJ* 396). Pengoloð’s mixed heritage appears to have been an enduring and important part of his character, anchoring him both in the learned traditions of the Noldor and the perhaps more organic traditions of Beleriand, but any further details (such as who his parents might have been) must remain a mystery.

More broadly, the “Alphabet of Feanor” can be seen as emblematic of this phase of Tolkien’s creative work. In the late 1930’s, he seems to have attempted to complete and expand both his literary and linguistic writings of the Elder Days and to present them as a consistent corpus of lore taught to the Anglo-Saxon Ælfwine by Pengoloð, and by Ælfwine transmitted to us later mortals. Many works already mentioned, from the “Lhammas” to the “Quenta” to the linguistic

writings of the “Tengwesta Qendarinwa,” the “Outline of Phonetic Development,” and of course the extensive “Etymologies” can all probably be seen as part of this same impulse during this period. The centrality of Ælfwine was already clear from the “Alphabet of Feanor,” where the section on the Exilic writing includes a section on Ælfwine’s transcription of the language (33f). This impression is only strengthened by the documents in the second section of the volume, which approach the spelling of the Elvish languages from a different perspective. The first text is indicated by Tolkien to be a section on “Spelling and Transcription” meant for inclusion in a “Qenya Grammar,” but the editors (here, Gilson and Smith together) give it the more memorable name “Qenya Spelling.” This is followed by a series of versions of a document titled (in most of the drafts) “On Ælfwine’s Spelling.”

“Qenya Spelling” is superficially very similar to that part of the “Alphabet of Feanor” dealing with Parmaqestarin usage, but it has a noticeably greater focus on phonology, and elaborates considerably on how Ælfwine is supposed to have adapted the Roman alphabet for use with Qenya. Actually the focus on Ælfwine’s spelling is almost as much on justifying the points in which Tolkien’s usual transcription of spelling differs from what he supposes an educated Anglo-Saxon like Ælfwine would have devised upon encountering Qenya. It is a testament to Tolkien’s concern with philological consistency, and to the fundamental importance of Ælfwine as a ‘mediator’ of the legendarium, that Tolkien should have gone to such lengths to elaborate this intermediate spelling system, rather than referring his own customary spelling of Qenya and Noldorin directly to the ‘original’ alphabet of Feanor.

Perhaps more interesting is the series of six versions of “Ælfwine’s Spelling” which focus primarily on writing Noldorin (renamed to Sindarin in the final version, which is suggestive of the timespan on which Tolkien worked on this text). Though there is a great deal of repetition from version to version, the editors are, I think, wholly justified in presenting each draft in full: part of the interest here is in watching the ebb and flow of Tolkien’s ideas. He begins with a discussion of Ælfwine’s ‘normal’ practice for spelling Elvish names in literary writings, which more or less amounts to writing them using Old English spelling conventions (along the lines of the many Old English versions of names found in *The Shaping of Middle-earth*). Tolkien quickly moves onto his main concern: the considered system of transcription that Ælfwine devised for a more accurate linguistic transliteration in technical writings. Tolkien’s main problem is how Ælfwine would have handled the distinction between voiceless fricatives—[f] and [θ], as in

fin and *thin*—and their voiced counterparts—[v] and [ð], as in *lever* and *leather*—which were not distinguished in Old English spelling. The core of Tolkien’s solution remained fairly stable across the documents: Ælfwine used *f* and *þ* for the *voiced* sounds (odd as this looks from a modern English perspective), and the combinations *ph* and *th* for the voiceless sounds. He refines his statement of the problem considerably, including incorporating a set of example Old English words, and eventually also clarifies the differences in Ælfwine’s approach to Noldorin and to Quenya. The latter is associated much more strongly with Latin because, as he has Ælfwine put it in the final version, “the Quenya is indeed the Latin of the Ælfe (Elves), though it be of greater reverence and age than even the language of Rome or any other tongue among Mortal Men” (77). Other considerations rise and fall—Tolkien, for instance, develops and then rejects the idea that Ælfwine used the letter combination *sh* to denote a voiceless [s] (as in *sip*, not as in *ship*)—so that the whole series forms an excellent short illustration of what C. S. Lewis called Tolkien’s ‘coral insect’ method of working, a curious mixture of steady refinement and scenic detours.

In the first version of “Ælfwine’s Spelling” we also catch a glimpse of how Tolkien changed the justification of certain spelling choices over time. Tolkien was by this point working on *The Lord of the Rings*, and he briefly discusses Ælfwine’s spelling of the name *Rohan*. He notes that in proper Noldorin this should be *Rochan* ‘Horse-land’, but attributes the *h* partly to Ælfwine’s habits, and partly to the “Toleressean pronunciation. In which *ch* has become weakened [to *h*]” (68). It seems likely that Tolkien’s primary motivation in using *h* is to avoid misleading modern readers, who would be liable to mispronounce the Noldorin *ch* (properly as in German *Buch*, not as in English *church*). This explanation of a late Toleressean pronunciation adopted by Ælfwine was a convenient in-world means to account for this spelling of *Rohan* in a philologically acceptable way. However, as the ‘frame device’ of *The Lord of the Rings* changed, and the supposed history of the texts came to revolve around scribes in Gondor and the Shire (see the “Note on the Shire Records” in the prologue to *The Lord of the Rings*), Tolkien found himself left with an ‘incorrect’ form of (now) Sindarin in *Rohan*. He came up with a new solution, which was essentially the old solution in a new historical context: it was the weakening of *ch* to *h* in the pronunciation of Gondor that led to the *Rohan* of the story (*RK*, Appendix E, I, 391; s.v. *Children*; also *UT*, 318f). The actual problem of *Rohan* for *Rochan(d)* is in itself an apparently minor detail, but in accounting for such details we can see the slow shifts in Tolkien’s thought, and in particular the subtle upheavals that were caused by

intrusion of the Red Book as a replacement of or supplement to *Ælfwine* as the great mediator of this ancient lore.

The third and final section of the volume is given over to various texts on the Quenya verb, all edited by Christopher Gilson. The majority of these all clearly belong to the same family of texts, part of Tolkien's attempt to produce a comprehensive set of linguistic writings during the period mentioned above, including grammars of Eldarin and Quenya. As with the other texts discussed so far, Tolkien appears to have done at least a certain amount of work on them even while writing *The Lord of the Rings*, and many of the revisions and later writings appear to date from the 1940's. Their general nature is very much like Tolkien's other linguistic texts, which John Garth has amply described in reviews of previous issues of *Parma Eldalamberon* in this journal. They show numerous layers of revision (posing a significant editorial challenge, which Gilson has generally met effectively, if not always elegantly—lengthy footnotes are unavoidably frequent), take numerous technical grammatical concepts for granted (including ones devised by Tolkien himself, such as *sundóma* and *ómataima*, the explanations of which need to be sought in the “Tengwesta Qenderinwa”), and are unrepentantly grammatical in their focus. For those who do press through all or part of this material there are certainly rewards, and Tolkien's morphological systems should be regarded as a real (if rather abstract) aesthetic achievement in their own right, alongside his better acknowledged successes in the realms of phonology (it might be useful to think of ‘morphaesthetics’ alongside phonaesthetics). But these texts are not for the faint of heart, and even those of a linguistic bent may find them difficult going, particularly when it comes to engaging with the various revisions and alterations.

The core of this section includes two versions of a document on “Quendian and Common Eldarin Verbal Structure,” and a closely complementary text on the “Quenya Verbal System.” These two texts (in their various versions) cover much the same ground, but the first approaches the matter from an Eldarin perspective, and the second from Quenya. In practice, even this difference is not very great. Tolkien envisioned Quenya as preserving a great deal of the Eldarin system, and Tolkien's historical perspective means that he routinely discusses Eldarin and Quenya in terms of each other—and at one point, Tolkien even moves an entire section from one document to the other (98, n. 24, and 122, n. 126). As a chief exponent of a reconstructed verbal system, Quenya appears to occupy much the same place within the Eldarin family as Greek does for Indo-European comparative philology. (There is also a curious specific emulation of one

feature from Greek historical phonology, in what appears to be the operation of Grassmann's law by "using an unaspirated consonant before an aspirate" in Quenya reduplicating syllables; 132.)

As is apparent from the titles, these texts deal with the 'verbal system' broadly speaking. The focus is *not* on the elaborate system of person and number endings in Quenya, but rather on stem formation: how a verbal root or base is altered to signal differences in tense (the distinction in English between "I am walking" and "I was walking") and aspect (the difference between "I am walking" and "I walk"). Strikingly, there is also a fair amount of space devoted to syntax, a rarity in Tolkien's often densely phonological or morphological linguistic writings (Lowdham's "Verbs! Syntax at last!" may serve as a description of these sections). The whole endeavor is indicative at once of the robustness of Tolkien's invented grammar, which is elaborated in finely consistent detail, and of its fragility: the mood affixes of an earlier stage of Quenya have simply vanished (probably prompting the syntactic notes as Tolkien worked out how 'mood' would be expressed phrasally); over the course of revision personal affixes go from being prefixes to suffixes—"I eat" was earlier *ni mati-* (95), and later *mati-nye* (131)—a matter which Tolkien had been, it seems, going back and forth on for decades; and the verb "to be" was completely overhauled at one point (finally giving rise to the iconic form *ea*, *Ea* "it is").

In many of the systematic changes (in contrast to his niggling with the details of particular idioms), Tolkien has the appearance of a gardener: sometimes allowing large new growths, and then pruning back other areas to keep the whole from becoming overgrown. For instance, Tolkien at one point introduced the idea that verbs could, in addition to a "past imperfect" (indicating an ongoing action in the past, e.g., *kárane* "I was making"), also form a "consuetudinal past" (*karalyane* "I used to make"), which was formed by adding past tense endings to a participle. This was in addition to various other past forms Tolkien had already devised,¹ and in revision Tolkien later trimmed this extremely complex system back a little: outside of verse, a given verb would normally use *either* the "past imperfect" or the participial form, now called the "long imperfect" (101, and n. 11). Of course, the trimming only went so far, and the remaining system was still extremely elaborate: Tolkien at one point calculates that, omitting a few rarer or derived forms, there were "about 694 *verbal* forms provided by inflection for a fully conjugated Quenya verb" (110). Tolkien also appears to have been reluctant to impose too many limitations on the language of verse, emulating the kind of poetic freedom he seems to have admired in Homer or the Kalevala.

While much of Quenya's grammar appears to be based on the idea

of transparent regularity and free agglutination, Tolkien spends a fair amount of time elaborating points of striking *irregularity* and idiosyncrasy. This is particularly well illustrated in a set of verbs that Tolkien at one point calls “half-strong” (114), including *ista* ‘know’, *orta* ‘rise’, and *siryā* ‘flow.’ He spent a great deal of time niggling over their past forms (*orta* is of particular interest, since the “half-strong” verb meaning ‘rise’ overlaps in some—but not all—of its forms with a transitive derivative *orta* ‘raise’). He proposes a series of phonological and analogical developments to give each of these verbs a past tense form slightly different in structure from the others: in the “Quenya Verbal Structure,” *sinte*, *oronte*, and *sirinye* (115). From an aesthetic standpoint, such quirks add a great deal of texture to Quenya morphology, which could, in its productive regularity, run the risk of appearing too mechanical and combinatorial. If Quenya could be compared to the city of Paris, such irregularities serve as the narrow and winding Quartier Latin, providing a counterpoint to the city’s many grandly straight boulevards.

The final section of the volume gathers together fourteen documents under the heading “Late Notes on Verb Structure,” though in fact the subjects treated range widely, and even those on the same piece of paper do not always have an obvious relation to each other. These all date from c. 1969, and so reflect a much later stage of work than anything else presented in this volume. Although Gilson does not explicitly say so, it may be that such a large jump implies there are no further materials on the Quenya verb to come, and that everything else from the 1950’s and 1960’s has already appeared either in *Parma* 17 or in one issue or another of *Vinyar Tengwar*. If so, then it may now be possible for an enterprising student to produce a full history of the Quenya verb, as Tolkien developed it across a lifetime of niggling.

The documents themselves are often rambling and brief, occasionally coalescing into short essays—on the whole, they are highly reminiscent of the sort of material that constitutes the bulk of *Parma* 17. The verbs *ista*, *orta*, and *siryā* reappear (157, 159, 164), as they also do in *Parma* 17 (77), a testament to Tolkien’s enduring interest in this verb class (whose history can also be traced in early volumes as well). Negation is discussed at length, especially in note 13, one of the most coherent extended writings in the group (this is tangentially related to the discussion of the *orta* group through the historical morphology of one of the negative verbs, Quenya *ava-*). Intentionality and futurity receive an extended discussion in the final document. Other jottings deal with various sound changes, verbal expressions, and etymologies. One curious note provides a Quenya name for the Rohirrim: *Erulingar*, adapted from “their own name Eorlingas” (158), a term which was

taken up in an example sentence in the later essay on futurity (166). As interesting as this form was, Tolkien subsequently realized it was a mistake, incompatible with the scheme of translation outlined in Appendix F.II of *The Lord of the Rings*, and he accordingly noted: “No—for this would suppose an *actual* contact between *Quenya* and *Germanic* in the ‘Third Age’” (166).

The volume closes with minimal back-matter, just a list of abbreviations. That there is no index is certainly understandable—it would have been an exceedingly complex and difficult undertaking—but is nonetheless a real drawback for the user. Fortunately, the table of contents at the beginning is relatively detailed, as is the summary of topics of the “Late Notes on Verb Structure” (141), which together make it possible to navigate to particular thematic sections relatively easily. Finding examples or discussions of specific words can remain a major challenge.

Taken as a whole, the texts in this volume represent a substantial contribution to our understanding of the more philological side of Tolkien’s creative work, particularly during the central years of c. 1936–1951. While the *Silmarillion* has, not without good reason, been called the work of Tolkien’s heart (to lightly paraphrase Shippey 247), we are increasingly able to see how this might be even better said of his invented languages. The two phases of the *Silmarillion* at the beginning and end of this period appear to have equally vital for his Elvish grammars, and his interest in these was further maintained, at least sporadically, during the period that his literary energies were directed towards *The Lord of the Rings*. Although the section on the Feanorian alphabet is but the latest installment in Arden R. Smith’s ongoing study of Tolkien’s invented scripts, and the presentation of Tolkien’s grammars of this time is ongoing, many of the central strands of Tolkien’s linguistic invention are becoming steadily clearer, in all their arcane beauty.

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NOTES

1. At one point, Tolkien seems to have had at least eight different forms conveying various nuances of past-ness: the (plain) past (*karnë*), the perfect (*akárië*), the past imperfect (*káranë*), the “con-suetudinal past” (*karalyane*), the pluperfect (*karnelyane*), and the “long perfect” (*akárielye/karnelye*), along with the aorist (*kare*), which could often be used of past time when the context was clear.

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Approaches to Teaching Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings and Other Works, edited by Leslie A. Donovan. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2015. xii, 279 pp. \$24.00 (softcover). ISBN 9781603292061.

Over the years, I've relied upon several volumes in the Modern Language Association's *Approaches to Teaching World Literature* series. Each one has proven to be an essential aid in the classroom. In addition, I've admired Leslie A. Donovan's work as a scholar and teacher for more than two decades. And yet, nothing prepared me for Donovan's *Approaches to Teaching Tolkien's The Lord of the Rings and Other Works*. This book is a stellar accomplishment.

There are more than 100 titles in the *Approaches to Teaching World Literature* series. Each one has a clear goal: to provide a comprehensive resource to help teachers cover a significant book in their classrooms. An effort is made to include every kind of teaching environment and various levels of study. Each volume also seeks to reflect "the philosophies, approaches, thoughts, and methods of scores of experienced teachers."¹

Part One of this book is called "Materials." It includes a brief biography of Tolkien, notes on the various editions of Tolkien's work, a splendid overview of recommended books called "The Instructor's Library," and a substantial list of multimedia aids: music, video recordings, charts, maps, and films. It is a skillful overview of a broad and challenging field: in roughly 30 pages, beginners are directed to the most trustworthy voices in the field, and others are encouraged to consider new and noteworthy materials.

Part Two, "Approaches," is the heart of the matter. It consists of 29 essays written by teachers, discussing the nuts and bolts of how they teach Tolkien. What all the essays have in common is a pellucid clarity and specificity: lesson plans, assignments, quotes from students, exam questions, and lecture outlines are all spelled out in glorious detail. Teaching Tolkien for the first time? Here is wise guidance for every aspect of your course. Been teaching Tolkien for years? You will be inspired with the seemingly endless possibilities of fresh approaches.

One of my favorite class projects comes from Robin Chapman Stacey. She divides her class into four groups and gives each group “a list of English place-names together with their Anglo-Saxon roots and translations.” She then asks the students “to imagine that all these names exist in proximity to each other” and has them invent myths that account for these names. As a result of this generative exercise, students “begin to grasp what it means for Tolkien’s tales to have been inspired by and grounded in language rather than the other way around” (85–86).

It’s not all just class activities and lesson plans: these master teachers also wrestle with significant background issues and the unique challenges that Tolkien’s work presents. How do you engage a classroom of students who range from hardcore fans to the most casual, disaffected readers? How do you deal with the sheer number of pages that students must read? How much (and which part) of the legendarium is useful, instructive, and necessary? In what order should the works be considered? Is it possible to understand Tolkien without knowing *Beowulf* (or *Roverandom*? Or “On Fairy-stories”? Or “Ainulindalë”? Or Beren and Lúthien?). How do you handle students who love the Peter Jackson films but loathe the written texts? How (and when and how much) do you raise issues of race and accusations of sexism? And do you even dare mention cultural artifacts such as video games, action figures, role-playing games, fan fiction, Led Zeppelin, and Leonard Nimoy’s “The Ballad of Bilbo Baggins”?

The wide range of available materials and the deep, deep challenges aside, what is truly striking about these collected essays is the sheer variety of ways that teachers are finding to present Tolkien.

Those that focus specifically on Tolkien as a stand-alone class follow a wide range of formats, including a one-semester overview, a lower-division Introduction to Literature, an individualized directed readings course, an on-line class, and as linked courses through interdisciplinary learning communities. Courses are also offered far beyond the study of literature, composition, and linguistics that are usually the purview of English Departments, appearing across the curriculum in film studies, honors programs, and departments of history, philosophy, gender studies, and many more. I admired Kristine Larsen’s choice to use Tolkien to inspire students in a general education science course, and three colleagues in a Department of French, Italian, and Classics who launched a team-taught course entitled “Myth and Legend in the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien.” I was inspired by Michael Tomko’s success with dividing students into “pub groups.” I was frankly astonished to read that Cami D. Agan manages to teach all of *The Hob-*

bit and *The Lord of the Rings* along with substantial portions of *The Silmarillion* in a three-week summer course.

Tolkien-centered classes adopt a wide variety of emphases: examining the theme of eucatastrophe; understanding the complexity of Tolkien's mythology; using *The History of Middle-earth* to examine the nature of the creative process; studying Walter Ong and Albert Lord's theories while using *The Lord of the Rings* to consider the nature of the oral tradition; reading Carpenter's biography along with selected letters and works to gain a sweeping biographical overview; comparing positive and negative reviews of *The Lord of the Rings* in order to better understand literary criticism; and studying Tolkien through the lens of gender studies, or race relations, or linguistic concerns.

There is one noteworthy and nearly universal observation from those who teach Tolkien classes: nearly everyone who signs up to take a Tolkien class has already read *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, often many times over. Generally, teachers find at least one student (sometimes two or three) who has also spent serious time studying Tolkien's languages and alphabets. Craig Franson, for example, writes, "I rarely teach Tolkien's works in a classroom where at least one student does not know a smattering of Elvish" (36). I cannot think of another class where this kind of student preparedness and engagement can be taken as a given.

In addition to classes that focus specifically on Tolkien, there are a striking number of ways that teachers include a Tolkien text as just one book among many. I expected to see teachers using Tolkien in a children's literature course, or a course on modern fantasy. It was delightful to read reports of teachers presenting *The Lord of the Rings* as Pastoral (alongside Theocritus, Philip Sidney, and Matthew Arnold), and as Epic (alongside *The Iliad*, *The Aeneid*, and *The Song of Roland*), or offering it in a course on Philosophical Ethics (alongside Plato, Aristotle, and Kant) or environmental sustainability (alongside Charles Darwin and Edward O. Wilson). The possibilities inspire and the implications go on and on.

Teachers will want a copy of this remarkable book on their shelf and will return to it often. My copy is already dog-eared and thickly annotated. Teachers will also want to visit the book's companion website: "Waymeet for Tolkien Teachers: A digital journal for teaching J.R.R. Tolkien's works and life in post-secondary schools." It includes complete syllabi, classroom handouts, student assignments, and forums for on-going discussion.

But don't think for a minute that only teachers will benefit from this

book. Donovan has done such a skillful job in assembling her team, vetting the content, considering her subject, and offering a comprehensive overview that this book should be seen as a necessary first step for any scholar with a serious interest in Tolkien. As Donovan asserts, "Tolkien scholarship is both a viable and rich field for new literary discoveries and academic discoveries" (ix). It's true; however, there is an unnerving tendency for those who write about Tolkien to do so without adequate reference to established work in the field. Good scholarship must build upon a firm foundation of all that has come before. I can think of no better guidebook to help young scholars identify essential scholarship than this collection. I'll be requiring that my graduate students study it before they turn in proposals for their research papers in my Tolkien seminar. New Tolkien scholars will find a first-rate introduction to the best voices in the field. Seasoned Tolkien scholars will discover significant resources and points-of-view that they may have missed along the way.

In short, this is an essential volume for teachers, students, and scholars. In addition, it is worth mentioning that the release of this book is itself a watershed for Tolkien Studies. The Modern Language Association is "the largest scholarly association in the world and a major force in the humanities in North America."² By including *The Lord of the Rings* in its Approaches series, the MLA acknowledges the stature of Tolkien as one of our most important authors.

It is the mark of a good book review to balance praise and criticism. In that, I have failed. Try as I might, I have been unable to find any glaring weakness in this volume. Like all essay collections, some pieces are stronger than others, but even in this aspect, the occasional inconsistencies in tone and approach merely serve to ensure that the widest possible range of teachers could find a useful starting place in these pages. What is often a weakness in books of this kind becomes just another reason to admire the breadth of this achievement.

I imagine that as teachers and scholars use this great book and recommend it as a starting point to newcomers in the field, we will find ourselves wondering how we ever managed without it. It has moved the whole field one step forward. It demands that, henceforth, we all dig deep and produce much better work.

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NOTES

1. <https://www.mla.org/Publications/Book-Publications/MLA-Book-Series>.
2. From its website: <https://www.mla.org/About-Us/About-the-MLA/Welcome-Letter-from-the-President>. The MLA states its purpose this way: “Its two main activities are to sustain the intellectual and pedagogical work of its nearly 25,000 members and to advocate for better conditions for all of us (scholars, teachers, students, and more), in our profession and the broader humanities.”

Laughter in Middle-earth: Humour in and around the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien, edited by Thomas Honegger and Maureen F. Mann. Zurich: Walking Tree, 2016. 242 pp. \$24.14 (softcover). ISBN 978-3-905703-35-1.

Humor in Tolkien’s work is a vexing subject, particularly to those who think there isn’t any. While his negative critics will allow that his work contains “some whimsical jokes” (Moorcock 107), even the more positive observers frequently comment, with overtones of disapproval, on Tolkien’s lack of the pervasive irony of Modernist literature (for examples, see Curry 379–80). All that this means, of course, is that Tolkien is not a canonical Modernist writer; and, as Patrick Curry notes, while Tolkien is never ironic *about* his fiction, which is what Modernism expects its irony to be, “ironies abound *within* *The Lord of the Rings*, of course, not least that it turns out to be not Frodo or Sam who finally destroy the Ring, nor any of the great and good, but Gollum” (380), a point also made by other scholars and also about other instances than that (Éowyn slaying the Lord of the Nazgûl, for another most obvious example; see, e.g., Enright 131). As for the “whimsical jokes,” no subject is more *de gustibus* than jokes; even Tolkien himself, who delighted in the narrative humor of E. A. Wyke-Smith’s *The Marvellous Land of Snergs*, later had second thoughts about reproducing so much of it in *The Hobbit*.

None of this contentious critical debate, and nothing about whether the internal ironies of *The Lord of the Rings* count as humor or even if they count as irony, makes it into Walking Tree’s anthology of articles on “humour in and around the works of J.R.R. Tolkien.” Where a previous Walking Tree anthology, on *Tolkien and Philosophy*, opened with an impressive 12-page editorial introduction scouring the Tolkien critical bibliography for 62 relevant past titles (Arduini and Testi 9–20), the present book makes no attempt to consider past scholarly discussion

of Tolkien's humor—there has been some—nor do the individual articles cite much of it. Instead, this book begins with a perfunctory five-page foreword by Tom Shippey, who calls Sam's final words in *The Lord of the Rings*, "Well, I'm back," a "non-committal and even pointless remark" (1). Has Shippey forgotten the book he's discussing? Frodo had told Sam to ask Rose "if she can spare you" for a short trip: "Tell Rose that you won't be away very long, not more than a fortnight" (*RK*, VI, ix, 306). And now he's back, just as he'd said he'd be. It's just that, while he was taking this insignificant vacation, he witnessed the unexpected (to him) departure of Frodo—not to mention Bilbo, Gandalf, Galadriel, and Elrond—oversea, and the End of the Third Age before his very eyes, that's all. So his final line is another Tolkienian internal irony, for those with the wit to observe it.

Shippey's foreword actually concerns *laughter* more than it does *humor*. This intensifies a suspicion first aroused in this reader by the book's title, *Laughter in Middle-earth*, that the two are not the same thing. This is fully justified by the essays by Alastair Whyte and Jennifer Raimundo. These both discuss the corpus of instances of Tolkien's characters laughing, which they do not do necessarily because anything is humorous even to them, let alone to the reader. Whyte begins uninvitingly with a theory of laughter, and through examples in *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* reaches the conclusion that, in Tolkien, laughter is a signifier of the relationship between good and evil. Good characters laugh to show that evil has no power over them, and evil characters laugh to show confidence in their power over good, confidence which, Whyte notes, is invariably mistaken (54). Raimundo begins by addressing humor, even briefly considering the wit of the labels on Bilbo's farewell presents, but she quickly turns to a character-based study of laughter. For Raimundo, characters laugh as an expression of mirth—a term Whyte also uses—and, as the "mirth is the expression of joy's confidence" in victory (85), the article essentially functions as a gloss on Whyte's statement that good characters' laughter is a dismissal of the power of evil.

The sheer profuseness of the examples of this mirthful but humorless laughter, however, made me think uneasily of Derek Robinson's unsympathetic citation of the same phenomenon in his essay on Tolkien and humor in Robert Giddings' irreverent 1983 anthology, *J.R.R. Tolkien: This Far Land*. A rebuttal somewhere in these articles to Robinson's reductionist claim that "Tolkien is using *laughter* as a code-word for *reassurance*" (111) would have been welcome, but neither Whyte nor Raimundo cites Robinson. Unfortunately, accumulation of the examples out of context here leaves the impression that, in Tolkien's work, character laughter is a not entirely convincing authorial tick.

Co-editor Maureen F. Mann provides a similarly serious analysis of Tolkien's use of the word "nonsense," pointing out that he uses it not just in the common meaning of "silly" or "trivial" but also literally to mean "unintelligible," a meaning that she states is "absent from the *OED*" (12), although that dictionary's first definition—"That which is not sense"—though regrettably tautological, seems to me to cover that concept. Mann goes on to treat some of Tolkien's poems as nonsense verse, and crosses new horizons in bibliographical citation in her discussion of "The Stone Troll" by referring to "the version of the song which Tolkien sings in a You Tube video" (32), perhaps not recognizing its source in the readings Tolkien made into George Sayer's tape recorder in 1952, which have had a number of official releases in more stable and traditional media.

The spirit of the anthology picks up considerably with the consideration of humor in two of Tolkien works, neither of which is *The Lord of the Rings*. Łukasz Neubauer concentrates on the meanings of the pompous Latinate names and on the whimsical folk etymologies in *Farmer Giles of Ham*, while Laura Lee Smith reveals genuine appreciation of wit in her analysis of etiquette-based humor in *The Hobbit*. Smith shows wit herself by treating *The Hobbit* as an etiquette textbook, framing discussions of particular examples as situational lessons in such circumstances as "Proper Deportment for the Prisoner" or "Daring To Be Offended." Consideration of drafting changes between the early "Pryftan Fragment" and the published text for what they reveal of Tolkien's intent in casting humor by and on particular characters, and highly apposite comparisons with similar etiquette-based humor in MacDonald's *The Princess and the Goblin* and Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, further enliven this excellent essay. The only place where it seems to me that Smith puts a foot wrong is in the reason she offers for suggesting that Bilbo is being ironic in addressing the dragon as "Lord Smaug" (125). All the flattery Bilbo offers is ironic, but it's not because "Lord" before a given name means the bearer has inherited a courtesy title. Smith is correct about this rule (it's very rare for an American to be accurate about anything in the nomenclature of British nobility), but the modern distinction between "Lord" before a given name and before a title (or surname functioning as a title) does not seem applicable to someone who has only one name.

After these pieces, the anthology removes itself from the works of Tolkien and begins to circle around him instead, with two articles analyzing strategies for generating humor in Tolkien parodies. These are intelligently written; but at this point, this reader regrets the absence of an article on the differences between Tolkien's and Peter Jackson's senses of humor, a topic that's received some consideration

online. A thoroughly illustrated article by Davide Martini on humor in Tolkienian artwork reveals that there is not very much of it, save for the unintentional humor of malapropos illustrations of Gollum, particularly in early translations of *The Hobbit*. Martini quotes the original published description of Gollum, but does not clearly state that Tolkien added the phrase “a small slimy creature” in the 1966 revision—probably, as Douglas A. Anderson has suggested, specifically in response to these oversized illustrated Gollums (*H*, v, 118). Somewhat more illustrated humor is revealed in a number of cartoons by various hands scattered throughout the present volume, of which two by Patrick Wynne (210–11) strike me as both the best-drafted and the funniest.

The volume concludes with an entertaining but rambling article by Jared Lobdell on humor—by which he means mostly wordplay and sarcastic wit—among the Inklings. Lobdell is learned in Inklings biography and bibliography, and he jumps around unpredictably among various members, including obscure ones. Occasionally he lands on Tolkien, offering random observations on wit in *Farmer Giles*, *Mr. Bliss*, the “English and Welsh” essay, Tolkien’s clerihews (which send him off on an extended series of clerihews of his own), and even—unusually for this book—on *The Lord of the Rings* (236–38). His examples smell only distantly of irony, but they are not Moorcock’s “whimsical jokes” either. It’s unfortunate, then, that an unusually gentle example of Gandalf’s asperity and a strained suggestion that subsequent events recounted in the Appendices humorously undercut the end of the story’s claim to be its own end (the story had already observed of itself, more profoundly, that “the great tales never end”; *TT*, IV, viii, 321) will have to stand here as the only defense of humor in the work.

Several of the authors here—Whyte, Lobdell, and Evelyn Koch on parodies—feel obliged to begin their articles with extended definitions of their terms. This may be necessary, but it lends a heaviness, reminiscent of Freud writing on humor, to a topic to which only Laura Lee Smith, of the authors here, has found an approach that is appropriately light as well as scholarly.

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The Year's Work in Tolkien Studies 2014

DAVID BRATMAN, EDITH L. CROWE, JASON FISHER,
JOHN WM. HOUGHTON, JOHN MAGOUN, AND
ROBIN ANNE REID

INTRODUCTION [DAVID BRATMAN]

Ecocriticism and philosophy were the growth fields in Tolkien studies for 2014. Studies of nature and the environment as depicted in Tolkien's work had appeared before—*Ents, Elves, and Eriador* by Mathew Dickerson and Jonathan Evans (2006) and *The Ecological Augury in the Works of J.R.R. Tolkien* by Liam Campbell (2011) were the major contributions to this topic—but this was the year the flowers bloomed. Besides an entire collection of papers in *Hither Shore* 11 (2014, though not released until 2015), the yearbook of the Deutsche Tolkien Gesellschaft, under the title “Nature and Landscape in Tolkien,” there were enough other books and papers on the subject to warrant a separate section in this survey, and subsequent years' work has suggested this practice should continue, at least for the immediate future. Ecocriticism is not just defined by topic, but is a discipline with its own language and procedures; whether these match scholarly standards in older disciplines is a matter of some dispute, but, in any case, the work is here.

Philosophy is also a topic that has appeared in Tolkien studies before, and indeed one of the interesting features of the anthology *Tolkien and Philosophy* (Zurich: Walking Tree, 2014) is the presence in the introduction by editors Roberto Arduini and Claudio A. Testi (9–20) of a lengthy chart of 62 earlier studies on the topic in Tolkien going back as far as 1956, including several books. Nevertheless, this book, and the presence of the chart within it, mark a deliberate scholarly invocation of the topic in a way that, Arduini and Testi claim, had not previously been practiced. The book, the proceedings of a conference held in Italy in 2010, is a short collection of two papers and two informal dialogues exchanging ideas. The latter make this an unusually free-wheeling book. Appropriately, then, the philosophy collection is split up in this survey between Literary Theory and Religious/Ethical studies.

Several disparate pieces of Tolkien's own work appeared in 2014: his long-awaited prose translation of *Beowulf*, together with lecture notes and some creative reworkings of the tale; some “Fragments on

Elvish Reincarnation” from the late period of his legendarium, in a book from France; his translation of the Book of Jonah, as a journal article; and some rare and previously unpublished poems in the commentary to a new edition of *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* edited by Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond.

Besides interesting and important monographs and collections in biographical, source, and literary theory studies, discussed under those headers, three important anthologies on Tolkien appeared in 2014. Largest, and perhaps most significant, of these, is *A Companion to J.R.R. Tolkien*, edited by Stuart D. Lee (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), a volume in the Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture. As an attempt to cover all of Tolkien studies within a single compass, it invites comparison with *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion & Guide* by Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond (2006) and the *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia* edited by Michael D. C. Drout (2006), but whereas these are both encyclopedic, the Lee volume is much more a collection of criticism, despite its conscientiously broad coverage. As a collection whose contents are deliberately welded together, it is covered here as a unit under General Works.

Tolkien in the New Century: Essays in Honor of Tom Shippey (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014) is a festschrift whose honoree is so weighty in Tolkien studies that it required five editors to compile: John Wm. Houghton, Janet Brennan Croft, Nancy Martsch, John D. Rateliff, and Robin Anne Reid. It is cited in this survey as “Houghton et al.” Besides numerous papers inspired by and taking off from Shippey’s work on Tolkien in philology, medieval studies, and other areas, the volume includes six brief memoirs and tributes to Shippey by John R. Holmes, David Bratman, E. L. Ridsen, Todd Jensen, Jessica Yates, and John Wm. Houghton (11–27), and a checklist of Shippey’s work on Tolkien (235–36) published since Douglas A. Anderson’s bibliography in *Tolkien Studies* 1 (2004). This is a cut-down substitute for a full updated bibliography by Anderson, which he has since released on academia.edu.

The title of *The Hobbit and Tolkien’s Mythology: Essays on Revisions and Influences*, edited by Bradford Lee Eden (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014) suggests a broader perspective than simply *The Hobbit* as such. Indeed, this collection was inspired by the presentation at a *Hobbit* conference in 2013 of papers by Verlyn Flieger and John D. Rateliff (both included here) discussing unexpected influences on, and indeed by, *The Hobbit*. A majority of the contents are sufficiently broader in consideration of Tolkien’s work, specialized enough in their topics, or both, to be most usefully covered elsewhere in this survey than General Criticism on *The Hobbit*, and one essay (“The Wisdom of the Crowd: Internet Memes and *The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey*” by Mi-

chelle Markey Butler, 222–32) departs from Tolkien altogether to consider the popular influence of Peter Jackson's first movie adaptation, and is thus not covered here.

Somewhat similarly, of the eight essays in English in *Hither Shore 10* (2013, released in 2014, and postponed in coverage from last year's survey), which covers "Tolkien Adaptations," only three include substantive comparisons to Tolkien's work; the other five, whose topics range from Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* movies through a number of radio plays to Tolkien-inspired board games, treat their subjects as independent entities and are thus not covered here.

The year 2014 marked the initiation and volume 1 of the *Journal of Tolkien Research*, a peer-reviewed, open-access electronic journal on Tolkien, edited by Bradford Lee Eden and hosted by his institution, Valparaiso University, at scholar.valpo.edu. This year also marked the publication of volume 11 of the present journal, *Tolkien Studies: An Annual Scholarly Review*, and issue 55 of *Mallorn: The Journal of the Tolkien Society*, dated Autumn 2014. The Mythopoeic Society published two issues of *Mythlore: A Journal of J.R.R. Tolkien, C. S. Lewis, Charles Williams, and Mythopoeic Literature*, vol. 32.2 (whole number 124, dated Spring-Summer 2014) and vol. 33.1 (whole number 125, dated Fall-Winter 2014); its quarterly (monthly through 2012) bulletin *Mythprint* also published articles of interest. Other Inklings-related journals publishing articles discussing Tolkien this year included volume 31 of *Seven: An Anglo-American Literary Review* from the Marion E. Wade Center; volume 9 of *Inklings Forever*, the proceedings of the Ewbank Colloquium on C. S. Lewis & Friends from Taylor University (hosted online at library.taylor.edu); the July–August issue (vol. 45.4) of *CSL: The Bulletin of the New York C. S. Lewis Society*; and two issues comprising volume 4 of the *Journal of Inklings Studies* from the Oxford C. S. Lewis Society, whose October special issue (v. 4.2) on "The Inklings and the Bible" scored the coup of publishing Tolkien's unedited translation of the Book of Jonah for the Jerusalem Bible.

GENERAL WORKS [DAVID BRATMAN]

Unlike previous attempts at covering the universe of Tolkien studies within a single compass, *A Companion to J.R.R. Tolkien*, edited by Stuart D. Lee (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), is not encyclopedic in format. Lee has divided the Tolkien universe into 36 ostensibly equal-sized chunks, and gathered 36 Tolkien scholars to write, one on each topic, approximately equal-sized essays. They run about 7,000 to 10,000 words each, at which length they cannot be comprehensive. So each essay constitutes an overview of its field, with approaches to

each topic varying by its author. The 36 slices include ones for each of Tolkien's major works, a variety of critical themes, various media adaptations, and five each on Tolkien's relationships to philological-mythological traditions and to various sub-fields of Modern English literature. Owing to the size and variety of the essays, they deserve brief individual consideration here.

The first and longest single essay, set by itself as Part I, "Life," is "A Brief Biography" by John Garth (7–23), workmanlike and concentrating more on setting Tolkien's creative work in a chronological context than on his scholarly work or his personal life and character. (It is preceded by a separate, uncredited chronology of life and works [xxii–xxxiv].)

Part II, "The Academic," is the most summarized. Thomas Honegger gives a bibliography at the end of his essay on Tolkien's "Academic Writings" (27–40), but limits his text discussion to selected examples, focusing on those relevant to Tolkien's creative work. Tom Shippey, dealing with "Tolkien as Editor" (41–55), gives characteristically robust philological details in a narrower focus on Tolkien's glossaries and editions of medieval works, the exhaustive coverage including those he never finished. Shippey also considers the effect of Tolkien's work on later scholarship, and does not hesitate to criticize him for dilatoriness. Lee's own essay on "Manuscripts: Use, and Using" (56–76) discusses Tolkien's work with medieval manuscripts (of which little is known), diverts into the fictional manuscript tradition within the legendarium, and then considers the disposition and difficulties in using Tolkien's own manuscripts, with a long chart listing the various manuscripts of one sample chapter of *The Lord of the Rings*, "Shelob's Lair" (*TT*, IV, ix).

Part III, "The Legendarium," considers individual works but begins with two broader discussions. Carl Phelpstead offers a theoretical discussion of Tolkien's "Myth-making and Sub-creation" (79–91), based on "On Fairy-stories" and the poem "Mythopoeia." Leslie A. Donovan ("Middle-earth Mythology: An Overview," 92–106) is slightly more specific, concentrating on Tolkien's purpose in his legendarium, its structure as a mythological collection, and some thematic issues, notably its musical and eschatological elements. Donovan gives a very brief plot summary of the Silmarillion part of the legendarium, freeing Gergely Nagy ("*The Silmarillion*: Tolkien's Theory of Myth, Text, and Culture," 107–18) to summarize the nature of the texts and approach the question of how to read them without any reference to the storyline. While we can never recover Tolkien's intent or even know completely what it was, Nagy accepts the 1977 *Silmarillion* as a reasonably authentic substitute. John D. Rateliff ("*The Hobbit*: A Turning Point,"

119–32) treats *The Hobbit* purely as a composition process and in relationship to Tolkien's other work: the development of the book's plot, adaptations of medieval literature, references to the *Silmarillion*, and revisions in light of the subsequent *Lord of the Rings*. John R. Holmes, covering that masterwork (133–45), does provide a plot synopsis, albeit too condensed for anyone needing it. Holmes also writes a section essentially justifying the novel to fans of the Jackson movies, and continues with brief considerations of matters dealt with elsewhere, especially linguistic inspiration and moral-religious issues. Elizabeth A. Whittingham writes a succinct and balanced book-by-book summary of “*Unfinished Tales* and the History of Middle-earth: A Lifetime of Imagination” (146–60), followed by a cross-volume tracing of the thread of the story of the Children of Húrin, deemed the single most important and complex constituent tale. Verlyn Flieger gives a detailed comparative description of “‘The Lost Road’ and ‘The Notion Club Papers’: Myth, History, and Time-travel” (161–72), considering their framing as a part of the story, their relationship to the tale of Númenor in the legendarium, and their role as lost or incomplete stories. Corey Olsen's quick survey of Tolkien's “Poetry” (173–88) starts with his earliest published verse, giving no special attention to longer works, and offering close prosodic and textual readings of two specific poems, Aragorn's “Where now the horse and the rider?” (*TT*, III, vi, 112) and “Errantry.” Maria Artamonova's “‘Minor’ Works” (189–201) are three for children (*The Father Christmas Letters*, *Roverandom*, and *Mr. Bliss*) and three for adults (*Farmer Giles of Ham*, “Leaf by Niggle,” and *Smith of Wootton Major*). Her medium-length discussions stress the context of or a similarity to *The Hobbit*, and the consequent reference or resemblance to the legendarium. Lastly, Arden R. Smith discusses the nature and extent of the invention in Tolkien's “Invented Languages and Writing Systems” (202–14), giving snapshots of their development at various points in their author's career.

Part IV, “Context,” is evenly divided into two: the contexts of older languages and their mythologies, and the contexts of various periods of English literature. Mark Atherton gives a basic linguistic description of “Old English” (217–29), with a specific and limited discussion of place and personal names borrowed or derived by Tolkien, and a brief literary consideration of the poem *Maxims II*. Curiously, Atherton mentions *Beowulf* only in passing. Elizabeth Solopova begins her account of “Middle English” (230–43) with a detailed consideration of Tolkien's scholarly work in the field, along the lines of Honegger's and Shippey's essays in Part II, followed by a description, broader in focus than Atherton's equivalent, of thematic and motivic elements from Middle English literature used by Tolkien in his creative work.

Tom Birkett arranges his discussion of influences from “Old Norse” (244–58)—literary themes and nomenclature—by the specific Tolkien work rather than by the sources. Birkett includes consideration of Tolkien as a student and Oxford proponent of Norse as an academic topic. Leena Kahlas-Tarkka focuses “Finnish: The Land and Language of Heroes” (259–71) on the *Kalevala*: its structure as a legendarium and its influence on Tolkien, particularly through the story of Kullervo. She also briefly discusses stylistic influence of the Finnish language on Quenya. The essay on “Celtic: ‘Celtic Things’ and ‘Things Celtic’: Identity, Language, and Mythology” by J. S. Lyman-Thomas (272–85) distinguishes Tolkien’s purported dislike of “Celtic things” from the admitted actual influence of “Things Celtic”—language and mythology—on his work. This complex topic sounds murky but is treated clearly.

The volume’s progression through Modern English literature begins with Nick Groom’s consideration of what literary ideas of the period 1550 to 1800 might have influenced Tolkien, or at least stimulated him to respond (“The English Literary Tradition: Shakespeare to the Gothic,” 286–302). Groom discusses Shakespeare, Milton, the anti-quarianism of Percy and Chatterton, and the Gothic movement. This is followed by three essays dividing up the history of modern fantasy literature. Rachel Falconer issues a caution over the futility of source-hunting, and treats “Earlier Fantasy Fiction: Morris, Dunsany, and Lindsay” (303–16) not in comparison with Tolkien, but as alternative models that genre fantasy could have taken. “The Inklings and Others: Tolkien and His Contemporaries” by David Bratman (317–34) discusses how Tolkien and his fellow Inklings, C. S. Lewis and Charles Williams, could be both similar and different, and provides structural comparisons and contrasts of Tolkien’s work with theirs, and with that of Eddison, T. H. White, Mervyn Peake, and the American *Weird Tales* writers, noting also the differences between Tolkien and the later adventure fantasy genre. “Later Fantasy Fiction: Tolkien’s Legacy” (335–49) is a large topic which Dimitra Fimi handles deftly. Dismissing rote imitators of Tolkien’s adventure plots, and writers who define themselves in opposition to Tolkien, Fimi identifies authors whose debt to Tolkien consists of being inspired by the same medieval sources and literary theories, learned either through reading Tolkien or studying the Oxford syllabus, though their creative strategies differ from his: Susan Cooper, Alan Garner, Diana Wynne Jones, and Ursula K. Le Guin. A final section finds that Philip Pullman and J. K. Rowling are less good fits to the Tolkien tradition, but that their similarities to him are still more than trivial. Lastly in this section, Anna Vaninskaya treats “Modernity: Tolkien and His Contemporaries” (350–66) first in

terms of the romantic medievalism of Tolkien's previous-generation influences (William Morris, W. B. Yeats), and second in political terms, identifying Tolkien with Chesterton and Orwell as favoring traditional English homely virtues over totalitarianism or unchecked growth.

Part V, "Critical Approaches," opens with Patrick Curry's "The Critical Response to Tolkien's Fiction" (369–88), largely a polemic extending and applying Tom Shippey's critique of reflexive anti-Tolkien criticism. Stating that the deep revulsion Tolkien has historically received from some mainstream critics isn't rational, Curry seeks its origin in modernist secular philosophy and in a distrust of sincerity. It is a coherent thesis, but does not account for the many secular humanists who love Tolkien's work; nor does it consider the conservative Christian philosophy which is secular humanism's logical antithesis, some of whose adherents attempt to enlist Tolkien in their cultural crusades. Curry concludes with a brisk summary of some recent Tolkien scholarship, mostly by specialists. Allan Turner begins with the premise that Tolkien's "Style and Intertextual Echoes" (389–403) are subtle and finely judged, demonstrating this by examples, mostly from *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit*. Following previous scholars, Turner identifies various shifts in tone and register used as linguistic differentiation between characters and in differing situations. He presents Tolkien as a careful user of rhetorical techniques such as parataxis, chiasmus, and fronting, who does not employ excessive archaism. The lack of novelistic style in *The Silmarillion* explains its reputation as difficult. Anna Caughey measures "The Hero's Journey" (404–17) in *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* against the typologies of Joseph Campbell and Northrop Frye, and defends the stories against a surprising amount of critical denial that they count as quests, noting medieval parallels for Tolkien's characteristic story-telling. The bulk of the essay is a classification of the six principal heroes into three categories: those who journey there and back again essentially unchanged (Bilbo, Merry, Pippin); those who reach maturity (Aragorn, Sam); and Frodo, who—like Gawain or Lancelot—technically fails to achieve his quest but acquires virtue and humility. Christopher Garbowski's topic is less his blunt title "Evil" (418–30) than its contrast with good; Garbowski is more interested in thematic ideas than in examples or psychological analysis. His themes are corruptive power versus healing power, "passive forbearance and active resistance" (426) as paired techniques for resisting evil, the diversity of good as a virtue against the homogeneity of evil, and the ultimate pessimism versus optimism of the story. Garbowski attributes critical neglect of the topic of evil to its externalization in the critically disreputable genre of fantasy, and locates Tolkien's interest in depicting it to his experiences in World War I. Liam Campbell

demonstrates the extensive consideration of “Nature” (431–45) in Tolkien’s works: Tolkien describes natural features, geological and meteorological as well as biological, in detail; he gives nature a voice in characters like Bombadil and Treebeard; and he deplures and mourns its defilement. Campbell sees Tolkien as an instinctive environmentalist before that movement arose. Pat Pinsent uses “Religion: An Implicit Catholicism” (446–60) to read *The Hobbit*, a selection she made for its rarity in this context. While Tolkien’s fiction is not allegorical, Pinsent makes a determined attempt to find Catholic sacramental allusions in the book, from feasting (Jesus ate and drank with the lowly), to the heroism of the common hobbit, to Gandalf’s mysterious comings and goings (likened to Jesus’), to an echo of the Mass text in Bilbo’s polite “At yours and your family’s!” (455). Janet Brennan Croft on “War” (461–72) offers a light biographical overview of Tolkien’s experiences as a combatant in World War I and as the parent of sons serving in World War II, before turning to a consideration of the depiction in his fiction of what was then called “shell shock” and of his employment of just war theory to reconcile his characters’ simultaneous abhorrence of war and delight in battle. Unusually for this book, Croft concludes with suggestions for future research. Adam Roberts is the only author in this book who seems uncomfortable with his topic, which is “Women” (473–86). He presents the feminist case against *The Lord of the Rings*—that female characters are few and marginalized—promising to refute it, but never gets any further than arguing that if Shelob and Éowyn are enforced into passivity, passive receptiveness is a virtue in Tolkien, itself a strained argument. Bizarrely, Lúthien and other strong women from the *Silmarillion* are entirely unmentioned; the only passing allusion to the *Silmarillion* at all occurs in a quotation from another scholar (476).

Three of the final four essays in “Critical Approaches” largely concern artistic responses to and adaptations of Tolkien’s work. Christopher Tuthill begins his consideration of “Art” (487–500) by discussing Niggle as a painter, and mentions but says nothing about Tolkien’s own artwork. The bulk of the article describes other artists’ paintings of scenes from *The Lord of the Rings*. Bradford Lee Eden on “Music” (501–13) is the one who focuses on Tolkien, describing his personal musical background and discussing some of the many references and comparisons to music in his works, particularly the “Ainulindalë” and the character of Tinfaug Warble. Eden also discusses scholarship on music in Tolkien, including on music inspired by Tolkien, but he does not go into that music itself. Kristin Thompson’s “Film Adaptations: Theatrical and Television Versions” (514–29) is light on description of films, being largely a narrative history of the planning and production

of some nine projects (up through Peter Jackson's *Hobbit*), some aborted and some completed, told largely from the point of view of the filmmakers. Thompson thus offers welcome additional information mostly lacking in studies of Tolkien's relations with film, particularly for the Zimmerman project of 1957–59 with which Tolkien was most heavily involved; this was much scappier than generally perceived. However, the story of the Beatles' brief involvement with a *Lord of the Rings* movie, and its relationship with the 1969 United Artists contract, does not consider the (fuller but partly contradictory) story told by Denis O'Dell, a Beatles movie producer, in his book *At the Apple's Core* (London: Owen, 2002). Péter Kristóf Makai ("Games and Gaming: Quantasy," 530–44) likewise gives a detailed history of the development of Tolkien-inspired wargames, role-playing games, computer games, and massively multiplayer online games, impishly suggesting that these are what Tolkien would have meant by "Faërian Drama."

Like Mark T. Hooker's previous books on Tolkien, his *The Tolkienæum: Essays on J.R.R. Tolkien and his Legendarium* ([U.S.]: Llyfrawr, 2014) is a collection of brief essays, mostly but not entirely on philological topics, looking for echoes in Tolkien from the primary world. Some of these were published in the fanzine *Beyond Bree*, in this case between 2009 and 2014. Major topics addressed in this volume include a long set of possible etymological derivations of various, mostly Elvish, words and names in the legendarium; a countervailing and amusing series of brief considerations of various words that might have inspired the word *hobbit* but probably did not; and an argument that the Misty Mountains sequence in *The Hobbit* was closely inspired by Jules Verne's *Journey to the Center of the Earth*.

"J.R.R. Tolkien for the Ages" by Colin Duriez (*Sewanee Theological Review* 57.3: 321–41) is a potpourri of a popular article, jumping from topic to topic with only a common thread of appreciating Tolkien's genius. Duriez begins by identifying reasons for Tolkien's popularity, dips into his influence on C.S. Lewis, then turns to the importance of the interconnected subjects of language and mythology. The article settles here for a while, considering Eärendil's origin, *The Lost Road*, and *The Notion Club Papers* in sequence. Then it shifts to a discussion of Owen Barfield's theory of language (first mentioned in the Lewis section), and concludes with a consideration of the question of whether the Inklings could be said to have had a common purpose.

In a preview of his 2015 book *A Hobbit, A Wardrobe, and a Great War*, Joseph Loconte's "Of Hobbits, Narnia and Postwar Belief" (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 Aug.: A11) is a brief opinion piece declaring that service in World War I "deepened [Tolkien's and C.S. Lewis's] moral and spiritual

convictions,” fostering their belief that “war could be fought for moral purposes” and that “the heroic figure is the one who resists evil.” Loconte oddly identifies Frodo’s capitulation to the lure of the Ring with “combatant nation[s] who] abandoned moral qualms and used any weapon at hand to obliterate the enemy,” an unusual interpretation of Frodo’s failing which also reads more like a description of World War II, thus making the Ring into the Bomb again.

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES [DAVID BRATMAN]

The simply-titled *Tolkien* by Raymond Edwards (London: Robert Hale, 2014) is an important contribution to the study of Tolkien’s biography. Other notable biographical works of recent decades have been partial in coverage or encyclopedic in format and neutral in viewpoint; this one is a full-length narrative biography, the first of its kind to be both fully original and reliable since Humphrey Carpenter’s classic work of 1977. Edwards uses his own research and thought to reach his conclusions about Tolkien’s life, rather than copying previous writers. This is not a revisionist book, however, and little of what Edwards says is revelatory, though much of it is new and interesting. Primary attention is given to Tolkien’s academic career in this book, which is full of detail, often new, on his professional appointments, his role in curriculum debates, and on the long but fruitless history of the Clarendon Chaucer edition that Tolkien worked on for decades but never brought to a publishable state. From this can be seen that Edwards’ interest is more on the academic politics than Tolkien’s specifically scholarly achievements, though these are not neglected. The treatment of Tolkien’s creative writing is brisk, and relies on an impressive variety of high-quality scholarship, but tends not to elaborate on Tolkien’s moral or aesthetic intent. (One exception to this is an appendix on Tolkien’s Catholicism.) On personal matters on which Edwards has no solid material, such as the state of Tolkien’s marriage, he prefers to minimize speculation. The particular strength of this book lies in previously unexplored details, particularly examinations of literary topics slightly outside the usual Tolkien biographical coverage. Examples of these include a comparison of *The Book of Lost Tales* to *Dream English* by Tolkien’s under-discussed friend Wilfred Rowland Childe (113) and a footnoted allusion to a possible biographical anecdote in an Anthony Price spy novel (305). Errors are infrequent and minor; one occurs when Edwards uses an Inklings memoir by James Dundas-Grant as a case study of the unreliability of anecdotal evidence (314–15), when in fact Dundas-Grant had made the necessary distinction between Inklings meeting and pub gathering that Edwards had missed noting;

there is in fact nothing inconsistent or necessarily inaccurate on this matter in the memoir. Edwards here writes of Lewis' "habit of morning beer with cronies some years after its literary function had expired" as if he were ignorant of these Bird and Baby meetings, whereas elsewhere (e.g., 231, 253) he shows himself entirely aware of them.

Devin Brown, author of Christian readings of *The Hobbit*, has written a short (131-page) biography with a long subtitle, *Tolkien: How an Obscure Oxford Professor Wrote The Hobbit and Became the Most Beloved Author of the Century* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2014). Brown does not heavily emphasize that one Tolkien work, however. He smoothly mixes basic facts taken from Carpenter's biography, John Garth's *Tolkien and the Great War*, Rayner Unwin's memoirs, and other sources, including uncollected letters (there are many quotations and textual citations, but no page references or footnotes) with a few points he wants to emphasize in italics: that the background material in *The Lord of the Rings* feels real because Tolkien had already written it, and that C.S. Lewis's encouragement enabled Tolkien to finish his work. In the opening chapters, Brown's attention takes the form of finding parallels between Tolkien's life and fiction. These are not pressed too far, and are typified by an observation on the frequency of fatherless characters, followed by one on the frequency of motherless characters. Brown is shaky on some tangential facts; for instance, an appendix on Tolkien sites fails to note that King Edward's School has moved quarters since Tolkien's student days.

J.R.R. Tolkien: A Life Inspired (Wyatt North Publishing, 2014) is even briefer (92 pages of large print, double-spaced), though it covers some material Brown omits, notably having more on Tolkien's relationship with C. S. Lewis. (The book bears the name "Wyatt North" on the cover where an author's would be, though it's not clear if this is the—otherwise undescribed—author or merely the publisher.) Like Carpenter's, it is more of a topic-by-topic biography than a chronological one. Factual errors largely focus on confusion about the sub-creation. However, this book is level-headed about larger issues in the meaning of Tolkien's work, particularly in a passage on the religious content of *The Lord of the Rings* (82–83), which says that, despite the Catholic core of the story, Tolkien "did not want his writing to strong-arm the reader . . . [he] preferred the still, small voice of Elijah to the resounding horns of Sinai."

Tolkien at Exeter College: How an Oxford undergraduate created Middle-earth by John Garth ([Oxford: Exeter College, 2014]) is a more specialized 64-page booklet, in tightly packed small type. A revision and, for the most part, an expansion of Garth's earlier article "Tolkien, Exeter College and the Great War" (2008), it is better described by its title

than its subtitle, as the focus is primarily on Tolkien's social life in college, and only secondarily on his academic and creative work. However, it is more balanced in that respect than the article it is based on, as some of the most substantive added material relates to Tolkien's creative work. For instance, Garth gives the full printed text of Tolkien's first published college poem (7), which begins "From the many-willow'd margin of the immemorial Thames." The original article had alluded to the poem but not reprinted it. Curiously, however, in neither place does Garth mention that the poem originally had a title, *From Iffley*, and a second stanza which the editor of the original publication lost (*C&G* 2:333). The material on *The Story of Kullervo* is amply expanded thanks to the publication of that text since Garth wrote his article, and when Tolkien is quoted as likening his discovery of Finnish to Keats first looking into Chapman's Homer, Garth kindly quotes the appropriate lines from Keats (21). Among the other additions is an indication of Tolkien's awareness of the poetry of his college contemporary H. R. Freston (43). There are also numerous archival photos, early drawings by Tolkien of Oxford scenes, and facsimiles, including a newspaper report of the suicide of Tolkien's college-room neighbor Sidney Cohen (24) and Tolkien's 3½ page handwritten minutes of the Stapeldon Society meeting of Dec. 1, 1913 (55–58), described by Garth as a "mock epic" that is "his earliest known prose narrative" (26–27). Oddly, however, although the book contains a better reproduction of the photo of the members of Tolkien's club the Apolausticks (14) than the article does, the book omits the article's identification of all the members in the photo, though it does name them in the text (12), albeit with less detail about them than the article gives. The book also abridges the article's full list of the names of those who signed the cover of the college's Sexcentenary dinner menu (29), though it does reproduce the cover (31). Aside from a three-paragraph summary of Tolkien's earlier life (6), the book restricts itself, as did the article, to Tolkien's college life between 1911 and 1915, with a pendant on his reappearance after the war in 1918–20, plus notes on which of his college club friends did not survive the war and what became of those who did. Matters such as the TCBS, Tolkien's romance with Edith Bratt, his war service, or the outside background and inspiration of his writing and his created languages are largely omitted here, as they are covered in Garth's full-length book, *Tolkien and the Great War* (2003), which should be read in conjunction with this pamphlet. In general, this is a diligently researched, remarkably detailed, and concisely written account of an important time in Tolkien's life that is otherwise under-reported but which has left behind much archival evidence and many physical relics on the

ground in Oxford. It has not been commercially published, but copies may be purchased at the lodge of Exeter College, Oxford, or online from the author at www.johngarth.co.uk/php/tolkien_at_exeter_college.php.

A number of articles this year consider Tolkien's early life. "'Africa . . . always moves me deeply': Tolkien in Bloemfontein" by Boris Gorelik (*Mallorn* 55: 5–10) is an illustrated brief biographical account emphasizing the physical surroundings, natural and man-made, of Tolkien's early life there, describing, for instance, the building containing the family home above the bank where Tolkien's father, Arthur, worked. Period and modern photographs supplement the descriptions. Few physical relics from Tolkien's time remain in Bloemfontein (the home was replaced in 1930), and the city has little commemoration of his life. Arthur's unmarked grave was located in the 1990s and a tombstone (also pictured) was then erected.

"Tolkien at King Edward's School" (Arduini and Testi 145–50) consists of reprints of two brief documents from the school, an undated description of the curriculum established in 1906 and a paragraph's report evaluating the papers in the Roman history examination of 1911, with emphasis on Tolkien's paper. To this, the article's author, Giampaolo Canzonieri, has attached descriptions of the documents and of the school's educational mission.

Nancy Bunting, in "Tolkien in Love: Pictures from Winter 1912–1913" (*Mythlore* 32.2: 5–12) is a reading of biographical evidence from a series of Tolkien's paintings of abstract concepts labeled *Earliest Ishnesses*, begun in December 1912. Bunting considers it more than obvious that the "freedom" and "glories" that other commentators have seen in some of these paintings are due to Tolkien's anticipation of his impending reunion with Edith Bratt on his upcoming 21st birthday. Bunting is on shakier ground in attributing darker themes in the paintings to hostility from Tolkien's Aunt Jane Neave, whom Bunting believes could have been counted upon to disapprove of an early marriage and (because of her scientific training) Tolkien's interest in fairy-tales.

If John Garth's pamphlet *Tolkien at Exeter College* is a supplement to his *Tolkien and the Great War*, then his article "'The road from adaptation to invention': How Tolkien Came to the Brink of Middle-earth in 1914" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 1–44) supplements the pamphlet. This latest published, but earliest in topic, of Garth's considerations of Tolkien's inspirations at critical points in his writing career focuses on the September 1914 poem "The Voyage of Éarendel the Evening Star," and secondarily on the immediately-following prose *Story of Kullervo*. Garth expands here greatly on his brief mentions in the pamphlet of two

principal inspirations for the poem. First, its verse form and theme mimic Shelley's "Arethusa." Tolkien had written imitations before, notably his parody of Macaulay's "The Battle of Lake Regillus" describing a school rugby match. Here he is applying the same technique to more serious ends and to reclaim Shelley's classical topic for an original, English mythology. The second inspiration is Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*, which Garth sees as a stronger source than its model in *Kalevala*. Despite Tolkien's known disdain for Longfellow's copying from the Finnish, Garth thinks Tolkien had a continuing admiration for *Hiawatha* and its author, detectable through echoes in other work of far later date. *The Story of Kullervo* also has *Hiawatha* as well as *Kalevala* influences. Garth sees other inspirations as well, finding a specific source for the Éarendel poem's sea motif in a German treatise on the medieval *Orendelsage*. Throughout this discussion, Garth emphasizes Tolkien's developing sense that he can use his models merely as starting points for original creations. This is detectable first in the Éarendel poem in its gradual free movement away from echoing Shelley, and in the Kullervo retelling in the creation of wholly original names. Realization of the extent to which he could rework stories, embed them in his invented languages, and frame them as reconstructed lost narratives allowed Tolkien to begin his own legendarium.

Tolkien's Great War, produced and directed by Elliot Weaver and Zander Weaver ([U.K.]: Free Spirit Film & TV, 2014) is a 33-minute documentary produced for a centenary exhibit on the war at King Edward's School. Covering roughly the same material as Garth's *Tolkien and the Great War*, it appropriately features extensive interview material with Garth, along with two masters from King Edward's School. Beginning with an account of the TCBS at the school, it then jumps to essentially a military history of Tolkien's service in the war, which occupies most of the running time, and it concludes by recounting some of the influences of Tolkien's war experiences on his fiction. His marriage is succinctly discussed, but there are only the briefest mentions of his university career or his writings of the time. Visuals are mostly period photographs; a collage of military officer portraits of the four members of the TCBS is its most striking visual contribution.

The memoir of Eric Stanley, Tolkien's eventual successor as Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford in 1977–91, is modestly titled "C.S. Lewis and J.R.R. Tolkien As I Knew Them (Never Well)" (*Journal of Inklings Studies* 4.1: 123–41), and is mostly about Lewis, but pages 137–41 discuss his experience attending Tolkien's English language seminar as an undergraduate in 1949–51, plus an account of meeting Tolkien at an *Oxford English Dictionary* publication party in 1972, where Stanley pleased Tolkien by recounting how

he employed, with credit, ideas he'd learned from Tolkien in his own teaching at Birmingham University. Stanley describes Tolkien at the seminars as friendly and encouraging, but impatient with philological errors, and as a poor lecturer but full of deep understanding of the works he discussed.

Novelist Paula Coston, in "Tolkien on Writing . . . and Me" (*Writing Magazine*, Aug.: 12–14), includes over 600 words of quotation from letters of advice Tolkien sent her when she was a budding juvenile poet in the 1960s. These mostly concern the rules and restrictions of verse-writing and how these, while limiting a poet's freedom of expression, may by challenge inspire the poet to write something more imaginative than he or she would otherwise have thought of. Tolkien offers Coston his childhood story of the "green great dragon" (see also *Letters* 214) as "my first introduction to the fact that English . . . had its own ways" (13).

GENERAL CRITICISM: *THE LORD OF THE RINGS* AND TOLKIEN'S WORK AS A WHOLE [JASON FISHER]

Expanding on a thirty-year-old question posed by Tom Shippey, Verlyn Flieger asks in his Festschrift, "What did Tolkien mean the Silmarils to mean?" in "The Jewels, the Stone, the Ring, and the Making of Meaning" (Houghton et al. 65–77). To explain the contradiction in the thematic functions of the Silmarils (perfect, unsullied light but catalysts of all the horrors of an Age), Flieger considers analogous themes in the Arkenstone in *The Hobbit* and the One Ring in *The Lord of the Rings*, suggesting that "behind the apparent contradiction there can be discerned a pattern in the making, a design that grew in coherence as the designer's skill improved through practice" (65). Flieger finds Tolkien's execution of the Silmarils the least refined; the Arkenstone more so, though Tolkien is less ambitious with it; and finally, Tolkien's handling of the Ring the most accomplished. Practice makes perfect.

Curtiss Hoffman's "Wings over Numenor: Lucid Dreaming in the Writings of J.R.R. Tolkien" (*Lucid Dreaming: New Perspectives on Consciousness in Sleep*, eds. Ryan Hurd and Kelly Bulkeley [Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2014], 2.127–42) is a thorough, but not exhaustive, survey of lucid dreaming in Tolkien's works, mainly *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Notion Club Papers*, but also touching on *The Hobbit*, *The Silmarillion*, "The Sea Bell," and "On Fairy-stories." Hoffman's analysis is well executed, and his conclusions are sound, as when he notes "the entire set of adventures of the hobbits may be construed as a pair of 'fully clothed' dream narratives, with the main characters (Bilbo and Frodo) undertaking journeys into their own unconscious, during which each

becomes increasingly lucid" (131). In both cases Gandalf "functions as psychopomp" (131). Gandalf's original name, Olórin, is after all associated with an Eldarin root meaning "dream" (see *UT* 396–97). Hoffman concludes with a personal touch: a lucid dream of his own set in Middle-earth.

Dirk Wiemann discusses the many temptations that bait literary theorists into appropriating Tolkien's works for feminist, racial, queer, ecocritical, or other readings in a dense and theoretical piece, "Tolkien's Baits: Agonism, Essentialism and the Visible in *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Politics in Fantasy Media: Essays on Ideology and Gender in Fiction, Film, Television and Games*, eds. Gerold Sedlmayr and Nicole Waller [Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014], 191–204). Tempting as these baits are, Wiemann claims they are all inevitably undermined by Tolkien's dualistic worldview. An excellent example, among many, is that one cannot adduce "the figure of Éowyn to demonstrate how Tolkien allows for female agency," as many critics have done, "when all that agency is enabled only by Éowyn's temporary erasure of her femininity" (192). The apparent strength of this motif for a feminist reading is at once alluring, but on closer examination, just as quickly nullified—because "Tolkien's Manichaeism cannot be wished away" (193). This is the very point: *The Lord of the Rings* offers a "dichotomous constellation of 'the political' in which the antagonist can be clearly identified, so that agency becomes thinkable again as passionate participation and side-taking" (194–95). To support his thesis, Wiemann presents, along with discussion of *The Lord of the Rings*, a rare and welcome close analysis of the short, unfinished tale, "Tal-Elmar" (*Peoples* 422–38). While at first glance, this tale appears to be "a text in which Tolkien for once grants a voice and an own consistent world-view to the otherwise muted Others of his universe . . . even this unfinished fragment tends towards a closure that would re-contain all such possibilities" (192–93).

Swallowing whole one of Wiemann's baits, Sarah Workman seeks to "move the women from the margin to the center of Tolkien's major work" (77) in "Female Valor without Renown: Memory, Mourning and Loss at the Center of Middle-earth" (*A Quest of Her Own: Essays on the Female Hero in Modern Fantasy*, ed. Lori M. Campbell [Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014], 76–93). She maintains that "despite Tolkien's personal misogyny and the heaping criticism against a strong feminine presence in *The Lord of the Rings* . . . Tolkien's female characters mourn their way to the narrative's core," where "mourning becomes an heroic, explicitly feminine act" (77). Workman asserts rather than fully persuades that "female heroes in *The Lord of the Rings* carry the burden of mourning" (82–83) and "defy stereotypes of passivity" (77). She discusses elegiac scenes involving Galadriel, Éowyn, Arwen, and even

stretches to include Goldberry, but she never mentions prominent male elegies in the novel—the moving lament for Boromir, Quickbeam's memorial for his slaughtered rowan trees, the unknown (but male) elegist of "The Mounds of Mundburg," and even Legolas's song of "Nimrodel."

Jack M. Downs is likewise concerned with "recover[ing] the lost or overlooked representations of female heroes in Tolkien's Middle-earth" (55). In "Radiant and Terrible: Tolkien's Heroic Women as Corrections to the Romantic and Epic Traditions" (also in *A Quest of Her Own*, 55–75), Downs examines three of Tolkien's feminine heroes—Lúthien, Éowyn, and Guinevere (two successful, one failed)—through the lens of Joseph Campbell's blueprint in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, concluding that "Tolkien's attempt to correct the failure of the romance tradition and provide a new mythology for England included a revised and expanded range of possibilities for female characters within the traditionally male-dominated literary territory of the heroic quest" (73).

Bernhard Hirsch gives the three chapters of the hobbits' return journey more attention than they normally receive in "After the 'End of All Things': The Long Return Home to the Shire" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 77–107). Are they just a "*ritardando e diminuendo al fine*" (79) toward the "ironic coda" (89) of the scouring of the Shire, do they serve a larger purpose, or are they perhaps both? As part of making his point, Hirsch sets two versions of the "Old Walking Song"—one at the outset of the novel and one at the close—side by side to contrast their variations (referring also to an earlier close reading by Tom Shippey). In the end, Hirsch concludes that "the return is a reintegration on several levels" (101)—physical, seasonal, stylistic, narratological, and thematic.

In a student-award-winning paper from the 2014 Frances White Ewbank Colloquium at Taylor University, Alethea Gaarden contrasts and seeks to reconcile realistic and medievalized narratives of war in "The Wars We Sing Of: Modern and Medieval Warfare in Tolkien's Middle-earth" (*Inklings Forever* 9). Her central contention is that "war can only be processed and communicated as story," whether the war is genuine historical experience or Tolkien's fictional analogue "that echoes with both medieval honor and modern disillusionment." She notes that cartographic elements represent an important touchstone to mythic history and suggests that cultural landmarks in Tolkien's maps are analogous to how "an Englishman of Tolkien's day might react to the fields of Agincourt, Waterloo, or—should he wish to revisit old stomping grounds—the battered, desolate plains of the Somme." The first part of her title is not a paraphrase of Virgil, as it might seem

at first glance, but rather of “The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm’s Son.”

In “Hyde’s Deformity: The Literary Myth of the Fallen Protohuman” (*Humanities* 3.1: 59–70), William M. Webb discusses the mythical protohuman in a range of works in the Western canon, from figures in Indo-European, Native American, and biblical creation myths to Jonathan Swift’s Gulliver, Robert Louis Stevenson’s Dr. Jekyll, and Tolkien’s Aragorn. Webb describes how the prowess and superiority of these protohuman characters gives way through an inevitable spiritual fall to “diminished stature and deformity” (59). Webb says much less than he might about Tolkien, and his example of Aragorn is probably not the best he might have chosen, but he concludes that Middle-earth is imbued with “a strong pathos for the decay of the world, consistently mirrored by Aragorn’s valiant attempts to validate the legacy of his ancestors” (63).

Attempts to unravel the mysteries of Tom Bombadil will probably never cease; he is as enigmatic as his devotees are persistent. The latest attempt is “Tom Bombadil and the Journey for Middle-earth” (*Mallorn* 55: 11–13), in which Kerry Brooks seeks to “analyz[e] Bombadil fully within the context of the world he was written into,” where other critics have usually explained him allegorically or through “characters in mythologies or histories outside of Tolkien’s universe” (11). Borrowing a metaphor from Liam Campbell’s 2010 article “The Enigmatic Mr. Bombadil,” Brooks observes that Bombadil’s morality “cannot be gauged” (13) by the Ring and suggests we can view Bombadil as a foil to the Ring itself. She makes a bit too much of Bombadil’s importance when she concludes that Bombadil’s powers “ensure [the Ring’s] destruction and, in the end, the citizens of Middle-earth have him to thank for their freedom” (13), forgetting Tolkien’s own opinion that “Tom Bombadil is not an important person—to the narrative” (*Letters* 178).

While Bilbo’s and Frodo’s respective journeys have been called quests, adventures, epics, crusades, even allegories (*pace* Tolkien), Vickie L. Holtz-Wodzak suggests they may equally be viewed as pilgrimages in “Travel, Redemption and Peacemaking: Hobbits, Dwarves and Elves and the Transformative Power of Pilgrimage” (Eden 181–94). She sees Tolkien’s Catholicism and love of medieval literature as key evidence for this hypothesis, and she assembles a solid case. She makes some etymological arguments as well, such as pointing out that the names Peregrin and Mithrandir both mean or contain elements meaning “pilgrim.” The essay is marred by a few errors and could have benefited from more careful editing.

The title of John B. Marino’s essay, “The Presence of the Past in *The Lord of the Rings*” (Houghton et al. 169–81), pretty much says it all. The

essay is little more than a survey of how motifs and elements representing the remote past continue to overshadow and influence the present—people, places, relics, just about everything—with the intention of evoking “a sentimentality, a pervading nostalgia” (181). This essay’s place in a Festschrift for Tom Shippey contrasts rather conspicuously with all of its fellows: it makes no reference to Shippey, nor indeed to any other scholar or critic. Apart from one reference to the Carpenter biography, the essay’s entire ambit is Tolkien’s novel and Marino’s own reading of it. I’m not sure this is such a good thing. The essay comes across as fairly facile; surely it would have benefited from engaging with the work of others.

In “‘The *Fantasy Complex*’: Close Reading: *The Hobbit* & *The Lord of the Rings*” (*Caietele Echinox* 26: 83–98), Ruxandra Cesereanu proposes a behavioral “fantasy complex” and argues that we find a therapy in authors like J.R.R. Tolkien, C. S. Lewis, and J. K. Rowling for the “pathogenic note of contemporary society” (83). The bulk of her essay claims to consist of close readings of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, but these are little more than plot rehearsals with occasional, obvious analysis, leaving Cesereanu’s exploration of a potentially rich thesis superficial.

Dominick Grace contributes short essays on each volume of *The Lord of the Rings* to a new literary encyclopedia aimed at high school and undergraduate students, and which I am afraid to say feels as if it were written by them too (“*The Fellowship of the Ring*,” “*The Two Towers*,” “*The Return of the King*,” *Introduction to Literary Context: World Literature* [Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, 2014], 53–60, 283–90, 219–26). These are not much more than cribs of the plot of each installment, followed by selective and shallow overviews of symbols, motifs, and context. All of this is meandering, not very well written, and contains more than a few errors. Because each volume of *The Lord of the Rings* is discussed separately in disparate parts of the encyclopedia (works are alphabetized by title), there is an enormous amount of verbatim repetition between the three essays. Even this does not prevent disagreement between them, as for example, in the first essay, where the author writes that Tolkien began work on *The Lord of the Rings* in 1937 (56); in the second essay, in 1936 (286), an obvious error; and in the third essay, 1936 again (222).

GENERAL CRITICISM: *THE HOBBIT* [ROBIN ANNE REID]

The year’s scholarship on Tolkien’s first published fiction includes studies of influences from the medieval to the Victorian, and several works clearly written to support teaching of the book. The major work

on *The Hobbit* in 2014 was Bradford Lee Eden's collection *The Hobbit and Tolkien's Mythology*. Five of its 15 essays fall under General Criticism.

The first two essays in Eden's collection deal with the complex topic of the changes in Tolkien's construction of the Dwarves in his legendarium. John D. Rateliff's "Anchoring the Myth: The Impact of *The Hobbit* on Tolkien's Legendarium" (6–19) shows the recursive nature of Tolkien's writing process by comparing drafts of the *Silmarillion* written before, during and after *The Hobbit*. Rateliff shows how *The Hobbit*, in which the narrator emphasizes the differences between Thorin's company who are "decent enough" (13) and other dwarves, influenced the *Silmarillion* over time as the development of a Dwarven creation myth and an afterlife for them acted to "bifurcate" the legendarium's construction of Dwarves.

Gerard Hynes, in "From Nauglath to Durin's Folk: *The Hobbit* and Tolkien's Dwarves" (Eden 20–37), agrees with Rateliff's argument about the changes in the Dwarves in *The Hobbit* but argues that they and the *Silmarillion* Dwarves share some characteristics that do not change, such as their association with craftsmanship, treasure, and revenge. Hynes also discusses the impact on portrayal of Dwarves in *The Lord of the Rings*. He incorporates evidence from Germanic mythology, Morris, Lang, and the Grimm Brothers as well as textual evidence from Tolkien's work. Hynes also notes how the different works are told from different perspectives: Dwarves in the *Silmarillion* are viewed distantly from an Elvish perspective, while to Bilbo they are his close travelling companions.

Three more essays in Eden's collection show the complex variety of influences that can be found in *The Hobbit*. Verlyn Flieger's on "Tolkien's French Connection" (70–77) challenges the widely-held belief that Tolkien's negative comments about French language, culture, and literature mean his work is free of French influences. Noting that dislike "does not preclude influence" (70), she discusses evidence from his poetry, the early lays based on French and Breton works, and his use of French terms (*aventure* and *Faërie*) in "On Fairy-stories" to support her analysis of narrative similarities between *The Hobbit* and French romances by Chrétien de Troyes, as well as Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*. The evidence Flieger assembles makes a convincing case that the conventional wisdom as passed on in Carpenter's biography is inaccurate and that "the vocabulary and mechanisms of French romance left their Gallic stamp on the 'English goodliness of speechcraft' in Tolkien's narratives, and on their shape and content as well" (76).

Agreeing with Flieger, Jane Chance in "Tolkien's Hybrid Mythology: *The Hobbit* as Old Norse 'Fairy-story'" (Eden 78–96) considers the

depth of influence underlying *The Hobbit* which complicates its assignment to the genre of children's stories, arguing that this categorization has led to critical neglect and a modern habit of interpreting it as a Freudian or Jungian psychoanalytic narrative. Chance situates her analysis in Tolkien's *Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*, his Andrew Lang lecture "On Fairy-stories," and the Silmarillion materials to argue that *The Hobbit* can be read as a "pivot on which his medievalized mythology of magic is balanced" (78) and an example of the type of mythology Tolkien had planned to create for England, as explained in his letter to Milton Waldman. Chance examines evidence from "On Fairy-stories" on Lang's story of Sigurd, the cursed ring, and a treasure, showing the changes Tolkien made from a focus on fate to one on luck.

Moving from the medieval to the Victorian, William Christian Klarner's "A Victorian in Valhalla: Bilbo Baggins as the Link Between England and Middle-earth" analyzes the narrative function of Bilbo as a typical Englishman of the Victorian period who leads readers into the world of Norse mythology (Eden 152–60). Klarner incorporates a biographical approach as well as a discussion of Victorian literature and Norse epic, arguing that Tolkien's estrangement from his mother's family and his experiences in World War I play an integral part in both *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*. The blend of the Victorian and medieval is one reason, Klarner argues, for the ongoing popularity of *The Hobbit* and the other works in Tolkien's legendarium.

In "Perilous Wanderings through the Enchanted Forest: The Influence of the Fairy-tale Tradition on Mirkwood in Tolkien's *The Hobbit*" (*Mythlore* 33.1: 67–84), Marco R. S. Post presents a detailed structuralist analysis of influences on Mirkwood. While Post notes the similarities of Tolkien's construction of Mirkwood to its sources, the strongest part of his essay analyzes how Mirkwood's differences from its sources reflect 19th and 20th century psychological realism. Tolkien breaks the traditional binary of civilization and wilderness by situating a kingdom of Wood-elves in Mirkwood and showing how the perils of the forest affect the Dwarves and Bilbo. The detailed description of the forest and its spaces as well as the fictional mapmaking in *The Hobbit* are related to contemporary genre conventions, and Post concludes that the blend of traditional elements—associated with otherworldly and magical places—with the modern elements relating to narrative technique and detail highlights the sense of estrangement readers will feel.

Glenn Davis' "Pride and Medieval Poetics in *The Hobbit*" (*Seven* 31: 79–94) focuses on Tolkien's use of stylistic elements mirroring medieval poetics, specifically from the *Exeter Book* riddles, to show the negative

consequences of pride. His focus is on how Bilbo's and Smaug's dialogue changes as they begin to boast. Their increasing use of "I am" statements, with metaphors, and compound nouns similar to those found in Old English echo diction and syntax from the *Exeter Book* riddles. When the two antagonists begin to center themselves as heroic figures, they reveal information that leads to disaster for others (Bilbo) and death for himself (Smaug). Bard's speech in his conversation with Thorin, in stylistic contrast, avoids language that marks excessive pride, the discursive markers associated with the *ofermod* that Tolkien explored in "The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son." Davis concludes by considering possible association of stylistic markers with Tolkien's dislike for how medieval Germanic poetic diction was used in propaganda.

Jo Walton's *What Makes This Book So Great* (New York: Tor, 2014) is a collection of essays she wrote for publication at Tor.com. Her piece on *The Hobbit* (412–16) was posted September 21, 2010. She discusses the novel from multiple perspectives: comparing her experience as a child, including her appreciation of Bilbo's adulthood even though the story was otherwise like other children's stories she loved, to her experience reading it aloud to children. She considers how, as a child, she did not see the moral complexity in matters such as Bilbo's theft of the Arkenstone. Walton acknowledges the lack of female characters, a lack she did not notice when she was a child because of her identification with Bilbo, whose gender is ambiguous in a fictional world that does not have sex or romance. She ends with the observation that nothing about Bilbo would need to change if his pronoun were changed.

The Hobbit and History, edited by Janice Liedl and Nancy R. Reagin (Nashville, TN: Wiley, 2014), is the final volume of a "Wiley Pop Culture and History Series," discontinued after Wiley sold its General Trade division to Turner Publishing of Nashville in 2013. The essays, written by medievalists in literature and history, are organized into three groups: "Warriors and Worthies"; the "Middle Ages and Middle-earth," and "Magic and Mystery." Clearly written as a book for general readers and students, along the lines of Wiley's "Philosophy and Pop Culture" series (which also covered *The Hobbit*), the essays discuss Tolkien's novel in the context of the histories and cultures of medieval Europe. The collection is not focused on original scholarship but on well-written, accessible information about the major characters and aspects of the novel and the medieval (and on occasion Victorian and Edwardian) cultural and historical elements adapted by Tolkien. Sources tend heavily toward primary material from the Middle Ages and some historical scholarship about the period. The collection as a whole is weak in acknowledging relevant scholarship, although most

essays mention work by Douglas A. Anderson, John D. Rateliff, and Tom Shippey. The two exceptions to this weakness are Stefan Donecker's essay on bears ("Berserkers, Were-Bears, and Ursine Parents: Beorn the Skin-Changer and His Ancestors," 171–90), which has a note citing all relevant published scholarship; and Martha Driver's essay on literary allusions in the novel ("‘Until the Dragon Comes’: Literature, Language, and *The Hobbit*," 207–26), which in its notes lists extensive and detailed sources. The omissions mean that the work would not be appropriate for upper-level majors or graduate courses.

The Hobbit is covered in volume 299 of the academic reference series *Twentieth Century Literary Criticism*, edited by Lawrence J. Trudeau (241–342). This series collects reprinted articles and extracts from scholarly journals and monographs, but despite the declared intent of covering the work's entire critical history, the oldest article here is Constance B. Hieatt's "The Text of *The Hobbit*" from 1981. There are also articles by Christina Scull from 1987 and 1993 putting *The Hobbit* in context of children's literature and Tolkien's pre-war writings, but despite the series title, ten of the fourteen articles date from 2002–11. Many are abridged, although not always identified as such. They include several articles from Tolkien specialty journals (Scull's were in *Mythlore* and *Mallorn*), as well as excerpts from monographs by Brian Rosebury and Dimitra Fimi, and the *Hobbit* entries from Lee and Solopova's *The Keys of Middle-earth*. The selection, for which Michael D. C. Drout served as an uncredited consultant, is good, featuring essays both substantive and meaningful. A brief introduction by Cynthia Giles discusses *The Hobbit*'s plot and major themes.

GENERAL CRITICISM: OTHER WORKS [DAVID BRATMAN]

The ongoing project to annotate all of Tolkien's previously-published works has reached the last remaining full book published in his lifetime, *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil and Other Verses from The Red Book*, edited by Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond (London: HarperCollins, 2014). This volume includes a miniature reproduction of the text of the 1962 original, page size shrunk from 22×14 cm to 15×11 cm. It is not a facsimile or diplomatic edition, although all the original Pauline Baynes illustrations are included, albeit correspondingly shrunken, lacking the one-color tinting on many, and not necessarily quite in the original location relative to the text. That's about one-third of the book: the rest consists of material added by the editors. The bulk of this is the "Commentary," a series of essays reprinting an earlier version or precursor for each poem (except *Cat*, which has none), some of these never previously published or appearing only

in highly obscure sources, together with a revision history and discussion of the poem's place in the *legendarium* as appropriate, and a narrative annotation of esoteric words and discussable points in the poem. The earlier version of *Shadow-Bride, The Shadow Man* (235–36), previously published only in a convent school magazine in 1936, was inaccurately reported in news stories as a new discovery when the school's copy of the magazine was found in 2016. The present volume also contains an introduction on the origin and publication history of the compilation, reproductions of excerpts from the poems written out by Tolkien in Elvish script, the previously unpublished Tom Bombadil prose fragment (only about 260 words), and two rare associated poems, "Once upon a Time" and "An Evening in Tavrobel."

It has long been well-known that Tolkien's contribution to the Jerusalem Bible (1966) was a translation of the Book of Jonah, but it's also known that his text went through editorial revision before publication. Tolkien's unrevised text was not publicly available until a version, presumably his first draft of 1957 rather than his final text of 1961, was published this year in the *Journal of Inklings Studies* 4.2: 5–9. An accompanying article by Brendan N. Wolfe ("Tolkien's Jonah," *Journal of Inklings Studies* 4.2: 11–26) outlines the making of the Jerusalem Bible in the context of Catholic Bible translations and records the course of Tolkien's work on it. (The Bible's editor, an admirer of *The Lord of the Rings*, was looking for translators among great English stylists rather than Hebrew and Greek scholars, and indeed the translations, including Tolkien's, were based on a French edition whose notes the Jerusalem Bible was created to copy.) This is followed by a brief accounting of some of the changes made by the reviser, such as the emendation of Tolkien's carefully-considered *colocynth* to *castor-oil plant* (in fact, although Wolfe does not emphasize this, the revision was very extensive, leaving only one verse unchanged), and a few comments on parallels between Jonah and Tolkien's own work.

"'Alone Between the Dark and Light': 'The Lay of Aotrou and Itroun' and Lessons from the Later *Legendarium*" (Houghton et al. 221–34) seems an innocuous title, but under it Kristine Larsen has composed a powerful analysis of Tolkien's application of good and evil to the use of magic in his work. Taking his Catholic obligations to his fiction seriously, Tolkien is far more hesitant than C. S. Lewis about depicting magic favorably, and the tragedy following from consulting the Corrigan in the Lay is one cautionary tale; the Men ensnared by Morgoth and Sauron in the *legendarium* make for more. Nevertheless, there is Galadriel's scrying and other Elvish magic, particularly in *The Lord of the Rings*, to set in magic's favor in Tolkien's world. Galadriel distinguishes her art from the deceits of the Enemy, and Larsen per-

forms a searching analysis of how well that stands up in Tolkien's practice. Larsen does not agree with previous commentators who have identified Galadriel's distinction with the difference between *magia* and *goeteia*, and constructs a simple matrix to show what happens when both sides use both types of magic. Larsen further applies the distinction to Tolkien's varying attitudes to science and technology.

Josh B. Long offers a study of "Pillaging Middle-earth: Self-plagiarism in *Smith of Wootton Major*" (*Mythlore* 32.2: 117–35). Using the term *self-plagiarism* without invidious intent, Long defines it simply as "the idea of borrowing from one's previous work without acknowledging it" (118). Noting that Tolkien habitually throughout his writing career reused themes, motifs, characteristics, and entire characters, Long describes in detail examples in *Smith*: the star as a Faërian artifact; Alf's confrontations with Smith (over giving up the star) and Nokes as analogous to Gandalf's with Bilbo over the Ring; the Faery Queen as a Galadriel type; the similarity of both Wootton Major and Hobbiton to an idealized English countryside. Properly dismissing the idea that Tolkien was unimaginative, Long seems to suggest that recurrences like these are due to Tolkien's being single-mindedly focused on what he called "my own small but peculiar 'message'" (*Letters* 127, qtd. at 130), which comes out in all his works.

"Orphic Powers in J.R.R. Tolkien's Legend of Beren and Lúthien" by Jane Beal (*Journal of Tolkien Research* 1.1) is not limited to comparisons to the Orpheus legend but is a virtuosic accounting of potential source elements, which Beal prefers to see as partial allegories, in an amalgamated body of Tolkien's tellings of this story. Noting that earlier scholars have found numerous such elements, and arguing that Tolkien's strictures on allegory applied only to complete allegories, Beal finds a "psychological allegory" in Tolkien's employment of his own romance with his wife Edith as an inspiration for the story. Beal then itemizes elements (emphatically not the entire stories) from the classical legends of Philomela, Alcestis, and Orpheus and Eurydice; and Christian material, plus the jewel metaphor from the poem *Pearl*, that are found in the story.

"'Lack of Counsel Not of Courage': J.R.R. Tolkien's Critique of the Heroic Ethos in *The Children of Húrin*" (Houghton et al. 216–20) is Richard C. West's addition to his distinguished article "Túrin's *Ofermod*" (2000). Here he takes his earlier thesis that Túrin's courage sliding into foolhardiness exemplifies the *ofermod* that Tolkien discussed in "The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth" and succinctly measures it against the varying courage, daring, wisdom, timidity, rashness, healing nature, and luck—or the lack of it—of some nine other characters in *The Children of Húrin*. West's conclusion is that they all must make decisions

in keeping with their own personalities under the constraints of events outside their control, as symbolized by the curse of Morgoth that sets the story going.

ECOCRITICISM [JASON FISHER]

Volume 11 of the German Tolkien Society's annual journal, *Hither Shore*, takes as its special focus "Nature and Landscape in Tolkien" ["Natur und Landschaft in Tolkiens Werk"]. The issue contains nine essays in English, as well as three in German that will not be reviewed here. For Annie Birks in "Sympathetic Background in Tolkien's Prose" (52–63), nature in Middle-earth is a "sympathetic background" that "mirrors, mimics, is in harmony with or reacts to the characters' deeds, emotions or states of mind" (52). With straightforward character examples, and one or two touch-points from outside the legendarium (*Smith of Wootton Major* and "Leaf by Niggle"), Birks contends that Tolkien uses nature and natural elements as much more than mere literary devices (61), and that careful readers can come away with a more profound respect for our own natural world through Tolkien's depiction of a fictive one.

Allan Turner also examines the connection between landscapes and people in "Tolkien's Living Landscapes" (8–17), suggesting that for Tolkien, these are not "inert surfaces which are merely seen," but are instead "living, sensual landscapes with beating hearts to which the reader can relate almost physically" (8). Turner turns to metaphor and metonymy, concepts from cognitive linguistics, to connect these natural elements to physical bodies like the reader's own: Tolkien depicts nature with "feet," "shoulders," "limbs," "heads;" nature "leaps," "murmurs," "marches," "climbs," and so on. Although these "cognitive metaphors [are] more or less hidden in the text . . . draw[ing] upon a subconscious level of human perception" (16), they suddenly become conspicuous and persuasive in the wake of Turner's careful exegesis.

Taking metaphors in a different direction in "Landscape as Metaphor in *The Lord of the Rings*" (80–90), Thomas Kullmann begins by observing that protracted descriptions of landscape are not generally associated with Tolkien's most obviously mythic and folkloric sources, but rather with the modern realistic novels of Dickens, Hardy, the Brontës, and others. In such novels, the author maintains, landscapes and natural elements serve additional, metaphorical functions, often prominently religious. We can read the landscape descriptions in *The Lord of the Rings* in the same way, he argues, where their "figurative meanings partake of this metaphoric narrative and may thus provide hints as to the interpretation of the fantasy motifs attached to them" (89).

As if he were lining up a set of matryoshka dolls, Michaël Devaux explores questions within questions surrounding “The Dead Marshes and οἰκουμένη: The Limits of a Landscape in Middle-earth” (116–28). The author raises sixteen questions in just his first four paragraphs! If the central theme of *The Lord of the Rings* is death, is the passage of the Dead Marshes therefore a central episode? But are the Dead Marshes a landscape at all? Are they a part of Middle-earth? What is Middle-earth? And so on. The first half of the paper is preoccupied with identifying the etymological and historical models for Tolkien’s Middle-earth—the Germanic *middangeard* and the older Greek ἡ οἰκουμένη γῆ—and considers how Tolkien adapted these for his own use. In the second half, Devaux examines the Dead Marshes more closely, concluding they are a sort of inversion of Tolkien’s conception of Middle-earth, and therefore, from a certain vantage, exist outside it or limit it. This is a fascinating idea, but it is not without some problems in its logic. For example, Devaux suggests that the Dead Marshes are outside οἰκουμένη, because the οἰκουμένη is the *inhabited* world; but the Dead Marshes *are* inhabited, even if it is by the dead. Or Devaux regards the Dead Marshes as outside Middle-earth in a sense, because “Middle-earth is lands surrounded by an aquatic area,” but a marsh is the reverse, “water limed in soil, some earth encircling waters” (122). By that token, wouldn’t the Midgewater Marshes be outside Middle-earth too? In fact, isn’t every lake “earth encircling waters”?

Rather than “extraneous,” Jonathan Nauman finds early plot episodes “integral” (18) in “Old Forest and Barrow-downs: A Natural Prelude to *The Lord of the Rings*” (18–30). These early scenes of “nature’s spontaneous interventions” (27) serve to contextualize “the complexity, dignity, and real agency of the natural world in Tolkien’s Middle-earth” (18). Nauman makes some astute observations, as when he points out that it is the two victims of Old Man Willow, Merry and Pippin, who become the guests and friends of Fangorn.

Tatjana Silec also considers the episodes of the Old Forest and the Barrow-downs, but from rather a different angle, in “The Influence of Medieval Storytelling, and More Particularly of *Sir Degaré*, on Tolkien’s Portrayal of the Wilderness in *The Lord of the Rings*” (92–102). Her aim is to adduce a new source that may have directly informed Tolkien’s depictions of these scenes in *Sir Degaré*, an anonymous minor lay recorded in the same manuscript as *Sir Orfeo*. She touches on the latter as well and finds productive similarities among the three, the most significant of which is the motif of a small group of travelers losing or leaving a stifling wilderness path, then becoming drowsy beneath a menacing tree, acting “a gateway to the uncanny” (100).

Martin G. E. Sternberg considers two types of “Approach and

Sojourn: Structures of Arriving and Staying in *The Lord of the Rings*" (130–41): sudden arrivals over distinct boundaries and gradual approaches with slower transitions or more indistinct boundaries. The greater focus here is on the former, on "pockets of a world and a time gone by elsewhere" (140) such as Lothlórien, Fangorn, and Tom Bombadil's house. At first glance, the approach to Henneth Annûn in Ithilien seems of the same kind, but Sternberg ably demonstrates the difference. Places like the former, in spite of their bordering on Foucaultian heterotopias, exert agency on the outside world and persist without any need for its consent.

Another essay in this issue of *Hither Shore* also involves arriving and leaving. Long on plot summary and block quotation, short on interpretation, Guglielmo Spirito's "Melian's Girdle: Boundaries and Hidden Thresholds in Arda" (32–50) is a catalog of impenetrable or hidden paths through nature in Tolkien's fiction. Spirito's prose is almost as impenetrable and his thesis as hidden, interspersed as the article is with rhapsodic paeans to nature unspooling in a loose, stream-of-consciousness style that makes finding a substantive conclusion difficult.

Finally in *Hither Shore*, Natalia González de la Llana compares Tolkien with the Argentinian fantasy author Liliana Bodoc in "Man, Nature and Evil in *The Lord of the Rings* and *La Saga de los Confines*" (104–15). She finds similarities in the relationships between nature and man on the one hand, nature and evil on the other, in both novels. This is interesting enough, but González de la Llana never goes beyond simple comparison and never gives any reason why these two particular authors should be compared in the first place.

Susan Jeffers, in the short monograph *Arda Inhabited: Environmental Relationships in The Lord of the Rings* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2014), explores the interrelationships between Middle-earth characters and races and their environments. She is particularly interested in distinguishing between those that share power coequal with their settings, those that draw power from them, and those that attempt to exert power over them. These three angles are each the subject of a chapter in the book. In Chapter 1, "Community, or 'Power With,'" Jeffers shows how Ents, Hobbits, and Elves interact with their physical environment in a way that is "nonhierarchical," "favors diversity," and "strengthens bonds of interconnection for the benefit of all" (19). In Chapter 2, "Dialectic, or 'Power From,'" she writes about the relationship of Dwarves, the Rohirrim, and the people of Gondor to their environment, concluding that while still mainly positive, they stand a step removed from the close interconnections of Elves, Hobbits, and Ents with the land. In Chapter 3, "Oppression, or

'Power Over,'” Jeffers reaches the other extreme, showing how Sauron, Saruman, and Orcs attempt to control, dominate, or exploit their environments. A fourth chapter, “Dis-, Re-, and Un-empowered: Journeying and Environment,” considers exceptions to or hybrids in this neat model: characters in some way disconnected from their physical environment. Jeffers contends that Aragorn as an exile, Frodo and Gandalf as pilgrims, Gollum as a wanderer—all alike in journeying through their landscapes rather than staying put—“elide the differences” (103) between her categories. The answers here are fairly predictable ones, but Jeffers works systematically through the evidence and marshals substantial secondary scholarship on Tolkien and ecocriticism to make a valuable contribution to the subject.

Chris Brawley's book *Nature and the Numinous in Mythopoeic Fantasy Literature* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014) examines literary works that “feel religious” without being overtly or explicitly so. It is mainly in Chapter Four “The Fading of the World: Tolkien's Ecology and Loss in *The Lord of the Rings*” (93–118) that the author considers Tolkien. He contrasts Tolkien with Lewis (dealt with in his preceding chapter) as offering a more direct glimpse of the numinous, in Tolkien's case through figures and settings, like Treebeard, Saruman, Tom Bombadil, Lothlórien, and the Shire. As does Lewis's *Narniad*, *The Lord of the Rings* evokes a profound sense of loss; but for Tolkien, this is expressed through the gradual fading of Middle-earth and its inhabitants. In all the discussion of how Tolkien, a religious man, could write a book that feels religious but yet inexplicitly so, it is surprising to see no reference made to the letter to Milton Waldman or other relevant letters.

In “Deconstruction and/as Ecology” (*The Oxford Handbook of Ecocriticism*, ed. Greg Garrard [New York: Oxford University Press, 2014], 291–304), Timothy Morton calls the deconstruction of Jacques Derrida and his milieu “the ‘secret best friend’ of ecocriticism” and a critical methodology that “reveals a situation even more mysterious, uncanny, and intimate than other forms of environmental criticism” (291). In such a thought-provoking paper, it is a bit of a shame that the author touches on Tolkien only glancingly, as just one example of his thesis. Of the metaphor of the road in Bilbo's “Old Walking Song” he makes something rather more intriguing: “Some philosophers want to disambiguate walking along a path from reading a text . . . Bilbo's Road is congruent with deconstruction's view of ‘textuality,’ which doesn't stop at the covers of a book,” just as “the Road does not stop at the end of a particular street” (298).

More and more often in recent years, scholars have found it productive to consider Tolkien in light of the modernists, Eliot, Pound,

Joyce, and others. In this vein, E. L. Ridsen briefly compares *The Lord of the Rings* (and parts of other works) to Eliot's *The Waste Land* in "Middle-earth and the Waste Land: Greenwood, Apocalypse, and Post-war Resolution" (Houghton et al. 57–64). These "divergent works exhibit rather extraordinary parallel concerns with the landscapes of 'end-times'" and with both writers' "responses to post-war devastation both physical . . . and emotional" (57). One of the chief differences between them, for Ridsen, is that Tolkien's greenwood is a less cynical anti-wasteland, a place of more comfort and respite than Eliot's, albeit a fleeting one.

Justin T. Noetzel presents the comparison, "Beorn and Bombadil: Mythology, Place and Landscape in Middle-earth" (Eden 161–80), arguing that both characters are *genii loci*, intimately connected to place and "models of co-operative ecology" (borrowing the phrase from Tom Shippey). Both offer succor to the respective protagonists in time of danger and hardship. Noetzel argues, too, that both characters owe their genesis to the intersection of Tolkien's personal storytelling at home and his professional study of mythic literature—in this case, mainly Finnish and Norse, but Noetzel offers some Irish sources as well.

In "A Baggins Back Yard: Environmentalism, Authorship and the Elves in Tolkien's Legendarium" (Eden 195–207), David Thiessen suggests readers can get the best sense of Tolkien's own attitudes toward nature and environmental stewardship through the attitudes he bestows on elves and hobbits. Thiessen's argument is straightforward and uncontroversial, making good use of the secondary literature on this subject, and he is to be credited for carrying his analysis beyond *The Lord of the Rings* and into *The Silmarillion* and even *The Book of Lost Tales*. But as with other essays in this collection, there are more than a few small but distracting errors and questionable classifications, as when the author includes the mountain Caradhras in a list of "sentient (and semi-sentient) creatures," calling these "Middle-earth's environmental watchdogs" (195). It doesn't help that in this same single sentence, we read "Middle Earth," "Middle-Earth," and "Middle-earth."

TOLKIEN'S LITERARY THEORY AND PRACTICE [ROBIN ANNE REID]

The 2014 scholarship on Tolkien's literary theory and practice appeared not only in academic journals dedicated to Tolkien and Inklings studies, but also in journals with broader themes in various disciplines, such as religion and Middle Eastern studies. Additional work includes chapters in six themed collections, two specific to Tolkien, including one honoring Tom Shippey, with others focused on

broader themes and genre issues, and one single-author collection of essays. The majority of the work focuses on theories Tolkien developed in his essays, often applied to his own fiction but increasingly being applied to work in other genres and languages. There is an ongoing interest in applied linguistic theories as well. Eleven publications (ten articles and one book) explore Tolkien's theories about religion, myth, Faërie, genre, aesthetics, and literary criticism, while three essays develop stylistic readings of Tolkien's work and one considers the intersections of philosophy and philology.

Patrick Curry's *Deep Roots in a Time of Frost: Essays on Tolkien* (Zurich: Walking Tree, 2014) contains fourteen critical essays, reviews, reference articles, and presentations. All but one were previously published. The pieces are grouped by focus, covering nature, enchantment, and criticisms. The introduction—which was written for the collection—emphasizes these topic areas; criticizes Peter Jackson's films, George R. R. Martin's *Game of Thrones*, and other contemporary fantasy fiction; and summarizes Curry's recent thoughts about Tolkien's distinction between magic and enchantment and his theme of death and deathlessness as they apply to contemporary science and technology. When read as a whole, the collection provides a good overview of Curry's major arguments concerning his chosen themes and a clear sense of some of the tensions in critical and academic discussion of Tolkien.

Two scholars consider the complexities of the concept of Faërian drama that Tolkien, without providing examples, defined in "On Fairy-stories": Janet Brennan Croft and Verlyn Flieger. In "Tolkien's Faërian Drama: Origins and Valedictions" (*Mythlore* 32.2: 31–45), Croft works back to examples of film and literature (some of which Tolkien was familiar with), that produce the effects he identifies in order to analyze how Tolkien did the same in his fiction. Croft argues that the purpose of Faërian dramas is that which Tolkien assigns to fairy tales, specifically the audience becoming open to fantasy, escape, recovery, consolation, and eucatastrophe (32). Croft traces examples of Faërian drama in Tolkien's short fiction and poetry; she concludes by noting the importance of approaching such sub-creations as one way of examining our lives.

Verlyn Flieger, in "But What Did He Really Mean?" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 149–66), considers how one of the major conflicts in reception of Tolkien's work—attempts by various groups of readers to claim his work for different religious ideologies—can be connected to Tolkien's ambiguous statements. Flieger's detailed rhetorical analysis of letters (sent and unsent), Tolkien's relationships with his correspondents, and comparison of unpublished and published drafts of key essays is

organized around three main topics: intentionally Christian elements in Tolkien's fiction, the existence of Elves and Faërie, and Faërian drama. After an analysis of the conflict between "faith and imagination" in Tolkien's writings, Flieger concludes that the unresolved conflicts resulted in a richer and more complex story of "how good can become evil," and "a story whose strength lies in the tension created by deliberately unresolved situations and conflicts" (164).

In "The Art of *The Lord of the Rings*: A Defense of the Aesthetic" (*Religion and the Arts* 18.5: 636–52), Rebecca Munro presents a counter-argument to what she sees as a bias towards Christian interpretations, arguing for a focus on aesthetics. Although Munro cites two articles on Christian interpretations of Tolkien and a book-length study of Catholic approaches to general literature, her aesthetic analysis is based on a series of quotes from Tolkien's essays and *The Lord of the Rings*. She does not engage with any scholarship on aesthetics in Tolkien, and her essay shows no awareness of major published scholarship on Tolkien's use of Christianity or his aesthetic or linguistic theories. Munro's argument seems to be written for scholars who, as Flieger notes above, are prone to taking isolated quotes as proof of an allegorical element based on their own religious views and who are unfamiliar with the significant scholarship on these topics.

Another essay situates the critical debates about Tolkien's work in the larger debates of the last two centuries about art, aesthetics, and genre. Paul E. Michelson, in "George MacDonald and J.R.R. Tolkien on Faërie and Fairy Stories" (*Inklings Forever* 9), compares "On Fairy-stories" with MacDonald's 1893 essay "The Fantastic Imagination." Michelson's close reading of extended sections from both essays, supplemented by text from their other essays and Tolkien's letters, supports his argument that the two authors were largely in agreement over the importance of fantasy for adults, the problem of restricting it to children, the concept of sub-creation and its connection to religious beliefs, and the differences between fairy tales and allegory. Michelson concludes by noting claims by Carpenter and Gisela H. Kreglinger (see under "Source and Comparative Studies," below) about MacDonald's influence on Tolkien as well as observing that Tolkien's letters in later life show a more negative assessment of MacDonald's work.

The ongoing debate about Tolkien's genre is the subject of two essays. In "Places Where the Stars Are Strange: Fantasy and Utopia in Tolkien's Middle-earth" (Houghton et al. 41–56), Robert T. Tally, Jr., builds on Tom Shippey's claim that the fantastic is the primary mode of 20th-century literature in order to refute the assumption of the utopian mode as progressive and future-oriented (in contrast to fantasy's assumed reactionary and escapist views of the past). Instead, Tally ar-

gues, Tolkien's work shows the extent to which fantasy can engage with utopian and progressive elements. By analyzing Frederic Jameson's assumptions in *Archaeologies of the Future*, Tally shows the flaws in overly simplistic evaluations of Tolkien's work as unrelated to the "real world" because it relies on magic to escape the complexities of science and technology.

Richard West's Scholar Guest of Honor Speech at Mythcon 45, "Where Fantasy Fits: The Importance of Being Tolkien" (*Mythlore* 33.1: 5–36), is a wide-ranging presentation on the history of fantastic literature, the genre differences between science fiction and fantasy, and the practice of science fiction editors and fans who appreciated and "sheltered" works by Tolkien and Lewis after World War II. West counters critical truisms about Tolkien's work, specifically claims that it was not successful until the paperback publication and that Tolkien created the genre of fantasy. Providing a bibliography of Tolkien scholarship published before the 1965 paperback, noting the extent to which fantasy by authors such as Leiber, de Camp, Williamson, Heinlein, and Van Vogt was published in American pulp magazines, and analyzing the correspondence between Anthony Boucher and C. S. Lewis, West complicates the question of where "fantasy fits" and concludes by noting the different state of affairs in contemporary publishing of fantasy novels.

By focusing on Tolkien's relationship to Romanticism, the next three essays present an intriguing range of claims about aesthetics and genre. Addressing the question of Tolkien's stance on literary criticism and its connection to his creative theories and practice, Maria Frassati Jakupcak's essay, "A Particular Cast of Fancy: Addison's Walk with Tolkien and Lewis" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 45–66) considers the extent to which Tolkien scholarship has interpreted the estrangement between Tolkien and Lewis as a personal conflict rather than a debate about their theories about aesthetics and writing. She questions the assumption that their academic work on the curriculum meant that they shared similar approaches, and argues for shifting the topic from the biographical to their academic theories of literature, specifically their disagreement on aesthetics. Using the conversation the two men had with Hugo Dyson (an 18th-century literature specialist) along Magdalen College's Addison's Walk, Jakupcak considers how Addison's essay on the fantastic can be applied to Lewis's and Tolkien's aesthetic theories regarding religion and myth in sub-creation, and to their writing processes. Jakupcak concludes that Tolkien's own focus emphasized a process focusing on technique and Lewis's on inspiration.

Julian Eilmann, in "Romantic World Building: J.R.R. Tolkien's Concept of Sub-creation and the Romantic Spirit" (*From Peterborough to*

Faëry: The Poetics and Mechanics of Secondary Worlds: Essays in Honour of Dr. Allan G. Turner's 65th Birthday, eds. Thomas Honegger and Dirk Vanderbeke [Zurich: Walking Tree, 2014], 37–56), places Tolkien's work firmly in the Romantic tradition, although, like Jakupcak, he notes the gap in Tolkien scholarship on connections between the Romantic movement and Tolkien's theories of literature. Eilmann makes no assertion of direct influence, instead comparing claims made by key German Romantic intellectuals (which he translates) and those made by Tolkien in "On Fairy-stories." The shared concepts are the value placed on imagination, the limitations of human perception of material reality, the importance of the natural world, world-creation and transcendence, the value of poets as the best artists of the imagination, and the importance of transcendent experiences of art. Eilmann analyzes Frodo's impressions in the Hall of Fire and entering Lothlórien as evidence that he is a Romantic protagonist.

In "Tolkien and the Philosophy of Language" (Arduini and Testi 73–84), Verlyn Flieger analyzes how Tolkien's philosophy of language and myth are connected to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, an area of linguistic theory (connected to German Romanticism) that Owen Barfield explored. She focuses on Tolkien putting his philosophy into practice in his fiction, showing the extent to which language and mythology are the same. Flieger analyzes Tolkien's concept of an underlying Proto-Eldarin language, equivalent to Proto-Indo-European, which showed how languages change over time. Examples include Tom Bombadil's names, the Entish language and names, the confusion over the meaning of the word "friend" at the gates of Moria, and the lack of a word for the emotion Bilbo feels upon encountering Smaug (for which the narrator coins a new term, "staggerment").

Shifting from using Tolkien's theory or critical arguments to analyze his own work, Sherrylyn Branchaw presents a historical analysis of the intellectual context for Tolkien's essays in "Contextualizing the Writings of J.R.R. Tolkien on Literary Criticism" (*Journal of Tolkien Research* 1.1). Branchaw discusses how an often-noted imbalance in methodology in Tolkien criticism is related to contemporary scholars not knowing the context for Tolkien's work. She shows how Tolkien was responding to the dominant source- and biographical-criticism of his time by emphasizing the importance of the aesthetics of a text. Branchaw argues that Tolkien intended to fill a gap in literary criticism rather than to dismiss other methodologies. Analyzing his letters and essays, she notes statements different in tone and scope from his published essays dealing with the study of literary works such as *Beowulf*.

Four essays approach Tolkien's work through linguistic methods,

with three stylistic analyses of Tolkien's fiction and one debating Tolkien's use of philosophical and philological theories. Michael D. C. Drout, Namiko Hitotsubashi, and Rachel Scavera, in "Tolkien's Creation of the Impression of Depth" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 167–211), use a digital literary studies approach to frame a statistical analysis of variants of the Túrin narrative and a detailed discussion of the textual history of Tolkien's work. The statistical analysis builds on qualitative scholarship by Christopher Tolkien, Tom Shippey, and Gergely Nagy that has identified four major structural causes producing a perception of historical and cultural depth in Tolkien's world: allusions, the extent of Tolkien's world-building, the "gaps and inconsistencies" in the text, and the variations of style (167). The group concludes that that, despite being created by a single author, the legendarium has characteristics in common with mythologies and the medieval texts with "deep roots in the past" (*M&C* 72, qtd. at 167) that Tolkien studied.

Fanfan Chen's essay "Tolkien's Style of Fantasy: Hypotyposis, Metalepsis, Harmonism" (*Caietele Echinox* 26: 63–82) connects a stylistic analysis of Tolkien's language in *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion* with genre. Chen reviews the reception of Tolkien's work, noting both its popularity and the negative criticisms of his style, drawing on Shippey's scholarship to argue that Tolkien's work was important in establishing the fantastic as a major genre. She then considers the range of genre meanings in different cultures, with English-language "fantasy" having elements not found in French-language and Chinese-language fantasy. Her primary argument is that Tolkien's definition of fairy-stories involves characteristics of sub-creation, of a secondary world and eucatastrophe, his mythopoeisis created by his unique diction and discursive elements.

In "Metaphorical and Metonymical Meaning in *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Transitions and Dissolving Boundaries in the Fantastic*, eds. Christine Lötscher et al. [Zurich: Lit Verlag, 2014], 53–62), Thomas Kullmann presents a rhetorical analysis of the blending of metaphorical and metonymical discursive patterns in *The Lord of the Rings*. His purpose is to refute claims that reading fantasy literature is driven by an abnormal desire for escapism. He notes how this assertion first appeared in work by Q. D. Leavis, is still common in German pedagogy, and can even be found in Tolkien scholarship. He points out that the process of reading any fictional text, realistic or fantastic, requires readers to stop thinking about their individual problems. Using Roman Jakobson's argument that the differences between romantic poetry and realistic fiction can be described as a focus on the metaphorical (similarity) for the first and a focus on the metonymic (contiguity) for the second,

Kullmann argues that Tolkien's style in *The Lord of the Rings* blends both elements. His analysis shows how Tolkien's use of mythic and legendary tropes establish metaphorical relationships between light/good and evil/shadows and that the novel also contains descriptions of landscape and character experience that come from psychologically realistic modern novels. Kullmann's argument is similar to Marco Post's argument about *The Hobbit* that Tolkien blended fairy tale and psychological realism in his description of Mirkwood. Kullmann's focus is on *The Lord of the Rings*, especially those scenes which show the Shire's connections to the English countryside.

Franco Manni and Tom Shippey co-author a dialogue between a philosopher and theologian (Manni) and a philologist (Shippey) on the question of fitting "Tolkien Between Philosophy and Theology" (Arduini and Testi 21–71). Both men are Tolkien scholars, and their conversation covers the history of philosophy, comparative philology, questions of influences on Tolkien, the narrowing of academic specializations from the 19th to the 21st century, the changing curriculum in English at Oxford, Tolkien's shift from writing fiction to writing philosophy, and the embodiment of philosophical principles in his fiction. The impact of the piece is something like a team-taught graduate seminar in the two experts' disciplines that begins with an observation about Tolkien's lack of references to philosophers or the use of "philosophy" in his work, and, in the process of debating that issue, develops more questions about Tolkien's essays and fiction.

The remaining four essays are by scholars who are primarily interested in applying Tolkien's theories and concepts to other texts rather than to his own fiction. The first three fall broadly into literary and cultural studies, two focusing on texts from cultures and in languages other than English, while the fourth is theological in purpose. In "Fantasy of 'Recovery, Escape and Consolation' in the Short Stories of Isaac Bar Moshe" (*Middle Eastern Studies* 50.3: 426–41), Geula Elimelekh uses Tolkien's theory of recovery, consolation, and escape from "On Fairy-stories" to analyze patterns in Isaac Bar Mosche's Arabic-language short stories. John Stanifer, in "The Good Catastrophe: Tolkien on the Consolation of the Happy Ending" (*Inklings Forever* 9) argues that Tolkien's concept of eucatastrophe can be applied to works in other genres and media beyond the fairy-story. Stanifer briefly discusses its application to *Lorna Doone*, then moves to more extended discussion of three popular texts (a Japanese film and two Korean television series), arguing that their endings are examples of eucatastrophe and thus prove the universal applicability of the concept. The evidence presented, which consists primarily of plot summaries of the

texts, does not really support a broad universalist claim about “Western” and “Eastern” literatures and cultures.

An essay on the marginalization of fantasy as a genre in contemporary British drama by Maciej Wiczorek, “Staging the Fantastic: Tolkien, Todorov, and Theatricality in Contemporary British Drama” (*Basic Categories of Fantastic Literature Revisited*, eds. Andrzej Wicher, Piotr Spyra, and Joanna Matyjaszczyk [Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2014], 172–87), makes perfunctory use of Tolkien’s theory of the fantastic in order to refute his contention that drama is a hostile medium for fantasy. After critiquing the assumptions of Tolkien’s claim, noting the extent to which cultural contexts shape reading and viewing, she shifts from Tolkien’s definition of the fantastic to Todorov’s to analyze a play by Anthony Neilson, “The Night Before Christmas.” Wiczorek’s analysis of the ways in which Neilson’s play fits Todorov’s definition is a strong and engaging argument, but as it is based more on Todorov than Tolkien, it may not be of major interest to Tolkien scholars.

Yannick F. Imbert’s “Covenantal Faërie: A Reformed Evaluation of Tolkien’s Theory of Fantasy” (*Westminster Theological Journal* 76.1: 119–41) is a lengthy analysis of where Tolkien’s Faërie (and fantasy as a genre) fits in reformed theology. The essay draws on Catholic theorists, particularly Cornelius Van Dils, concluding “The God who *is*, the ontological Trinity, is the epistemological and metaphysical basis for Faërie and fantasy writing. For us, Faërie becomes an ethical artistic response to the glory of the creative God” (141), a judgment that may be of more significance to fantasy creators who are Catholic than to those who profess other or no religious beliefs.

SOURCE AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES [EDITH L. CROWE]

“The Year of the North” is what 2014 has proved to be in source and comparative Tolkien studies. Of the thirteen items produced, seven deal with Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian mythology, literature, or culture.

For example, Deborah A. Higgins’ monograph, *Anglo-Saxon Community in J.R.R. Tolkien’s The Lord of the Rings* ([Toronto, ON]: Oloris Publishing, 2014), identifies certain characteristics as essential to such a community. First is the Mead Hall which is the center of the life of the group. Warriors sleep there, many people eat there, meetings are held there, and visitors are greeted there. The second is the *comitatus*—the oath-bound relationship between thane and lord.

Gift-giving by the lord is an essential part of this relationship; the warriors give him unwavering loyalty, protect him, and fight beside him unto death. "The Lady with a Mead Cup" describes the role of the lord's wife or other aristocratic women in community rituals. Higgens explains that cupbearer was an important role in the diplomacy of hospitality. It is difficult, however, to pin down her intended audience, since the topic is rather specialized but the delivery feels like a study guide or textbook. The chapter reviewing "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics" and "On Fairy-stories" is quote-heavy; previous scholarship is sometimes acknowledged and sometimes not. Some of the applications to Middle-earth are obvious and far from new (e.g. Rohan); her "Lady with a Mead Cup" section is much more interesting. The book is a good introduction for students or beginning scholars interested in learning more about this topic.

Another aspect of this culture is highlighted in "The Anglo-Saxon War Culture and *The Lord of the Rings*: Legacy and Reappraisal" (*War, Literature, and the Arts* 26) by Pritha Kunda, who notes that the heroic Germanic ideal went out of fashion early and is absent from more contemporary war literature. Using *Beowulf* and *The Battle of Maldon* as examples, she examines the deep loyalty of thanes to their lords and the importance of the mead hall as represented in Middle-earth, but she notes that Tolkien was critical of lords whose pride placed their followers in unnecessary danger (e.g., Thorin Oakenshield). Tolkien's gift was to honor the "pagan heroism" of the Anglo-Saxons while melding it with Christian and more modern values.

Tolkien's mixed feelings about the prideful Germanic hero are clear in Richard Z. Gallant's "Original Sin in Heorot and Valinor" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 109–29), in which the author argues in convincing detail that Fëanor is the very model of a prideful Germanic hero. Melkor was the source of the original Original Sin; then his lies created the rift between Fëanor and Fingolfin that leads to the latter's oath, which binds him to exact revenge on Fëanor's enemies. Thus Fëanor's "original sin" of Kinslaying is able to set in motion a typically Germanic saga of death, revenge, and doom.

Tommy Kuusela's "In Search of a National Epic: The Use of Old Norse Myths in Tolkien's Vision of Middle-earth" (*Approaching Religion* 4.1: 25–36) considers Tolkien's difficulties in pulling together his English national mythology and then looks at Tolkien's pre-*Lord of the Rings* writings for echoes of Old Norse sources (which Tolkien believed were most like the lost English ones would have been). Kuusela feels there were always contrary desires in Tolkien: on the one hand, to create that plausible English mythology, on the other, to let loose his imagination on his own sub-creation. Two examples of Tolkien's trans-

formation of Norse mythology are the Dwarves as the first appear in *The Hobbit*, and Beorn. The latter is drawn from a variety of sources into a single character. Although not written for an audience of Tolkien specialists, this article would reward their attention.

The focus on Norse mythology, and particularly Dwarves, continues in Lilian Darvell's "Helpful, Deprived, Insulted, Vengeful": The Use of Norse Mythology in Tolkien's Representation of Dwarves" (*Mal-lorn* 55: 42–45). Although dwarfs are "ambiguously and inconsistently defined" in the source material, certain characteristics have emerged: lust for gold; smallish size; craftsmanship; living underground; isolation from other groups. Darvell shows how Tolkien changed his dwarves from the Norse versions—rehabilitating them and making them more heroic. Negative characteristics once applied to Dwarves as a whole are now attributed to individual dwarves as personal failings. Intermediate stages were "illshapen Dwarves" (*LT II* 229) and the Petty-Dwarves (Noegyth Nibin) that appear in *The Silmarillion*.

Our next author believes the full English translation of the *Kalevala* (W. F. Kirby, 1907) introduced a new and unique kind of hero to the Anglophone world. In "Väinämöinen in Middle-earth: The Pervasive Presence of the *Kalevala* in the Bombadil Chapters of *The Lord of the Rings*" (Houghton et al. 197–215), David L. Dettman notes that these heroes "possess great magical powers over the natural world" (198) but otherwise live an everyday life in their circumscribed territories. The influence of the *Kalevala* on the events of *The Silmarillion* and the creation of Quenya has been well documented and discussed. Dettman chooses to focus on the Tom Bombadil chapters of *The Lord of the Rings*, into which he claims "features of the *Kalevala* seem to have been consciously inserted" (199). Comparison of Tom with Väinämöinen is both fascinating and convincing.

The last article in the "Year of the North" category examines not a text but an artifact. Mark Horton and Lynn Forest-Hill describe a specific architectural dig in "The Inspiration for Tolkien's Ring" (*History Today* Jan. 2014: 51–53). In 1928 Tolkien was asked, as a professor of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic literature, to help identify some presumably Celtic deities in conjunction with that dig. One of the finds from this site was a lead plaque containing curses excoriating one Senicianus for stealing a gold ring from Silvianus. The ring was discovered in 1786 many miles away. Since Tolkien (and his colleague R. G. Collingwood) were consulted by these archaeologists while *The Hobbit* was coming together, did the story of this stolen ring and cursed thief (think Gollum and Bilbo) have any influence on Bilbo's acquisition of what became the One Ring? The article is highly speculative, but intriguing.

Turning to later periods, John D. Rateliff's "Inside Literature:

Tolkien's Explorations of Medieval Genres" (Houghton et al. 133–52) concludes that Tolkien acquired his exceptional feel for this literature not just by studying it, but by writing in it. The texts produced have escaped much scholarly attention by being unpublished or incomplete, not in English, or unrelated to Tolkien's legendarium. Rateliff proceeds to discuss a plethora of such works, which he sorts into three categories: pastiche and parody (e.g., the unpublished "Visio Petri Aratoris de Doworst"); adaptations of more recent works into medieval meters (e.g., the lays of Sigurd and Gudrún); and what he calls "old wine in new bottles" (142). This last is exemplified by such works as Ælfwine's *Annals*. The author has done a great service just in pulling together such a variety of scattered works into a useful structure, let alone giving cogent analyses of same. This is all in service of Rateliff's major point—Tolkien "used the insights thus gained to reproduce the appeal of medieval literature in his own modern works" (134).

In a short note, "King Lear and the Hobbits: A Note on Tolkien's Sources" (*Mythprint* 51.4: 5–6), Kevan Bowkett wonders if a passage in *King Lear* contributed to the portrayal of the hobbits. (For those who wish, it can be found spoken by Edgar, at IV, i, 57–66.) Bowkett explains his reasoning, which requires a mental flexibility that verges on contortion to link it to Tolkien.

James Macpherson was the young Scot who, in 1760, created the famous *Poems of Ossian*. They were based on some Celtic fragments he was asked to translate, but was largely his own work. At first highly praised, he was disgraced when it was discovered he made most of it up. Anna Bugajska compares him to Tolkien in "Scottish Ghosts, English Wraiths: The Supernatural Imagination of Macpherson and Tolkien" (*Old Challenges and New Horizons in English and American Studies*, eds. Anna Walczuk and Władysław Witalisz [Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014], 159–68). Macpherson's task was to introduce the then-exotic Celtic mythology to an English audience. Bugajska notes that he and Tolkien used both Celtic and Scandinavian cultures as sources (reluctant as Tolkien was to admit to the former). Macpherson tried to appeal to an English audience by making his ghosts similar to those in Classical literature—existing primarily as sounds or wispy specters, tied to a place. Tolkien, on the other hand, uses mostly wraiths (a Celtic word which can include apparitions of people still alive). All wraiths can act upon the living—Ringwraiths, for example. The article is hard to summarize, but rewarding.

In "Night-wolves, Half-trolls and the Dead Who Won't Stay Down" (Houghton et al. 182–96), Marjorie Burns marvels that the story of Sigurd was Tolkien's favorite as a young boy. She looks at the various monsters of Scandinavian legend and their transformations as they en-

tered Middle-earth. Wolves of various kinds have more prominent roles in *The Silmarillion*, but wargs appear in *The Lord of the Rings*. There are skin-changer and werewolf varieties as well. Trolls and giants are often associated, but Burns feels that Tolkien made a wise choice in moving away from the latter, which bear the weight of too many fairy-tale preconceptions. Dealing with the dead is a frequent necessity in both Norse mythology and Middle-earth. What happens afterward is ambiguous in both legendaria; many possibilities are offered. This is the longest section of the article, befitting the seriousness of the topic.

One wonders why Tolkien was even included in Gisela H. Kreglinger's "Storied Revelations: The Influence of George MacDonald upon J.R.R. Tolkien and C. S. Lewis" (*Sewanee Theological Review* 57.3: 301–20), since the section dealing with MacDonald's influence on him is only two pages. Kreglinger concludes that the influence was upon Tolkien's very theory of fantasy as delineated in "On Fairy-stories." MacDonald's attitude toward what Tolkien would later call "subcreation," and the moral requirements of the fantasy writer, are strongly echoed by Tolkien.

At Tom Shippey's urging, more scholarly attention has been paid to the now obscure and out-of-print books available to Tolkien from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Nancy Martsch laments that equal attention has not been devoted to the illustrations. In "The 'Lady with the Simple Gown and White Arms' or Possible Influences of 19th and Early 20th Century Book Illustrations on Tolkien's Work" (Houghton et al. 29–40) she begins to fill the gap. Her chosen image was ubiquitous in illustrations of the time—perhaps because of its Classical associations; perhaps because it was easy to draw. (A feminist critic might see this as another example of marginalized and barely differentiated female characters.) Although Tolkien gives little visual description of his characters, Martsch shows that all the major female characters in *The Lord of the Rings* fit the "lady with the simple gown and white arms" pattern (as does Lúthien in the *Silmarillion*).

Tolkien as Modernist arrives with Michael Charlesworth's "Panorama, the Map, and the Divided Self: *No Enemy, No More Parades*, and Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Ford Madox Ford's Parade's End: The First World War, Culture, and Modernity*, eds. Ashley Chantler and Rob Hawkes [Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014], 95–106). Charlesworth examines a way of seeing taught to many junior officers in World War I: the panoramic view from a height translated into military maps. They were trained to do this "strategic seeing" without any emotional associations; they would see the same landscape very differently during normal seeing. He looks at the importance of this double consciousness in Ford's *No Enemy* and *No More Parades*, but sees it also in Frodo when

he sits upon Amon Hen and puts on the Ring. A preternaturally wide look at a vast portion of Middle-earth becomes a terrifying encounter with Sauron. Normal vision is restored by leaving the seat and taking off the ring. Charlesworth notes that Sara Haslam has emphasized “the divided self [and] the fragmented nature of personality under modern conditions” as “a cornerstone of . . . modernist representation” (101). He notes several characters in *The Lord of the Rings* for whom this is true, but especially Frodo.

Our last item and second monograph is *Tolkien and the Modernists: Literary Responses to the Dark New Days of the 20th Century* by Theresa Freda Nicolay (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014). One of the more interesting branches of recent Tolkien scholarship has been the examination of how Tolkien, long assumed to be a literary anachronism, can indeed be shown to deserve entry into the Modernist category. Nicolay clearly disagrees with these conclusions, but engages with none of the previous scholarship on the topic. Nor does she engage with any scholarship on Modernism. She makes up her own definition of Modernism, emphasizing all the negative elements of “alienation, fragmentation, and dislocation brought about by industrialism, secularism, and the Great War” (3). Using the phrase “the Modernists” [emphasis mine] not only suggests an us-versus-them relationship from the beginning, but implies there is an agreed-upon, well-defined group of such writers. The writers she chooses to include are a diverse group (except in nationality), some that any scholar would consider modernists, some quite unlikely. The bulk of the book compares imagery from her chosen authors with that in Middle-earth. Though the negative imagery is often quite similar, Tolkien manages to turn away from the despair characteristic of Modernism. Nicolay’s pervasive theme is the importance of Tolkien’s faith in his avoidance of this fate.

RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL [JOHN WM. HOUGHTON]

Religious

Beauteous Truth: Faith, Reason, Literature and Culture (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine’s Press, 2014), by Joseph Pearce, collects 76 essays, mostly written as short editorials for *Saint Austin Review*. Eight of these bear more or less directly on Tolkien, while at a number of other places Tolkien is mentioned in passing or quoted as an authority (cf. the use of his comments to Lewis about marriage, 26). As is common for such collections, there is a certain amount of overlap between the essays. They also reflect, both in their general approach and in some specific details, an address to a non-specialist and non-academic audience.

There are no indications of where or when individual pieces originally appeared, nor is there a consistent pattern of scholarly reference within the essays themselves. As editorials, the essays sometimes enlist Tolkien for polemical purposes, e.g., in “The Counter-reformation” (68–70), Pearce takes that movement in Catholic thought as the Tolkienian “eucatastrophe” following on the catastrophe of the “misnamed Reformation” (69–70). While it is fair to assume that Tolkien, as a devout Roman Catholic, carried no particular brief for the Reformation, the application does more to serve Pearce’s purpose than to illuminate Tolkien’s writing.

As befits a contribution to a volume in the series “Popular Culture and Philosophy,” Ray Bossert’s “The Elvish Devil” (*The Devil and Philosophy: The Nature of His Game*, ed. Robert Arp [Chicago: Open Court, 2014], 127–37) maintains a determinedly light tone (“Melkor’s first evil deed occurs in a breakout solo performance in this celestial jam session,” 129) and eschews academic apparatus, but nonetheless gives an effective Boethian interpretation of Melkor. Bossert’s starting point is that Melkor is an Elvish devil in the same sense in which *The Silmarillion* is the Elvish Bible, and “*The Silmarillion* is about understanding evil as *elves* understand it” (127). The Elves perceive the world in aesthetic terms, and thus “Melkor is a bad artist who destroys beauty and corrupts artistic skill; his ill deeds have aesthetic effects rather than spiritual ones” (128). Boethian Providence, in this system, takes the form of Ilúvatar’s toleration of Melkor’s discords as “raw materials for well-crafted art” (129). Melkor’s particular *hubris* is to think that he can be, not merely an artist, but a “true Creator” (130). The Orcs, corrupted from the quintessentially aesthetic Elves, are “Devilish philistines . . . enemies of art” (132). This reduction of Elves into orcish servitude raises enormous questions of free will, of responsibility, and—it would at first seem—of salvation. But Elves (unlike Men) have no hope of salvation outside the circles of Arda. Because there is no Last Judgment for Elves, their free will is ultimately less significant than that of human beings: and to read about them gives us a Boethian reminder of our place. (See Gregory Hartley’s essay reviewed below for a different analysis of the Elf/Orc situation.)

Tom Simon’s excellent essay “The Making of the Fellowship: Concepts of the Good in *The Lord of the Rings*” (*Sci Phi Journal*, Nov. 2014: 121–42) makes an effective bookend to Bossert’s. Simon begins his study of good with hobbits’ idealized society, which shows the virtues of late Victorian rural England, populated largely by individuals who value minding their own business. Hobbits’ peculiar custom of giving away presents on their birthdays is illustrated, Simon argues, by the virtue of giving oneself, as Merry and Pippin give themselves first to

be Frodo's companions and then later liegemen of Théoden and Denethor. In this sense, generosity grows into the virtue of service to others. Sam Gamgee resists the power of the Ring fundamentally in his character as a *gardener*, someone whose livelihood consists precisely of working for the good of others. Denethor fails as a steward, having forgotten whom he serves, while Sauron does believe, wholeheartedly, in the ideal of service: so long as it is service to him (137). Gandalf's stewardship stands in stark contrast to Denethor's, and Boromir and Faramir repeat the pattern. Simon makes similar observations about the Elves and the Dwarves: for the Dwarves, service extends even to serving "the very bedrock, the substance of Middle-earth itself" (134), as Gimli's paean to the Caves of Aglarond indicates. Simon concludes that Tolkien distinguishes between power which seeks to dominate, such as Sauron's, and power which seeks to serve. Aragorn has served for decades to protect people like Butterbur—without recognition, which would spoil what he intends to preserve. "This is the pure good of which 'the northern heroic spirit' is only an alloy . . . It is service undertaken purely for the love of the thing served" (139). Ultimately, Simon argues, the trail that begins with the gift-giving at Bilbo's birthday party leads to the gospel teaching that "He who is greatest among you shall be your servant" (Matt. 23:11).

In "Civilized Goblins and Talking Animals: How *The Hobbit* Created Problems of Sentience for Tolkien" (Eden 113–35), Gregory Hartley provides an excellent classification and analysis of the legendarium's "sentient bestiary" (117): humanoid monsters (trolls, giants, and goblins), oversized animals (eagles and spiders [in which connection the present reviewer is briefly cited] and Smaug the dragon), and personified animals. Hartley pays particular attention to the problems created by Tolkien's incorporation of *The Hobbit* into his earlier mythology and his later efforts to explain them away. The Trolls in *The Hobbit* are notoriously incongruous; metaphysically, their sentience (and even apparent civilization) raises questions about their origins. In the published *Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien says that they were made by the Enemy in mockery of Ents, but in drafts he considers the possibility that they are, rather, a new sentient species (119). In *The Lord of the Rings*, Ents take over the niche held by Giants in the *Hobbit*; Hartley reads *The Silmarillion* as stating that Tolkien identifies them as Maiar whom Yavanna has called to take on the physical form of trees (122, citing Dickerson s.v. "Ent" in *The Tolkien Encyclopedia*). *The Silmarillion* also gives an "official" origin story for Goblins/Orcs—that they are "Elves twisted by Morgoth"—but this is Christopher Tolkien's resolution of a problem his father left undecided (115, 123). Each of four possibilities the elder Tolkien considered raises theological and moral questions.

If Orcs are Elves, tortured and enslaved, why does their plight arouse no pity, and what becomes of them when they die? If Orcs are Maiar, they should be immortal and should not reproduce, neither of which seems to be the case. If Orcs are soulless beasts, how did their civilization continue during the absences of their dark overlords? If (in a combination of the two previous hypotheses) a few greater Orcs are incarnate Maiar and these are the controllers of the rest, how is it that dissension and disunity are the characteristics we most often see when Orcs interact? Ultimately, the contradictions are unresolvable: the goblin-civilization of *The Hobbit* is the root of the problem. Hartley concludes, quite boldly, that both the great eagles and spiders can be accounted for as incarnate Maiar; applying that explanation to dragons, however, is more complicated, as they not only reproduce but have prolonged periods of youthfulness. Ultimately, Hartley suggests, dragons may be (like Ungoliant) irreducible personifications, and “although Tolkien may not have deliberately *meant* for them to function symbolically within the legendarium, it remains that they do” (129). Lesser beasts may be personified, but there is no suggestion that they use language or are sentient. In an epilogue, Hartley discusses Peter Jackson’s decisions, which generally tie the creatures more explicitly to the rising power of Sauron.

In “Cosmos, Kenosis, and Creativity” (“*Tikkun Olam*”—*To Mend the World: A Confluence of Theology and the Arts*, ed. Jason Goroncy [Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014], 37–60), Trevor Hart persuasively considers ways in which the concept of *tikkun olam*, “repairing the world,” associated particularly with the tradition of the 16th century Rabbi Isaac Luria, can be reconciled with the ways in which Christianity has received two more fundamental Jewish doctrines, first, that God alone can truly create and has no assistant in the process of creation, and, second, that the world as God created it was, in the words of Genesis, *tov meod*, “very good.” Hart concludes this dense theological analysis with an explication of Tolkien’s ideas on sub-creation as expressed in the “Ainulindalë” and “Mythopoeia” (54–58).

In *Tolkien’s Sacramental Vision: Discerning the Holy in Middle Earth* (Kettering, OH: Second Spring, 2014), Craig Bernthal undertakes a reading of Tolkien’s fiction through the lens of the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church. Given Tolkien’s avowed Catholicism, this approach would seem to be on uncontroversial, though hardly unexplored, ground, but it is nonetheless easy to imagine any such project falling into a sort of mechanical Procrusteanism. Bernthal almost always avoids that danger, and in the process produces a Horatian melding of instruction and delight, aimed at undergraduates and general readers. Bernthal declares that Tolkien is indeed a Catholic writer,

with a sacramental and Logo-centric view of the world. He gives insightful readings of the key ideas of mythopoesis, sub-creation, and eucatastrophe; shows Tolkien's connection to the Johannine Logos-doctrine as rooted in Wisdom literature and Greek philosophy through Owen Barfield (with due reference to Flieger's *Splintered Light*) and his devotion to his name-saint, applying the concept to the "Ainulindalë"; and sets out the legendarium's equivalents of the Fall—the event which makes salvation, mediated through the Sacraments, necessary.

Bernthal associates Frodo's travels in *The Lord of the Rings* with three Catholic sacraments: the first leg of the journey, Bag End to Imladris, is Baptismal; the second, to Amon Hen, invokes Confirmation; and the third, moving toward self-sacrifice at the Cracks of Doom, is Eucharistic (174; Tolkien's extended conclusion, then, treats of healing, though Bernthal doesn't explicitly say so at this point). He points out that a world created by and existing through the Logos constitutes a narrative which its inhabitants can potentially "read"—as the Council of Elrond tries to understand the history of the Ring, or Strider balances head and heart in making decisions at Rauros, or Sam realizes on the stairs of Cirith Ungol that he and Frodo are part of a larger story. Thus Tolkien's sacramental vision sees the world as fundamentally meaningful, thus enabling us to perform meaningful actions (172).

Bernthal has a gift for insightful formulations: speaking of Galadriel's gifts, he observes: "the cloaks are an anti-type of the One Ring. . . . The disappearance the Ring produces is a direct spiritual attack on the substance of the person wearing it, causing the wearer to vanish as opposed to blending with his surroundings. The difference is between negativity and oneness" (208). But Bernthal does sometimes press his argument a bit far. One might, for example, hesitate over his suggestion that "the flame-crested water cavalry" (154) at the Ford of Bruinen may be related to the moment in Easter Vigil when the base of the lit Paschal Candle is plunged three times into water in the Baptismal Font, or the claim that Saruman's voice is a critique both of Hitler's and of "academic discourse, especially in the humanities and social sciences, which progressively excluded God as a reality" (239). Granted these moments, however, the book as a whole is a welcome contribution.

In "J. R. [sic] Tolkien, Theologian in Disguise? Small is Powerful, a Guiding Principle of *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Evangelical Review of Theology* 38.1: 81–90), Raymond J. Laird writes to demonstrate to evangelicals unfamiliar with Tolkien the well-established point that Hobbits in *The Lord of the Rings* exemplify Christian understandings of God as one who "has brought down the powerful from their thrones, and lifted up the lowly" (Luke 1:52). The only quirk in Laird's explication

of this commonplace is his grave misreading of Denethor's comment to Gandalf in "The Siege of Gondor": "At this hour, to send it into the land of the Enemy himself, as you have done, and this son of mine, that is madness" (*RK*, V, iv, 87). Laird takes this to mean that Denethor thinks Boromir has gone into Mordor with Frodo, understanding "this son of mine" to refer to Boromir and to be grammatically parallel to "it" as an object of "send," though it is clear that "this son of mine" is actually a slighting reference to Faramir, and is grammatically parallel to "you" as a subject of "have done"—Denethor's complaint is that Faramir, like Gandalf, has enabled Frodo's quest.

Philosophy

"Tolkien the Catholic Philosopher?" (Arduini and Testi 85–124), records a dialogue between Andrea Monda and Wu Ming 4 (a member of the Wu Ming ["No Name"] collective). Both express doubt that Tolkien is a Catholic philosopher or even a Catholic writer, though his writing is at least susceptible to Catholic reading, and he may be considered a Catholic storyteller, in the sense of poetics, as it is easy to identify Tolkien's idea that myth expresses truth as "the only religious element" (96). Monda argues that the humble hobbits are specifically Christian heroes, distinguishing Tolkien's work from the mainstream of heroic fantasy (102). Wu Ming 4 rejects this characterization: while the heroes certainly show such Christian elements as humility, they "belong to an intermediary category, no longer pagan but not yet Christian" (115). In accordance with an interest in narrative elements, Wu Ming distinguishes in Tolkien an evil, ideological, form of courage distinct from a good one. The heroes' ability "to refuse power while at the same time to accept responsibility to act for the common good" (120) is a paradox that "re-establishes one of the central qualities of Christianity" (121). Monda calls joy and humility the "essential cores" which make *The Lord of the Rings* "fundamentally religious and Catholic" (113). Ultimately, he finds in Tolkien "not a relic to be studied in a museum but a friend who walks with me" (114).

Christopher Garbowski sees in "Tolkien's Philosophy and Theology of Death" (Arduini and Testi 125–44) a contrast between events in Tolkien's life that left him "strongly pessimistic" (127) and *The Lord of the Rings* thematically considering death within a narrative that is "essentially comedic" (127)—that of the fairy-story. Garbowski surveys various depictions of the theme of death: the undead Ringwraiths, the deathless Elves, and mortal human beings, who have both a *longing* for immortality (as depicted in the "Akallabêth" and related elements of *The Lord of the Rings*), and a *memory* of it, as reported in "Athrabeth

Finrod ah Andreth.” All of these constitute Tolkien’s “‘high’ theology” of death” (138); the corresponding “low” theology is found where the principals are separated merely by a great difference in life span, rather than by the gap between immortal and mortal. He observes that the “literary embodiment” of eucatastrophe “finds a *modus vivendi* between the dialectical and analogical sides of [Tolkien’s] imagination” (140); that a single “deep (or religious) narrative” (140) runs throughout *The Lord of the Rings*, changing readers by the “profound Christian humanism embedded in the comedic narrative” (140); and that “the real ‘joyous turn’ in Tolkien’s opus should be sought at an eschatological level . . . A transcendent eucatastrophe is proposed but not imposed on the reader” (141).

“The Christian Platonism of Lewis and Tolkien,” the second chapter of Paul Tyson’s *Returning to Reality: Christian Platonism For Our Times* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014. 23–37), is part of Tyson’s preparatory material for a monumental argument, aimed at the interested Christian reader with little background in philosophy: first, that western culture has been gravely weakened by the loss of Christian Platonism; and, second, that that theological/philosophical school can and should be revived. As such, the chapter’s function is simply to show readers that they are likely already familiar with concepts of Platonism through their reading of Lewis and Tolkien: the purpose is more to promote them as “two of the most important metaphysical minds of twentieth-century British thought” (36) rather than to shed further light on either author’s work. Platonism is explicit in Lewis’s Narnia; in Tolkien’s case, Tyson asserts that *The Lord of the Rings* shows Tolkien’s adherence to the “realist moral vision” of Platonist ethics (36), not only in the fact that “Tolkien shamelessly borrows Plato’s imaginative idea of a ring of power as the key narrative device for his epic fantasy” (30), but more significantly in Frodo’s exemplification of a just individual “who would not be corrupted by the ring of power” (31). The power represented by the Ring defies the fundamental power of the Platonic good: thus Frodo in resisting it “is fighting evil without becoming evil” (32), and the “central struggle . . . is spiritual and concerns how one see what is real and free and what is false and necessary” (32–33). Obviously, this position is not beyond dispute: the One Ring differs from the Ring of Gyges in significant ways, and even Frodo is, in the end, corrupted by it.

Jyrki Korpua’s essay “Good and Evil in J.R.R. Tolkien’s Legendarium: Concerning Dichotomy Between Visible and Invisible” (*Fafnir* 1.1: 46–55) also considers several other dichotomies—dark and light, physical and spiritual, mortal and immortal—in the legendarium. An extensive note explaining Elrond’s half-elvenness (48, n. 4) is one of

several signs that the essay is aimed at the non-specialist, and it in fact constitutes more of a survey than an argument. Korpua covers the “shadow world” of evil, the invisibility conferred by the One Ring, Gandalf as a character who transcends the usual divisions of spiritual and physical, and the power of Glorfindel and other Elves, who live in both the spiritual and physical worlds, but will in the end “become spirits invisible to mortal eyes” (54, citing *Morgoth's Ring* 212). Ultimately, Tolkien “unites” the various dichotomies “in a coherent cosmological vision” (54).

Suzanne Rahn’s essay “Lewis, Tolkien, and the Ethics of Imaginary Wars” (*Ethics and Children's Literature*, ed. Claudia Mills [Farnham, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014, 163–79]) considers battles in *The Hobbit*, *The Father Christmas Letters*, and the Narnian books in comparison to the war of the elephants and the rhinoceroses in Jean de Brunhoff’s 1934 *The Travels of Babar*. De Brunhoff illustrates Just War Theory, shows the cost of war, and refrains from depicting the enemy as “inherently evil” (165). In this last point, Rahn says, he is more realistic than Lewis and Tolkien; indeed, the moral hazard of the fantasists’ wars is the conclusion that if one’s opponent is truly evil, there is no need for ethical deliberations: war in such a situation is not a moral dilemma, but a duty, and can rightly be prosecuted by any means necessary. Rahn intends to show, however, that that hazard can be avoided—that a battle against evil can be presented to children in such a way as to teach “that war itself is evil and involves difficult ethical decisions” (166). George MacDonald’s *The Princess and the Goblin* (1872), which provided Lewis and Tolkien an exemplar of battle fought against opponents who are not wholly evil by people who are not wholly good, lies behind the *Father Christmas Letters*, in which Goblins tunnel beneath Father Christmas’s house, as they do beneath Princess Irene’s castle. But Tolkien’s Goblins, unlike MacDonald’s, are simply wholly evil hordes to be exterminated. Yet, Rahn argues, despite this, Tolkien sets the Battle of Five Armies in a context which suggests a concern for *jus ad bellum*. Tolkien also highlights Bilbo’s self-sacrificing attempt to resolve the morally dubious confrontation among the armies of the Free Peoples—and, in contrast to Lewis’s heroes, Bilbo does not “prove himself” in battle (173). Moreover, Tolkien presents the battle itself, however justified, as inglorious and costly: Thorin, Fili, and Kili all die (174). Differences between Lewis and Tolkien, Rahn suggests, grow in part out of their different interests in the Middle Ages: Lewis’s warfare is chivalrous, that of Malory and Froissart; Tolkien’s that of *Beowulf* and Maldon, wherein even victory is “a very gloomy business” (174–75). But another element in their different depictions of warfare, she proposes, comes from their different reactions to their

own experience: "Tolkien was deeply and lastingly affected by the horrors of World War I—Lewis remarkably detached from them" (176). Ultimately, Rahn says, "fighting a war in Narnia has no serious consequences, either physical or emotional" for those on the good side; "in *The Hobbit*, however, there is pain, inner conflict, real tragedy, and a final weariness," not to mention the question of "whether it is more heroic to go to war, or to sacrifice life and reputation in a probably hopeless attempt to make peace" (179). In sum, "Lewis avoids the ethical issues of war; Tolkien, like Jean de Brunhoff, engages with them" (179).

In "What Hath Hobbits To Do With Prophets? The Fantastic Reality of J.R.R. Tolkien and Flannery O'Connor" (*Logos* 17.4: 108–29), Kayla Snow compares O'Connor's grotesque and Tolkien's fantastic, arguing that they "each represent two distinct manifestations of a similar theological and aesthetic philosophy, and that the stylistic differences between the two authors can be explained by the limitations of their chosen literary modes" (109). The philosophy in question is that of Thomas Aquinas, but Snow engages with secondary sources and not with Thomas himself; lack of familiarity with the primary sources sometimes leads Snow astray. Snow finds that O'Connor and Tolkien share a large vision of human beings as embodied souls through belief in the Incarnation. That vision prompts accusations of escapism, but also provides a standard by which "spiritual distortions of humanity . . . come to light" (117). Tolkien's "recovery" is a process that "aims to reorient his readers evangelically toward a future reality [while] O'Connor aims to shock her readers with their present reality" (119). Tolkien's world includes the grotesque, but the diseased Gollum has a healthy foil in Sam, where O'Connor would depict only the diseased individual. Despite this difference, both Catholic authors use their fiction to "provid[e] the opportunity for a revelation that leads to a more holistic vision of reality" (127).

In "New Light: Tolkien's Philosophy of Creation in *The Silmarillion*" (*Journal of Inklings Studies* 4.2: 67–85), Stratford Caldecott (who died a few months prior to its publication) works from a comparison between "Ainulindalë," the Priestly Source creation story in Genesis, and the first chapter of the Gospel of John toward consideration of Tolkien's ecological message and his "philosophy of creativity" (68). The creation of Èa is a result of celestial harmony and a single divine act, Caldecott says, implying an ecological vision of the Earth. This fiction can help us to see, and value, the world anew, and offer us moral exemplars of how to deal with nature. Caldecott claims that Tolkien had a sense of calling, an awareness of a mission to be begun, if not fulfilled. Further, an artist must necessarily be collaborative, working

from the materials he or she is given; a false desire for independence is the primal sin of Melkor. And finally, the artist of Fantasy (at least) must aim at eucatastrophe. Having myself written on Augustine and the “Ainulindalë,” I was particularly conscious that the present essay has—with the single exception of a reference to Verlyn Flieger (80)—nothing to say about the (substantial) body of existing scholarly literature on its topics: indeed, not even to Caldecott’s own writing.

Political Theory

Dominic J. Nardi, Jr., received the Alexei Kondratiev Student Paper Award at Mythcon 45 (2014) for “Political Institutions in J.R.R. Tolkien’s Middle-earth, or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying About the Lack of Democracy” (*Mythlore* 33.1: 101–23). Nardi’s essay is confessedly an “experiment” (102) in applying political science to improve “understanding politics in Middle-earth” (101), a problem to which “neither the medieval setting nor analogies to modern politics provides satisfactory answers” (103). Nardi posits that “the modern dichotomy between democracy and dictatorship/authoritarianism fails to capture key aspects of politics in Middle-earth,” where even the so-called “Free Peoples” “do not have democratic governments” and Laketown’s democracy is not pictured as superior to Rohan’s monarchy (103). While Tolkien has nothing good to say about dictatorship, his letters state his “skepticism of democracy,” his preference for “deinstitutionalized politics” (107); in this Tolkien resembles Elinor Ostrom (*Governing the Commons*, 1990), and thus “demonstrates the possibility for something resembling Tolkienian politics” today (107). Nardi surveys societies of Middle-earth, from Mordor to the Shire, in terms of their provision for command and feedback between ruler and subject, and applies game theory to consider the way subjects respond to the ruler’s adoption of a policy which would have a negative effect on their welfare by either exiting, remaining loyal, or voicing their disapproval (114). The geographies of the Shire and of Laketown both favor exit, and offer Tolkien’s “only two examples of successful domestic revolutions” (116). Mordor, by contrast, offers hardly any chance of escape at all. Rohan’s fertile plains favor self-sufficiency and thus independence, but while a hobbit might hide gold from a theoretical tax assessor, horses are an asset much more difficult to conceal, and that condition favors the ruler. Elrond and Galadriel rule for millennia without rivals, but this in itself does not make them autocrats: the immortality of Elves, Nardi concludes, puts them beyond the reach of most conventional political science, though the Elves in Middle-earth eventually learn from the bad behavior of the House of Fëanor and

“settle into a more consensual and peaceful pattern of politics” (119). Nardi concludes that he has shown “that there is a logic to politics in Middle-earth that is, at the least, not inconsistent with the political science literature” (119).

In *The Hobbit Party: The Vision of Freedom that Tolkien Got, and the West Forgot* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2014), Jonathan Witt, an evangelical, and Jay W. Richards, a Catholic, read *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, parts of *The Silmarillion*, and “Leaf by Niggle” from a politically conservative Christian point of view. Given that Tolkien was a conservative, small-government (even “anarchist”) Catholic, this approach is not likely to lead the authors into any significant errors of interpretation, though there are blips here and there (such as the claim that “A perfect healing and an immortality, beyond the tiresome longevity offered by the rings of power, is the faith and hope of Frodo, Bilbo, Gandalf, and the Elves who together set sail from the Grey Havens at the end of *The Lord of the Rings*” [184], a statement which seems to confuse Valinor with the hope of Men that in dying they leave Arda, and which, to the extent it is true, applies only to the Hobbits, not to the Elves or to Gandalf). Despite an early appeal to the reader as a “Tolkien enthusiast” (18), the book assumes little or no previous knowledge of Tolkien’s texts nor of the scholarly literature: there are lengthy plot summaries at appropriate points, and careful reports of the secondary sources, though the latter do reflect the authors’ viewpoint with some energy (e.g., the assessment that one section of Dickerson and Evans, *Ents, Elves, and Eriador*, 2006 “borders on the surreal”; 128). All that being said, it is difficult to see that the book as a whole offers any significant addition to Tolkien studies: though there are moments when the authors, who have ample scholarly credentials of their own, engage with scholarly interlocutors on academic turf (for instance, in a persuasively detailed refutation of the popular idea that Tolkien was a Chestertonian “distributist,” 156–67), the title accurately reflects what seems to be the main purpose of the book, i.e., to enlist Tolkien as a sort of character witness on behalf of the authors’ philosophical and religious worldview, their “Vision of Freedom.”

Tolkien plays a brief role in Hal G. P. Colebatch’s “Kipling, Waugh, Tolkien and the Island of Civilisation” (*Quadrant Magazine* 58.5: 88–91). The three authors of the title have in common, Colebatch says, that they “saw civilisation as an island, threatened by a surrounding welter of barbarism” (89). Tolkien’s works exemplify this worldview in their picture of the Shire as an enclave anonymously insulated by the Rangers from “a world in ruins” (90), typified by the fading of the Royal Road to the Greenway, the oversupply of rooms at The Pranc-

ing Pony, the departure of the Elves from Middle-earth, the decline of Gondor, and so forth.

PHILOLOGY AND LANGUAGE STUDIES [DAVID BRATMAN]

The most renowned, and the most often incorrectly reported as already having been published, of Tolkien's remaining manuscripts has long been his translation of *Beowulf*. His prose translation, completed by 1926, has now actually been published, edited by Christopher Tolkien, in the volume *Beowulf: A Translation and Commentary, together with Sellic Spell* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014). The translation (13–105), given its own lineation keyed to this typesetting and unrelated to that of the poem, was intended by the author to preserve the archaic features, including word order, details of phrasing, and even some degree of alliteration and rhythm, of the poem without the restrictions that would be imposed by a verse translation. It is preceded by an editorial "Introduction to the Translation" (1–11) describing the typescripts and manuscripts, often revised by the author after the original completion, and followed by editorial "Notes on the Text of the Translation" (107–30).

Following this comes Tolkien's extensive "Commentary Accompanying the Translation of *Beowulf*" (137–353). Most of this commentary, as an editorial introductory comment explains, was written as narrative notes for lectures intended for Oxford undergraduates studying the poem (131–35). Owing to the nature of the Oxford curriculum, the vast majority of these are attached to the first part of the poem, before the Finn episode. The notes are of varying length and mostly concern the meanings of words, though some step back and consider the general import of passages of the poem. The editor suggests that they portray Tolkien's "vivid personal evocation of a long-vanished world" (ix). They are keyed to the line numbers both of the translation and of the original poem.

The volume also includes the short story *Sellic Spell*, written in the early 1940s, relevant as, in his own words as quoted in the introduction to the story, Tolkien's "attempt to reconstruct the Anglo-Saxon tale that lies behind the folk-tale element in *Beowulf*" (355), stripping out the historical background. The story is presented in its final text (360–85), the relevant parts of the earliest text for comparison (387–403), and in an incomplete Old English version (407–14), the last included by the editor in "demonstration of my father's fluency in the ancient tongue" (407).

The book concludes with two versions of *The Lay of Beowulf*, Tolkien's

brief retelling of the story in rhymed verse. The first version, 7 verses long, is titled "Beowulf and Grendel" (417–19); the revision, "Beowulf and the Monsters," which also includes Grendel's mother, is 15 verses long (420–25).

Two popular articles discuss the *Beowulf* translation. John Garth previewed the edition in *The Guardian* ("J.R.R. Tolkien's Translation of *Beowulf*: Bring on the Monsters," 22 March: 21), arguing for its importance both for Tolkien's strengths as a *Beowulf* scholar and for the poem's use of the same themes Tolkien would employ in his fiction. "Slaying Monsters" by Joan Acocella (*New Yorker*, 2 June 2014: 70–76) is essentially an appreciative review. Acocella summarizes the plot of *Beowulf* in middle-brow magazine style, with plenty of quotes from Tolkien's translation. She compares the translation with Seamus Heaney's, noting that Tolkien's prose version is able to preserve details and stylistic features from the original which Heaney's poetic version loses, and that even the archaisms at least offer "a rare immediacy" (76). Acocella notes that Tolkien kept editing his text long after finishing it in 1926, and speculates that he couldn't give it up because *Beowulf* was part of his life work.

Mallorn 55 contains a sequence of short articles discussing the *Beowulf* translation. Tom Shippey notes that in the Commentary of this edition, Tolkien is "Reconstructing the Politics of the Dark Age" (18–20), matching the poem's descriptions to identifiable and reconstructable events in the history of the Danes and Geats, and even providing a chronology compiled with the same care he gives to the ones in his *legendarium*. Mark Atherton, in "Seeing a Picture Before Us: Tolkien's Commentary in His Translation of *Beowulf*" (21–22), compliments the care Tolkien has taken in translation to find appropriately evocative renderings of *cruces* and *kennings*, and corrections he makes of scribal errors, viewing these not just in immediate context but in light of the thrust of the entire passage. "Tolkien's Technique of Translation in His Prose *Beowulf*: Literalism and Literariness" by Britton Brooks (23–25) is likewise in praise of Tolkien's prose, noting his efforts to preserve the original's flavor through conveying its word order, elevated register, and the components of its compound words. Dimitra Fimi, in "Tolkien and Folklore: *Sellic Spell* and *The Lay of Beowulf*" (27–28) discusses the folkloric element in *Beowulf* by describing *Sellic Spell*'s folk-tale renderings of aspects of the poem's story.

"Tolkien and Apposition" by Leslie Stratyner (Houghton et al. 78–85) is a *Beowulf* article not discussing the translation. Apposition is a literary effect that Tolkien derived from *Beowulf*: the pairing and contrast of two characters as simultaneously similar and opposites. Stratyner

demonstrates this through the apposition of Beowulf and Heremod in the poem, and Bilbo and Gollum in Tolkien's work.

Nelson Goering's "Lýg and *Leuca*: 'Elven-Latin,' Archaic Languages, and the Philology of Britain" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 67–76) considers Tolkien's declared comparison of the relationship between Sindarin and Quenya with that between "British" and Latin. Goering identifies Tolkien's meaning of "British" as the post-Roman Brythonic Celtic languages (which include Welsh, Sindarin's phonological model). This comparison works structurally, not in linguistic detail, and Goering presents three types of relevant structural resemblance: in cultural roles, with one language living and colloquial, and the other static and ceremonial; with one having medieval and the other "archaic" character in philological style; and in the manner in which the younger language modifies words it borrows from the older, of which the title of this article gives a Sindarin/Quenya example, meaning 'snake.'

A section on "Philological Inquiries" in the Shippey festschrift consists of three articles of Shippey-like virtuosity. John R. Holmes devotes much of "Keeping Counsel: Advice in Tolkien's Fiction" (Houghton et al. 87–96) to discussing the conjunctions *for* and *and*, as a method of parsing the content of Frodo and Gildor's epigram-exchange on the subject of advice in *The Lord of the Rings*. Holmes concludes by noting that many characters in that work give advice, but that those who give it most humbly and reluctantly are most heeded, while those who are more officious about it (Boromir, Saruman) tend to be ignored. Jason Fisher's "Tolkien's Wraiths, Rings and Dragons: An Exercise in Literary Linguistics" (Houghton et al. 97–114) is a writhing wriggle through the etymology, significance, synonyms, and other words related and derived from *wraith* as used by Tolkien, primarily in *The Lord of the Rings*. With Shippey- or Bronowski-like acumen, Fisher traces its relationship to *writhe*, and goes on to the name of the Nazgûl Khamûl, the word Nazgûl itself (which he traces to Gaelic *nasg* 'ring' + English *ghoul* i.e. essentially *wraith* and thus producing *ring-wraith*), the relationship of the *wraith/writhe* cluster of words to Old English *wraithas* [bent] as in the loss of the Straight Road, a reference in *Pearl*, the name *Withywindle*, and finally the relationship of the same cluster of words to *worm* [dragon]. B.S.W. Barootes in "'He chanted a song of wizardry': Words with Power in Middle-earth" (Houghton et al. 115–31) offers a thesis that a lessening of the power of word-magic occurs over time within the world's history. Felagund's and Sauron's contest of potent chants in the First Age is not succeeded by anything as powerful in the Third. Bombadil's ability to defeat Old Man Willow and the Barrow-wight with words is discussed but is not

treated as countering the thesis, apparently because Frodo is in both cases helpless. Galadriel's lament is considered weak by comparison; Gandalf is not discussed.

The thesis of Yvette Kisor's article in the Shippey festschrift, expressed in its title, " 'Poor Sméagol': Gollum as Exile in *The Lord of the Rings*" (Houghton et al. 153–68), sounds as if it belongs to a literary study, especially when Kisor begins by comparing Gollum as exile to the speakers in Old English laments like *The Wanderer*. But the article proves to be philological instead. Kisor uses Stanley Greenfield's study of the language of exile in Old English elegies to find similar words being used of Gollum. These express lowered state of mind, movement and seeking, and deprivation. Kisor further analyses Gollum's "unusual use of pronouns [that] separates him from the rest of the world" (161, 163), and even gives philological consideration to the language used by critics describing Gollum's apparent dual (i.e., separated) personality. Kisor concludes, however, that Gollum is less of an exile than alienated, a modern concept showing that Tolkien is a modern author as well as a medievalist.

Returning to *Mallorn*, issue 55 has three additional articles of philological import. Gregory J. Liebau collects a number of possible stylistic influences on *The Fall of Arthur* in "Tolkien's Arthurian Twilight: Ancient Influences in *The Fall of Arthur*" (29–31). The title "Friendship in Tolkien's World" (32–34) also suggests a literary study, but in fact Martina Juričková has written a close philological analysis of the connotations of the words *companion* and *fellow* (and the Elvish *mellon*), to understand why Tolkien sometimes wrote of the Company of the Ring and sometimes of the Fellowship of the Ring. Thor Ewing's "Of Dwarves and Dwarfs" (46) briefly considers the differences between Tolkien's dwarves and the dwarfs of Norse myth or Disney, then concludes that the spelling can no longer be used to differentiate them, as the word *dwarves* is becoming more common in general use.

"Proverbial Play: J.R.R. Tolkien's Use of Proverbs in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*" by Esther Clinton (*Proverbium* 31: 133–65) begins by dealing with the problem of identifying proverbs in Tolkien. Clinton holds to a definition of proverbs as traditional sayings (137–38), but admits that this can be problematic, especially when one is looking for the proverbs of a fictional civilization. Some of Tolkien's proverbs really are traditional, borrowed from Shakespeare or Goldsmith; other markers of proverbs in Tolkien include being identified as what someone used to say, being stated as generalities rather than specific comments on circumstances, or by stylistic cues such as rhymed phrases, parallel structure, or metaphor. Clinton spends some space on the specific metaphor of Sauron's long arm. The article then turns

to Tolkien's use of proverbs: in duels of proverbs (e.g., between Frodo and Gildor, or Elrond and Gimli), by comic inversion forming "anti-proverbs," or other forms of wordplay, surprisingly frequent in the supposedly humorless Tolkien. Clinton concludes by noting that one Tolkien proverb, "Do not meddle in the affairs of Wizards, for they are subtle and quick to anger" (*FR*, I, iii, 93), has been adopted in the primary world and made the subject of comic anti-proverbs.

"From 'The Silmarillion' to *The Hobbit* and Back Again: An Onomastic Foray" by Damien Bador (Eden 97–112) links the two stories by their nomenclature, dividing the topic by the names of places and of persons. Drawing a thesis largely from John D. Rateliff's *History of The Hobbit*, Bador cites names which were translated from the existing legendarium to *The Hobbit*, were directly borrowed, allude to it, or were altered with different meanings. Some of the new names created for *The Hobbit* were inspired by a potpourri of languages and would not quite fit with Sindarin as Tolkien later developed it, so had to be explained as Sindarin-like. Bador also explains the pose in *The Lord of the Rings* that the names from Germanic languages are translations as originating in the arbitrary decision to give Norse names to the dwarves in *The Hobbit*. Bador also notes names in *The Hobbit* with no relationship to the above categories, stating in a discussion of hobbit names that Bilbo's is the only hobbit forename in the book, omitting Belladonna and Bungo.

TOLKIEN'S SUB-CREATION [JOHN MAGOUN]

At the heart of fantastic sub-creation is the intersection of scientific reality and literary imagination. Both are necessary, but getting the balance right is the key to a believable but unreal new world. No one, of course, can explore Tolkien's sub-created universe more deeply than he himself did. This year Michaël Devaux, assisted by Christopher Tolkien and Tolkien language expert Carl F. Hostetter, has edited "Fragments on Elvish Reincarnation" (*J.R.R. Tolkien, l'effigie des Elfes*, ed. Devaux [Paris: Bragelonne, 2014], 94–161), in English with parallel French translations on facing pages, which gives us several texts by J.R.R. Tolkien, mostly previously unpublished—but not wholly unknown: Christopher Tolkien mentioned all of them in his commentaries in *Morgoth's Ring* and *The Peoples of Middle-earth*—on the arcane subject of whether deceased Elves may return to life through rebirth (as he originally postulated) or reincarnation.

In "The Converse of Manwë and Eru" (ca. 1959), the one previously-published text (*Morgoth* 361–62), Eru advises the Valar to reincarnate Elves' spirits into newly created bodies using their inherent powers,

rather than referring them to him for rebirth. It is here reprinted, with an additional rejected paragraph (“Fragments” 96–101). Added to this is Tolkien’s “Comments of the Eldar” (“Fragments” 102–29), briefly referred to by Christopher Tolkien as “a commentary by Elvish loremasters” in the previous publication (*Morgoth* 363). Taking the Elves’ perspective, J.R.R. Tolkien affects a rambling Aristotelian air as he works out the physical and metaphysical nature of inanimate, animate, and sentient matter in Arda. In a pre-scientific voice, he introduces ideas of elements, isotopes, evolution (with hints of Lamarckism) and transmutation, while finally concluding that it would, in his story-world, be possible as well as advisable for the Valar to create a new body (*hroa*) to house the immortal spirit (*fëa*) of a dead Elf. This is followed by a fragmentary “Beginning of a revised and expanded version of ‘The Converse’” (“Fragments” 130–37)—again, previously mentioned (*Morgoth* 361) but not published—wherein Eru comes down much more strongly in favor of reincarnation as opposed to re-birth.

Also summarized by Christopher Tolkien in the same commentary (*Morgoth* 363–66), and printed in full here, is “Re-incarnation of Elves; The Númenórean Catastrophe & End of ‘Physical’ Arda” (ca. 1959–66) (“Fragments” 138–53), the notes in which Tolkien finally decided against re-birth because of the violence it would do to the natural relationship of parents and child. As he works out the mechanics of reincarnation, again, he moves to a new thought: the *fëa* of an Elf could, by itself, direct its own reincarnation. He concludes this with a metaphysical speculation on how such a body, as an extension of its spirit, could at will dematerialize. There is also a brief meditation on how, after the Catastrophe at the end of the Second Age, the fading of the Elves must have begun earlier than Eru had planned since they must now leave the material world to travel to a relocated spiritual Aman, whose former place on Arda “should *remain* a physical *landmass* (America!)” (“Fragments” 150).

The final entry in this collection is “Some notes on ‘rebirth’, reincarnation by restoration, among Elves. With a note on the Dwarves” (1972) (“Fragments” 154–59; previously briefly excerpted in *Peoples* 390 n. 17). As Christopher Tolkien commented there, this piece rehearses the earlier conclusion that re-birth is out of the question. In one final newly published paragraph he re-explains that the Fathers of the Dwarves (most importantly, the line of kings named Durin) also did *not* experience re-birth. They were, rather, *revived*: the spirit of Durin I actually returned repeatedly to the preserved body of his former self or selves.

As interesting to Tolkien scholars as any of his previously unpublished writings must be, these selections are a detailed glimpse of Tolkien’s

ien's characteristically subtle blending of reality and fantasy. Here, for his own satisfaction, he reframes contemporary scientific concepts in the language not of singers of myths, but of Elvish 'scientists' or 'natural philosophers.' Through this perspective, Tolkien arrives at plausible though fictional mechanisms for immortality, invisibility, or even trolls made of stone. Devaux's introduction (in French) (23–92) focuses on the background, vocabulary, and possible philosophical and literary models for these notes about Elvish reincarnation. Seeing Tolkien as mostly in agreement with Leibniz on the concept of identity, he inspects Buddhist, Celtic, and Nordic/Germanic traditions about reincarnation and shows that the strongest similarities are with Catholic ideas about resurrection, with the usual caveat that Tolkien shuns allegory. For instance, the Church allows that judgment follows resurrection, whereas the Elves are judged before they may return to life.

Other commentaries on Tolkien's sub-creation in 2014 span the range from primarily literary criticism to extremely rigorous scientific treatments. On the humanistic side, David Tneh tackles the eternal problem of the Orcs: "The Human Image and the Interrelationship of the Orcs, Elves and Men" (*Mallorn* 55: 35–39) is a shallow exposition of the idea that Tolkien's Orcs are a necessary race in his fiction, as their wicked natures are balanced against the heroic stature of the linked races of Men and Elves. Associated ideas include consideration of all three races' creation in the image of 'Man,' meaning mankind, and the use of textual evidence to demonstrate the binary links of enmity and association between the three sub-pairings. The sources cited are curiously antique, dating primarily from the 1970s; the prose is tortured at times; and there is little use of the extensive explorations of the Orcs' origins and morality by numerous critics and by Tolkien himself.

Also working in a literary context, Sørina Higgins in "Arthurian Geographies in Tolkien, Williams and Lewis" (*CSL*, July/Aug. 2014: 1–8) tries to pull together the fragments of fantastic geography in the three authors' wide-ranging works about a legendary England based on the King Arthur story. Starting with Tolkien, she focuses on the connections between his *Silmarillion*/Middle-earth geography and his "Arthurian" geography in *The Fall of Arthur*, and between both of those and the Arthurian "Mythical Geographies" being assembled by Williams and Lewis in the same period. This is entertaining and informative even if, as she admits in conclusion, the great "Arthuriad" of the three Inklings was never actually written.

In a literary review of a pseudo-scientific aspect of Tolkien's sub-creation, John D. Rateliff's "Magic in Tolkien" covers for a gaming

audience Tolkien's contribution to the modern fantasy tradition of "magic" (*The Kobold Guide to Magic*, ed. Ray Vasele [Kirkland, WA: Kobold Press, 2014], 91–96). Rateliff offers a three-part classification of literary magic: Learned, Channeled, and Innate. For each he gives a definition, literary origins, Tolkien's views on and uses of the type, and its presentation in the *Dungeons and Dragons* gaming world. This approach may cover any gamer's curiosity about Tolkien's contribution to that culture, but it scants Tolkien's ideas about magic in his high fantasy. His letters are cited only once, and his own distinction between *magia* and *goetia* is only referred to obliquely. The conclusion, a defense of Tolkien's magical 'chops' to a generation used to over-the-top displays of witchcraft, dragon-fire, or whatever, is more a recital of features than an analysis of Tolkien's carefully hoarded uses of magic.

Leading off for the more scientifically oriented articles, Michael A. Wodzak, in "Seeing in the Dark, Seeing by the Dark: How Bilbo's Invisibility Defined Tolkien's Vision" (Eden 136–51), attempts to show that the Ring's power of invisibility, evidently just a magical attribute in the original *Hobbit* story, is consistent with its enhanced identity as the evil One Ring in *The Lord of the Rings*. He reviews numerous instances of the moral nature of seeing, not-seeing, visibility, vision, etc. in the greater legendarium, and also explores ancient, medieval, and modern ideas about the physical operation of sight which may have influenced Tolkien in his fantasy. Wodzak's arguments are amorphous and, like the Nazgûl, tend to stray when out by daylight. Alternative ideas are not explored; for instance, one non-physical interpretation of the Ring's invisibility is that it displaces the wearer into a spirit-plane perceptible only by the higher immortals.

Wodzak, in conjunction with Victoria Holtz Wodzak, has revised and slightly improved his essay as the retitled "Visibílium Ómniúm et Invisibíliúm: Looking Out, On, and In Tolkien's World" (*Tolkien Studies* 11: 131–47). Here they occasionally concede that an uncritical interchange of literal and metaphorical interpretations of a text is a leap of logic that weakens an argument, but this has not informed their revision very much; at numerous points they continue to work in this disconcerting manner. Some of the transitions are choppier than before, perhaps due to over-hasty editing and rewriting. A passing thought in the earlier piece, that the physical 'unlight' that Ungoliant projects in the *Silmarillion* may be the medium by which the invisibility of Ring wearers and the wraiths is effected, is developed more interestingly here. However, the enlarged metaphor of Saruman as an Aristotelian concave mirror, forming a rainbow from the light of Sauron's dark vision, remains the most extreme example of this essay's characteristic incoherence.

Middle-earth is the real Earth, astronomically, and so is most susceptible to a science-based criticism in that area. This year three articles take on the popular problem of Durin's Day in *The Hobbit*. Sumner Gary Hunnewell, updating his 1999 essay as "A Scientific Examination of Durin's Day" (Eden 59–67), attempts to establish when Durin's Day actually took place in a calendar-based time line for the story, using pre-modern calendar sources. The Celtic calendar breaks the seasons between the solstices and equinoxes, not at them, so *The Hobbit's* "last week of Autumn" would be the last week of October. He finds that the first day of a month in the Hebrew lunar calendar was either the first or second day of a new moon, depending on angular variations which determined the visibility or invisibility of the crescent so close to the setting sun. Hunnewell concludes that without more knowledge of the Dwarvish calendar it still "passes our skill" to assign a specific equivalent date to this key scene on the slopes of Erebor.

Kristine Larsen's parallel effort, "It Passes Our Skill in These Days': Primary World Influences on the Evolution of Durin's Day" (Eden 40–58) is a more ambitious and extensive exploration of the connections between changing ideas in early 20th century calendar astronomy and Tolkien's changing ideas about Durin's Day in his composition of *The Hobbit*. For all the thoroughness of the research, some of it is not really relevant to the questions at hand, and the use of present tense to dramatize the historical narrative is distracting. Larsen's conclusion that Durin's Day as Tolkien employs it is not astronomically possible, and that we cannot be sure why he changed it from early to late in the season, places one of the most scientific-seeming aspects of his universe firmly back into the realm of poetic imagination.

Taking this question about as far into our world as possible, Andrew Simoson entertainingly demonstrates how today's scientists would overcome Thorin's despairing inability to calculate when Durin's Day will next occur, in "Bilbo and the Last Moon of Autumn" (*Math Horizons* 21.4: 5–9). Bilbo is imagined as a math whiz who uses radial trigonometry to calculate the recurrence period of new moons at the end of autumn, over decades (every 19 years minus 6 hours) and centuries (every 160 years plus two days). The only quibble in the face of such light-hearted math wizardry, as Hunnewell and Larsen show in their essays, is that Durin's Day is not just when the moon is new, but when that moon is also visible in the sky before sunset—something that is as dependent on the latitude and altitude of the observer as on the clockwork of the spheres.

A final science-based look at Middle-earth is "The House of His Spirit Crumbles': A Medical Consideration of Faramir's Condition on His Return from the Retreat from Osgiliath, in *The Lord of the Rings*"

(*Mallorn* 55: 14–17). Jennifer Urquart, a physician, gives us a cheerful and informed speculation on why Faramir, alone among the victims of the 'Black Breath', was hot and feverish rather than cold and chilled during his near-fatal decline in the Houses of Healing. Dr. Urquart presents a diagnosis of heatstroke brought on by fighting for hours in heavy armor without food or drink. Her addition of "very humid weather" as a cause (15) is not supported by the text, but work like this provides a healthy if unexciting counter to more conventional literary analyses that Faramir's inexplicable fever is a powerful metaphor for the fires that consume his city and his father during the siege of Gondor.

RECEPTION AND ADAPTATION STUDIES [JOHN MAGOUN]

Translation, education, genre, and fan fiction are the diverse angles from which this year's critics explore the cultural reception of Tolkien's works. To start with, Eric Reinders in "Reading Tolkien in Chinese" (*Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts* 25.1: 3–27) shows how Chinese translations of Tolkien create a "different Arda." Focusing on Tolkien's concepts of afterlife and creation-myth, he shows that a Chinese reader will tend to conclude that Men, as well as Elves, await reincarnation after death, because the language's terminology for places like 'heaven' is so influenced by Buddhism. The vocabulary for a pre-creative 'Void' (lack of matter) as Tolkien puts it, would, in Chinese, come from Taoism, whose equivalent place (*hundun*) is more like 'Chaos' (unformed matter). Essays like this are valuable in reminding us how specifically European Tolkien's stories are.

The classroom continues to host the professor: Sherry Rankin's "Where Are the Horse and the Rider? An Approach to Using J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* to Teach Medieval Literature in the British Literature Survey Classroom." (*CCTE Studies* 79: 48–57) points out where Tolkien evokes the language and culture of the distant Anglo-Saxon world in terms that young people find assimilable. Examples include alliterative lists, such as Treebeard's "Lore of Living Creatures"; the *comitatus* bond between Frodo and Sam as master and thane; and the doom that follows Gollum's breaking of his oath. As helpful as this inventory might be, Rankin's portraits of clueless students of older literature are truly dire. One wonders if even Tolkien can really alleviate such lack of exposure to past cultures.

The genre of High Fantasy, of course, is partly built on stereotyped 'Elves' presumably drawn from Tolkien's pioneering books. Kelsey Piper reminds us that these are taken from a subset of his wide range of Elvish races: the woodland Silvan Elves of Mirkwood and Loth-

lórien. As she points out in “The Missing Noldor and Tolkien’s Heritage in High Fantasy” (*Mythprint* 51.4: 4–5), the most casual readers of *The Silmarillion* know that the Noldor Elves are anything but a race of reclusive “vegetarian archers with pointy ears” (5) who shun forges, warfare, alliances, and stone fortresses. Piper concludes that Tolkien’s generic imitators’ Elves are not just one-dimensional compared to his, but that they lack even a racial memory of the Noldor’s doomed travails in the First Age, which in Tolkien’s work explains the Silvan Elves’ reclusiveness.

Finally, Renée Vink’s “Fan Fiction as Criticism” (*Hither Shore* 10: 188–202) argues that scholars should reconsider fan fiction as an unconventional critical literature on Tolkien. Vink summarizes several stories whose critiques range from unexpected thematic connections (Denethor’s impulse to burn Faramir recapitulates the “heathen kings” of Númenor burning their sacrificial victims in Sauron’s temple) to questions about the good-evil dichotomy (how the War of the Ring appeared to a Haradrim neither evil nor deluded) to the underlying worldview (an imagined Númenorean polytheistic cult highlights just how ‘modern’ the Elvish/Tolkienian belief in One God is). Vink’s advocacy faces high barriers: the form is unpublishable; online availability is ephemeral (most of the links to her examples are already dead); and dubious generic prose as often as not repels a reader looking to decode a thoughtful critical subtext.

Naturally, the 2012 release of the first film of Peter Jackson’s *The Hobbit* trilogy reactivated the ongoing debates about film adaptations of Tolkien. Judy Ann Ford and Robin Anne Reid offer their excellent “Polytemporality and Epic Characterization in *The Hobbit: An Unexpected Journey*: Reflecting *The Lord of the Rings*’ Modernism and Medievalism” (Eden 208–21). This argues that *An Unexpected Journey* chooses to adapt not so much *The Hobbit* itself but what might be called the “later *Hobbit*,” i.e., the one that Tolkien created through editing, commentary, and contextual material in *The Lord of the Rings* and later writings. There is good analysis of the changes in tone and characterizations: the dynamic of Saruman versus Gandalf at the White Council, Thorin’s elevation to epic hero earlier in the story, and the delicate balancing of Bilbo’s feminine and masculine aspects, are all handled well. One may dispute the authors’ presentation of the film as a pure exercise in serious scholarly adaptation; they give very little consideration to the commercial and artistic imperatives of a film with blockbuster ambitions and expectations.

With a similar brief but less satisfactory results, Frank P. Riga, Maureen Thum, and Judith Kollmann’s “From Children’s Book to Epic Prequel: Peter Jackson’s Transformation of Tolkien’s *The Hobbit*”

(*Mythlore* 32.2: 97–116) maintains that *An Unexpected Journey* is an acceptable re-envisioning of the book, on the general grounds of one artist ‘completing’ another artist’s work in a new medium, and more specifically of Tolkien himself having revised *The Hobbit* to harmonize in tone and scope with its sequel *The Lord of the Rings*. Throughout, they focus on how director Jackson transformed the book into an adventure/action epic, rather than critically examining his reasons for doing so. Although well organized and reasonably well argued, the piece is flawed by misinterpretations of Tolkien’s documented intentions for *The Hobbit* after publication of *The Lord of the Rings*, a slapdash approach to technical film criticism, and a premature insistence that the adaptation captures the essence of Tolkien’s own instincts for revision when the remaining two films have not yet been seen.

As a refreshing change from conventional film criticism, Chris Bateman brings play-theory to the table with his “What Are We Playing With? Role-taking, Role Play and Story-play with Tolkien’s Legendarium” (*International Journal of Play* 3.2: 107–18). Expanding on Kendall L. Walton’s theories of play, Bateman asks us to be more aware of which props (significant objects that enable imaginative interaction) we are “playing with” in the *foreground*, and which *background* props determine what we are “playing at.” He points out that a viewer of *An Unexpected Journey* chooses how to ‘play’ with the film: either as an adaptation of *The Hobbit* (with the *Lord of the Rings* films providing background), or as a prequel to the *Lord of the Rings* films (with *The Hobbit* providing background). The latter game, he points out, is more satisfying both because of choices the filmmakers made and the inherent differences between a sequel and a prequel.

The *Hobbit* film has not supplanted interest in earlier adaptations of Tolkien. Building on Frank Weinreich’s 2009 quantitative exploration of the amount of “violence” in *The Lord of the Rings*, Weinreich and Tobias Hock report on the comparative amount of violence in Jackson’s film trilogy of the epic, in “Splatter in Middle-earth? War and Violence between Book and Screen: A Comparison” (*Hither Shore* 10: 44–61). The overall results, 8% “direct violence” content in Tolkien compared to 17% in Jackson, may or may not surprise the reader, but the methodology is given for other critics to perform similar comparisons. The final section offers a more qualitative analysis, noting that while Jackson has a weakness for extended combat, it is unfair to say that he does not also give screen time to Tolkien’s concerns about glorified heroism and the just war. The title provocatively asks “Splatter in Middle-earth?” but the answer is actually: “We’ve done the research and the answer is No.”

Finally, we are reminded that not all adaptations are about visual

media. In “‘I feel as if I was inside a Song’: The Presence of Music in J.R.R. Tolkien’s Middle-earth and Songs and Poems of *The Lord of the Rings* Set to Music” (*Hither Shore* 10: 96–117), Tobias Escher looks at how three composers—the Tolkien Ensemble; Donald Swann; and the collaborators from the 2006 musical production of *The Lord of the Rings*—have set a number of Tolkien’s lyrics. Issues of scoring, instrumentation, tempo, voice, style, and reference to the story are all covered, with some illustrations from the scores. There are good critical observations based on textual and contextual evidence, Tolkien’s preferences, and the meanings of styles like plainsong, sacred music, and English late-Romanticism. Unfortunately, this critical acumen is outweighed by Escher’s inability to separate the musical creation from the story. He tends to justify or criticize the musical settings by invoking the conditions of the story text, for instance speculating on what circumstances would have allowed Gimli singing the “Song of Durin” to be accompanied by an 80-piece orchestra (98).

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